



The Dream of a Socialism Oriented Society in Nepal: The Discrepancy between Rhetoric and Reality in Political Practices

Pitambar Dhoj Khadka, M.Phil. Scholar

Teaching Assistant

Narayan Multiple Campus, Mid-West University, Nepal

pitambar.khadka@mu.edu.np,

pitambarkhadka@gmail.com

Article History

Received: 6 Jan 2025; Reviewed: 20 Feb 2025; Revised: 5 March 2025; Accepted: 5 April 2025;

Published: 21 April 2025

Abstract

This article critically analyses the preamble of the constitution of Nepal as socialism-oriented society and state. It explores the gaps between the socialist rhetoric espoused by the political actors of Nepal, their actual intentions and deeds in practices. The analysis of this article outlines the principles of eminent scholar, Noam Chomsky's "The Requiem for the American Dream". This study adopted a document analysis method, used the published documents of government, scholarly articles, books, manifestoes of political parties, and others as sources of data. The study concluded that despite these noble ideals of socialism in the form of the constitutions and manifestoes of political parties and commitments of leaders and people's aspirations, the reality of political practices in Nepal often diverges significantly from the rhetoric of socialism.

Keywords

Democracy, Constitution, Governance, Social welfare

Introduction

Socialism as Philosophy and Practices

Despite, the recurrent political transitions, democratic consolidation has received limited scholarly attention in studies of Nepali democracy. Socialism is a multifaceted concept that has shaped the political and economic landscapes of states and societies. It is the political and economic system that emphasizes the equal and inclusive distribution of opportunities, wealth and resources to ensure social equality and mitigate economic disparities through social safety net (Miliband, 1977; Wimmer & Engster, 2023). The early philosopher Robert Owen and Charles Fourier proposed the ideal model of social equality (Blaug, 1986). However, Marx and Engels remained the pioneers of socialist idea (Wright, 2010). In socialist economies,

Copyright Information: Copyright 2025© The author/s of each article. However, the publisher may reuse the published articles with prior permission of the authors. This journal is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0) License.



central planning is used to allocate resources and distribute goods to meet the basic needs and welfare of people, rather than profit motives (Wright, 2010).

In the 21st century, Giddens (1998) argued for the increasing importance of adoption of social democracy for the democratic management of economic resources of society and state in the context of intensified capitalism and globalization. In recent times, most of democratic countries of Nordic region and others have been following the policies and practices specially to address the short comings of capitalism. Nordic countries has been embracing a more comprehensive approach, providing universal healthcare, extensive welfare benefits, and strong labor protections (Brandal et al., 2013) and USA enacted Affordable Care Act (ACA), 2010 to expand healthcare coverage, lower costs, and eliminate discriminatory insurance practices (Oberlander, 2010; Kenworthy, 2014). Hahnel, (2005) believed that social democracy may relevant in coping with the negative impacts of unrestrained neo-liberal capitalism and for fostering economic justice and democratic control of economic resources.

As a result, many liberal democratic of the Nordic region, Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden, offer convincing examples of how socialist ideas may coexist with capitalist political and economic systems (Esping-Anderson, 1990). Esping-Anderson further asserts, these liberal democratic countries have been able to combine the social welfare advantages of socialism with the efficiency of a market economy. These characteristics are typically supported by progressive taxation and public funding mechanisms (Kangas & Palme, 2005). Many countries like Nepal embrace liberal democracy with socialist policies program and have implemented progressive tax systems and substantial social transfers as redistributive measures. Consequently, except Nepal, these countries are notable for their strong social safety nets, which include work and income security, job training, and unemployment support systems (Martin & Swank, 2012).

Socialism in Nepal: Spirit and Practices

Socialism has emerged as a pivotal, though debated, ideological framework within Nepal's political landscape, exerting significant influence over the country's governance structures, economic strategies, and socio-political transformations since the 1950s, however, it was remained in paper only. Its institutionalization became particularly pronounced following the People's Movement of 2006 and was formally codified in the 2015 Constitution through Nepal's official designation as a 'socialist-oriented federal democratic republic.

Bishweshwar Prasad Koirala, the founding leader of the Nepali Congress and Nepal's first democratically elected Prime Minister, along with Pushpa Lal Shrestha, the founder of the Communist Party of Nepal, and other key political figures, were instrumental in advocating for a socialist-oriented democratic system in Nepal (Sharma, 2006). Their ideological contributions laid the foundation for Nepal's political discourse, emphasizing the integration of socialist principles within a democratic framework. The Nepalese people introduced a democratic system in the 1950s, but democratic political system was sided out in 1960 by the king Mahendra Bikram Shah in the interests of the elite and propertied class. The People's Movement of 1990, led by political parties and their leaders, resulted in the establishment of a multiparty democracy in Nepal. However, this political system collapsed due to ineffective governance and repeated interventions by King Gyanendra Shah (Hachethu, 2002). Once again, in 2006, the Nepalese people made a concerted effort to establish a democratic political system.

Major parties, including the Nepali Congress, the Communist Party of Nepal (UML), the Maoists, and so called other socialist parties, consistently advocate socialist ideals. These political parties uphold constitutional socialism as a core principle. In Nepal's political landscape, socialism thus appears to function as a widely accepted yet often rhetorical commitment (Wagle, 2024). The majority of politically and economically disadvantaged and marginalized communities, actively participated in political movements advocating for good governance and policy reforms. However, they were organized or involved in different ideology and political sects for their own emancipation, welfare, progress and development (Upreti, 2004).

The idea of socialism, enshrined in the Interim constitution of Nepal, 2007 and the Constitution of Nepal, 2015, promulgated by the constitution Assembly, aimed to create an inclusive and equitable society where assets, resources and services are distributed justly, and every member of the society could access to basic needs and opportunities (Government of Nepal, 2015). The preamble of the constitution of Nepal

enshrines and reflects the aspirations of Nepali people to achieve social justice, equity, and economic prosperity. Moreover, the political elites and traditionally powerful class are also able to safeguard their interest and status in society and state.

The political party's statutes and their economic policies, particularly in the areas of land reform, education, health and employment, are the central to socialist agenda (Upreti, 2004; Pandey, 2017). Constitutional endurance and effectiveness are influenced not just by its written laws and structures, but also by the commitment of political leaders and institutions to respect, implement, and adhere to those constitutional principles in practice (Elkins et al., 2009). However, the implementation of socialist policies in Nepal has been a matter of criticism and challenge (Pandey, 2017). These are hampered by rampant corruption, bureaucratic hurdles, immoral alliance of (economic and political) different alliances and political instability, which have hampered the effective execution of social and economic reforms (Hachhechu, 2002; Bhattarai, 2016) in Nepal. As a consequence, this study raises questions of how have practices and reality of socialist oriented constitutional provisions and policies in Nepal deviated from the political rhetoric since the establishment of democracy in 1990 and the federal democratic republic in 2008 to implement the essence of the new Constitution of Nepal, 2015?

Literature Review

The core idea of a socialist idea in liberal democracy is one in which all members or citizens of a state are recognized as socially equals. The state works for making people or more equal individuals and they together to meet their economic needs (Wimmer & Engster, 2023). They further, illustrate that equality has historically held an ambivalent position within socio-political discourse. Conventional capitalist democratic philosophers typically conceptualize equality through the lens of market accessibility and individual economic opportunities, which may inadvertently perpetuate structural inequalities (Harvey, 2005). However, socialist and social democratic perspectives prioritize systemic reforms, collective well-being, and redistributive policies to foster substantive equality (Fraser, 1997). Whatever the perspectives on democracy and equality, there have been manifested demands of people for exploring alternatives to the bourgeois-capitalist interpretation of equality (Fraser 1997; Harvey, 2005).

Harvey, (2005) examined the rise of neoliberal capitalism and its socio-economic impacts, providing a context for discussions on the relevance of socialist policies in contemporary democratic societies. Many scholarly discourses offer insights into the theories of socialism, its utility in the democratic and globalized contexts in countering the challenges crated by the capitalist practices (Hahnel, 2005; Callinicos, 1999). Hahnel, (2005) argued for the continued relevance of socialism in mitigating the adverse effects of unrestrained neoliberal capitalism, promoting economic justice, and ensuring democratic control over economic resources. The significance of good governance in fostering development cannot be understated in any country (Sundaram & Chaudhary, 2012) however, a poor government performance often results in the mismanagement of resources, inadequate service delivery, and the deprivation of legal, economic, and social protections, particularly for marginalized populations Towah, 2019).

Since the success of every democratic movement of Nepal, nothing more has changed the livelihood of people or the political system of the country in the way to a socialism-oriented society, which is becoming a worse situation than before (Upreti, 2004). In fact, every decade in Nepal has brought its share of crisis or movement of one sort or another. However, Aditya and Bhatta, (2016) recited that every such movement has also failed to become revolution in its true sense, just as every crisis was left unresolved. Nepal has experienced a series of socio-political movements almost every decade. However, these movements have consistently fallen short of evolving into genuine transformation of governance and livelihood of people (Upreti, 2004).

In a corrupt governance system, individuals with privilege and strong connections disproportionately benefit by accessing excessive economic monopoly of profits that provide significant advantages to those who control them (Aditya & Bhatta, 2016). Elite groups like political leaders, political opportunists, unethical businessmen, fraudulent contractors, rent seeking bureaucrats, commission agents, trade union leaders and other elite group captured and consumed the most of the resource and benefit at the expense of ordinary Nepalese citizens. In reality, people are the legitimate stakeholders of democracy and aspire to achieve good

governance (Dahal, 2024). He further believed that the primary factor contributing to the repeated setbacks faced by democracy in Nepal is the inability to establish and reinforce institutions and systems. Similarly, it seems that efforts to develop robust, people-centered institutional frameworks have been insufficient and subsequently, it undermines democratic progress (Giri, 2021) in Nepal.

Theoretical Model of Analysis

Noam Chomsky's theoretical model in "Requiem for the American Dream: The Ten Principles of Concentration of Wealth & Power" offers a critique of neoliberal policies of capitalism and their impact on democracy and society, which is not only relevant in the US (Chomsky, 2017) but also is contextual and relevant for most of the countries and societies of the globalized world. Chomsky's theoretical model or 10 principles of concentration of wealth and power, includes reduce democracy, shape the ideology, redesign the economy, shift the burden, attack solidarity, running the regulators, engineering elections, keep the rabble in line and marginalize the population. These outlines of principles reveal the reality of how social, economic and political power has been consolidated in the hands of a few and, how the state-mechanism have been increasingly controlled by the capitalists and elites (Chomsky, 2017).

The concentration of wealth and power in limited groups or individuals do not only undermine democratic institutions and processes, but also manifests their influence and control over constitutional, regulatory agencies and media thereby weakening the democracy and public influence on policy (Herman & Chomsky, 2002; Chomsky, 2017). Kazin (2016) criticizes that Chomsky undervalues the potential and chances of democratic renewal and the resilience of social movements. Despite criticisms, he gives the credits to Chomsky's framework for providing a powerful instrument and outlines for understanding of the democracy and how state mechanisms are influenced and manipulated by the nexus of political, business and others elites.

Research Methods

This study adopted a document analysis method which is considered one of the effective and systematic procedures of reviewing, interpreting, synthesizing and making conclusion of academic documents (Bowen, 2009), books, scholarly articles, conference paper, government and institutional reports and documents, newspaper, charters and manifestoes of political parties. As a qualitative research method, it provides systematic procedures to examine and interpret so that researcher attains deeper understanding and empirical knowledge through rich description (Repley, 2007; Bowen, 2009) of phenomena and trends. As a research method, it is commonly used for gathering, triangulating or verifying findings and reaching the depth of research study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Results

Reducing Democracy: Forgetting the Core and Ideals of Democracy

Democratic governance, in its best sense, is the welfare state. In which, a government tries to reduce the prevailing inequalities of society in the name of caste, ethnicity, language, religion, gender and class (Hahnel, 2005). If we look at the long relay of the democratization process of Nepal, it seems constant pressure and demand from people from below for making policies and programs for the interest and welfare of the majority of people who have difficulties in fulfilling their basic needs, to get social justice and equality.

The government has been imposing the tax to the people in the name of providing better services, better social security and better welfare (Khanal, 2018). However, the largely overlooked obligation and accountability of political actors and agencies in failing to provide effective redistributive justice, good governance, welfare, and safety nets have left impoverished populations struggling to meet basic needs while enduring widespread corruption. It seems prevalent mismanaging the lives of people through the deeds and doings of political leaders who are influenced and motivated by the fond of wealth and promises made to a handful of powerful and influential corporate and political elites (Giri, 2021; Khatiwada, 2023).

It has come to listen the same slogans "Vote for us, we will fulfil your dream (Chomsky, 2017) to the people in every political speech of political leaders in every election campaign. The political parties and its

leaders were expected to work to stabilize democratic ideas and imagination they failed to work or act towards the appropriate direction of socialism (Berman & Snegovaya, 2019). It could be argued that these political parties have not consistently demonstrated genuine or comprehensive efforts to address the underlying causes of the people's hardships. Moreover, they have taken people to vote or participate in elections or movements as a means to grab the power of a country because they were less responsive to the needs of the people or the public (Dahal, 2024).

The political parties irritate and reiterate it in a similar term in every election. But in reality, so-called leaders of political parties are destroying the dreams of people in the real sense that they are not accomplishing their promises (Dahal, 2024). Some influential leaders of different parties of Nepal in the parliamentary election of 2013, 2017, and 2022 were defeated. However, they were again nominated by the countable list of leaders, not by the people only by power monger political and other elites of Nepal (Wagle, 2024).

Khatriwada (2023) wrote that the opposition culture in Nepal has not been constructive in the sense that they have been forgotten the constructive support and criticism of government's wrong doings in order to direct government's step on the right way. To some extent political parties in Nepal have raised issues and concerns related to people's livelihoods, but they remained busy in bargaining for political posts in government and constitutional bodies (Khatriwada, 2023). Smaller parties had the mandate to stay in opposition to raise the issues of public matters but they have been indulged in bargaining and taking the advantages of game of number in parliament in different period (Giri, 2021).

Weakening the Constitutional (Regulatory) Bodies

Constitutional bodies hold immense potential to strengthen democracy, promote justice, and ensure accountability of any countries. However, these are bodies facing the challenges of political interference, unethical nexus of ruling elites and interest groups, resource constraints, and selective enforcement. The regulatory bodies or mechanisms seems to be little functioning and the institution allegedly criticized working for political power holders, wealthy businesses, and corrupt bureaucrats (Dahal, 2024).

These constitutional regulatory institutions are now catching small fish and leaving the big fish as per the signal of the political power holders because the appointments in these regulatory bodies are done by the executives (bodies of powerful leaders) who are solely loyal to them and safeguarding the interests of the political and corporate elites (Adhikari & Dhital, 2021). The medical college and other educational institution's operators are directly involved in political parties, including their financial contribution to political parties during elections and political campaigns, has been a subject of concern (Kumar, 2019). For example, the political-business nexus has been one of the major problems in sustaining democracy or socialism-oriented politics in Nepal. There are trending rumors in the media outlets (newspapers, television and social network) and among people about the alleged nexus between a political leader and business groups. Particularly, highlighting the connections of between business tycoons, contractors, and investors in sectors such as medical education, tourism, housing, infrastructure, and education, with various mainstream political parties and leaders in Nepal. Public perception often views these associations as involving unethical dealings (Kumar, 2019; The Kathmandu Post, 2020).

Bertelsmann Stiftung, (2024) reported "The vested interests of political party members continue to undermine democratic effectiveness. Patron and client relationship remained relatively common, undermining the equitable provision of public goods and fair appointments to offices" (p.15). So that it can be said that powerful politician and top-level bureaucrat with business and corporate groups have an unseen coalition. The leaders have played a double role: One is, they are doing tricky behavior towards people another is, they are working as to please the wealthy and business groups, multi-national companies and big financial intuitions for own benefits and safeguarding the interest of these institutions and groups. Lobbyist group are able to control executives and legislations of country and they are recruiting their own man and they are changing the policy as well as regulation in favour of their interests (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2024).

Attacking the Solidarity of People

The solidarity of people is quite dangerous (Chomsky, 2017) to the power and wealth holders. Therefore, the corporate world or wealthy class never think about the welfare and progress of people but they always think about their own interest. They follow the vile maxim which gives emphasis on the interest of the rich and powerful class however they neglect the devastating effects of it to the people. That's why, they do not care about common good of people and hesitate to invest in social security programmes and attack on these issues (Chomski, 2017). It is manifest in Nepal that government has been reducing the fiscal budget in the education sector which was near 20 percent one decade ago but now it has come to near 11 percent in 2024 (Joshi, 2023). Moreover, the government of Nepal has been tried to give the private sector to improve the educational quality of public schools (Ghimire, 2018). This shift appears to be influenced by lobbying and pressure from private investors and educational entrepreneurs.

Similarly, the government has not invested sufficient resources in higher-level education, the government have been ready to provide license to the private sector for medical and technical education. In private schools are made especially to those students from rich classes and who can meet educational expenses (Mahat et al., 2013). Most of the middle class and rich class family with their expenses to educate their child in private schools and universities. However, the public educational institution became the playground of political parties that reduces the chances of getting better education and skill to the people of bottom. That's why, the rich and propertied class and leaders likely to lobby for privatizing these institutions modifying the existing policies relating to the health and education sectors (Parajuli, 2019).

It has been witnessed in recent days, the government is providing licenses and approval to conduct health education and technical education in the private sector. It has been seen in Nepal as burgeoning of medical education and technical education in the last 17 years. Medical education and technical education has become the major attractive sectors for student and parents and lucrative business sectors for the investment for the maximum profit for the business (Mahat et al., 2013) and in which political leaders are considered as an unseen investor. These health and education institutions are fill up with their nearest and closest allies of political leaders.

In past years in Nepal, the appointment of Vice-chancellor, rector and registrar and so on the vital post of university portioned by main leaders of different parties of Nepal. In this context, it can be said that these authorities will work in the sign of leader as to accomplish the political benefit and enhancing the political interest of those who recruited them (Paudel, 2024). The infrastructure of public sector has been collapsed, health care situation is worsening (NHRC, 2022), the educational system is devastated because the negligence of state due to the unethical give and take of elites.

Marginalization of the Population from Mainstreaming of Governance

Political parties and their leaders often neglect the interests and concerns of the populace following elections, instead prioritizing continuous struggles for power and influence. Moreover, those leaders and political activists, who engaged in power turned corrupt and amassed with wealth immorally (Khanal, 2001). The newly born class of political leaders has made their political and bureaucratic authority insensitive, autocratic and blindly obsessed with power and wealth. As a result, the basis of power is not wider public interest, honesty and law, but arrogance, lies, and maneuvering, which is the basic character of the comprador bourgeoisie (Wagle, 2020).

Nepal has faced criticism for failing to implement the social and economic reforms outlined in the constitution's preamble and political party manifestos. This gap between constitutional promises and governance practices has eroded public trust and heightened political disillusionment (Adhikari, 2020). The state has been misusing public opinion with making exploitation by not providing the minimum facilities to the people. The power brokers eager to reach the national legislation in extreme contempt of public opinion and the entire state power have become part of the accumulation of unethical earnings.

Many scholars highlighted that power brokers, driven by personal gain, exploit state resources and manipulate governance processes, further deepening systemic corruption (Bhattarai, 2019). Such practices undermine democratic accountability and disregard public opinion, contributing to the mismanagement of state power and public resources (Subedi, 2024). Addressing these issues is vital for restoring trust in Nepal's

political and administrative systems. It is no coincidence that most of the political parties' leaders are under the influence of corporate house or business group or contractors and seems transformed themselves as comprador bourgeoisie (Bhattarai, 2019).

The welfare of common people is secondary and often it is not cared for at all (Chomsky, 2017). People provided the immense people's verdict and expressing their demand for good governance and pro-people centered policies to the different political parties. However, they undermine the people verdict and their voices. To many policies carried out for welfare of the common people but remained unimplemented. Some policies are associated with interest of vested groups and allies. Education Bill, Land Exchange Bill (Giri Tea Estate and others), Health (Medical) Education Bill, Monetary policy and Bilateral agreements regarding to trade and investment to different countries undermines the maximum welfare of society but these policies are considered as pro-rich, pro-corporate world, pro-private investor. As a consequence, political leaders, bureaucrats and businesspersons are implicated in corruption allegations, and some of them are framed and booked in the court of justice (Rijal, 2020). These deeds marginalize the majority people and strengthens the grips and control of handful persons in every sectors of the state affairs and policies.

Discussion

This study aimed to discuss on the main themes: the reducing the democracy, weakening the constitutional regulatory bodies, attacking the solidarity of people and the marginalization of people regarding to the constitutional rhetoric and political commitment and its true implementation and existing paradoxes frequently emerged when political actors deviates from constitutional and institutional principles in practices, despite strong rhetorical commitments to constitutionalism, democracy and good governance. The constitution serves as a guiding framework, illuminating the path of governance, imparting wisdom to those in power, and instilling a sense of duty and awareness among citizens (Dahal, 2024). The fundamental responsibilities of the government include enhancing the nation's economic and social standards, ensuring the efficient delivery of public services, and safeguarding the safety and welfare of citizens. Furthermore, the government is entrusted with upholding the rule of law and fostering good governance by ensuring adherence to constitutional mandates (Dahal, 2025).

People's expectations have been always remained high in Nepal for higher level of economic development and effective governance which is considered crucial for the establishment and maintenance of stable democracy and successful functioning of democratic systems. However, the political actors and other stakeholders have been unable to develop and reinforce institutions (Sharma, 2010). In Nepal, political actors primarily rely on utility-based justifications for their political actions, downplaying the significance of constitutional and ideological factors. This trend leads to the personalization of politics, where individual interests take precedence over broader principles (Humagain, 2025). This kind of political practices often produce populist politics in response to perceived failure of democracy in developing countries like Nepal.

Frequently, political leaders and authorities have been treating political and social issues as personal matters, providing highly individualized responses and solutions in different social, political and economic contexts and situations (Gupta, Poudyal, & Shrestha, 2019). Furthermore, the recurring tension or conflict between elected leaders and bureaucracies is another common feature of the local level to federal level political landscape of Nepal. The repeated formation and collapse of coalition governments illustrate the misuse of the utility concept in the country's politics. Ideology and policy considerations seem secondary to political calculations in the forming and breaking of political alliances in contemporary Nepal is manifested (Gelal, 2022).

Previously, In Nepal, political parties were in conflict with the monarchy in Nepal. However, the recent struggle remains and revolves around the totalitarian tendencies of political leaders and elites of the state (Dahal, 2025). Political parties have shifted away from their fundamental responsibility of nation-building, instead prioritizing the pursuit of power. Following the restoration of democracy, as political parties gained control, Nepal began to experience the rise of rent-seeking behaviors. (Aditya & Bhatta, 2016).

Education and media as an institution often functions as a mechanism of ideological conformity in society and nations, while corporate media institutions serve to construct consensus among the people (Chomsky & Herman, 1988). However, these institutions have been maintaining and disseminating

knowledge and awareness which are essential in capitalist economy (Mishra & Close, 2019). Private competitive education and corporate media relegates the issues such as economic inequality, labor rights, social justice and welfare in Nepalese society (Pandey, 2021). There may be many reason behind the failure to establish true democracy through implementing the essence and preambles of constitution in Nepal. The primary reasons for the repeated setbacks to democracy in Nepal is the failure to establish robust institutions and systems (Giri, 2021). The political actors and other stakeholders have been unable to develop and reinforce institutions and systems that are inclusive and responsive to the needs of the people. In Nepal most of the political parties, manifestoes and leaderships seems to be populist. These populist leadership and new elites in contrast to traditional elites, and their appeal to lay people is a significant threat to the principles and democracy (Galston, 2018) and undermines the socialist oriented liberal democracy in Nepal.

Conclusion

Nepal's political landscape after the success of people's political movement of 2006 led by political parties and promulgation of the constitution of Nepal, 2015 has shaped the ideal and roadmap with socialist aspirations of people in liberal democratic political settings. However, the political parties of Nepal and their leadership appear to face considerable challenges in upholding the socialist policies and program with liberal democracy accordance with the letter and spirit of the constitution. While some efforts have been made, economic development and employment opportunities remain limited, and progress toward social justice and welfare enhancement has not met anticipated expectations of people in these changing contexts.

The results of the study reveals that issues such as corruption, nepotism, protectionism, and arbitrariness in Nepal may be increasing, with some political leaders and state officials frequently perceived as engaging in questionable transactions and power negotiations. Moreover, there are concerns that constitutional bodies and government institutions operate under significant influence and pressure, often aligning their decisions with political directives rather than strictly adhering to their constitutional and people mandate of Nepal.

Noam Chomsky's theoretical model in "Requiem for the American Dream: The Ten Principles of Concentration of Wealth & Power" appropriate to understand neoliberal policies and globalized capitalism and its impact on socialist aspirations in liberal democracy like Nepal even though it has its limitations to cover the larger part of the study. Due to the nature of study area with its vagueness, it may affect the generalizability of the findings. There are potential areas for the further study, addressing the gaps that remained unexplored in the area of constitution, democracy and good governance of Nepal. In last, Political actors' willingness to honor the constitution may be crucial for its continued relevance and effective functioning.

About Author

Pitambar Dhoj Khadka is a Teaching Assistant in Nararyan Multiple campus, Dailekh Mid-West University. He is M. Phil. Scholar (Sociology) in Nepal Open University.

References

- Adhikari, D. (2020). *Nepal's road to federalism: From the perspective of grassroots democracy*. Research Triangle Institute
- Adhikari, S. & Dhital, A. (2022). *Towards zero tolerance to corruption: Is corruption scenario changing in Nepal*. Nepal Administrative Staff College. <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.16107.87844>.
- Aditya, A. & Bhatta, C.D. (Eds.) (2016). *The role of political parties in deepening democracy in Nepal: A study of party image, issues at stake and agenda building*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
- Bandelj, N., & Mahutga, M. C. (2021). *(In-)equality in socialism and communism*. Social Forces.
- Berman, S., & Snegovaya, M. (2019). Populism and the decline of social democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 30 (3), 5-19. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2019.0038>.
- Bertelsmann Stiftung (2024). *BTI 2024 Country Report, Nepal*. Bertelsmann Stiftung. <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/NPL>
- Bhattarai, B. (2016). The challenges of economic development in Nepal. *Nepal Economic Review*, 28(2), 123-145.

- Bhattarai, B. (2019). Political corruption and public trust in Nepal. *Nepalese Political Science Review*, 5(2), 45–60.
- Blaug, M. (1986). *Great economist before keynes*. Cambridge University Press.
- Brandal, N., Bratberg, Ø., & Thorsen, D. (2013). *The Nordic model of social democracy*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137013279>
- Callinicos, A. (1999). *Social Theory: A Historical Introduction*. Polity Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1989). Necessary Illusions: Thought control in democratic societies. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society*, 11(3), 183-183. <https://doi.org/10.1177/027046769101100328>
- Chomsky, N. (2017). *The requiem for the American dream*. Seven Stories Press.
- Chomsky, N., & Herman, E. (1988). *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Dahal, K. (2024, March 10). Civil service reform blueprint of Nepal. *The Annapurna Express* <https://theannapurnaexpress.com/story/47875/>
- Dahal, D. R. (2024, December 21). Ubiquity of power brokers imperils democracy. *The Rising Nepal*. <https://risingnepaldaily.com/news/54054>.
- Dahal, G. (2017). Democratic practice and good governance in Nepal. *Journal of Political Science*, (XVII), 18-35.
- Dahal, K. (2025, March, 28). Issues necessary for constitutional amendment. *Kantipur Daily*. <https://ekantipur.com/opinion/2025/03/28/essential-issues-of-constitutional-amendment-58-33.html>
- Elkins, Z, Ginsburg, T. & Melton J. (2009). *The endurance of national constitutions*. Cambridge University Press
- Fraser, N. (1997). *Justice interrupts: Critical reflections on the “post-socialist” condition*. Routledge.
- Fukuyama, F. (2014). *Political Order and political Decay: From the industrial revolution to the globalization of democracy*. Profile Books.
- Galston, W. (2018). The populist challenge to liberal democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 29 (2), 5-19. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2018.0020>
- Gautam, D. (2020). An assessment on the constitution of Nepal 2015. *Journal of Political Science*, 20. 46-60. <https://10.3126/jps.v20i0.31794>.
- Gelal, A. (2022, January 29). Shrinking intra-party democracy is a threat to the nascent republic of Nepal. *Onlinekhabar*. <https://english.onlinekhabar.com/shrinking-intra-party-democracy-nepal.html>
- Gellner, D. N. (2019). The Nepal Communist Party and the 2017 elections. *Himalaya, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*, 39(2), 30-44.
- Ghimire, B. (2018, September 28). Privatization in education: Private schools dominate national education. *The Kathmandu Post*. <https://kathmandupost.com/national/2018/09/28/defying-rules-private-schools-dominate-national-education>
- Ghimire, S. & Koirala, K.P. (2019). “Neo-privatization” in Public Schools in Nepal. *Journal of Education and Research*, 9 (1), 46–69. <https://doi.org/10.3126/jer.v9i1.28824>
- Giddens, A. (1998). *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*. Polity Press.
- Giri, A. (2021, February 19). Nepal's Democracy challenges. *The Kathmandu Post*. <https://kathmandupost.com/politics/2021/02/19/nepal-s-democracy-challenges>
- Government of Nepal (2015). *Constitution of Nepal*. Government of Nepal.
- Gupta, A. K., Poudyal, T., & Shrestha, S. (2019). Politicians and bureaucrats relation in local governance of Nepal. *Local Government Quarterly*, (April–June), 5-24. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/339498506_Politicians'_and_Bureaucrats'_Relations_in_Local_Governance_of_Nepal
- Hachhethu, K. (2002). *Party building in Nepal: Organization, leadership and people: A Comparative Study of the Nepali Congress and the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist)*. Mandala Book Point
- Hahnel, R. (2005). *Economic justice and democracy: From competition to cooperation*. Routledge.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press.

- <https://doi.org/10.1080/00313830600743258>
- Humagain, S. (2025). Populist wave in Nepalese politics: Communitarianism, republic citizenship, utility and personalization of politics. *Journal of Political Science*, 23, 167-178.
<https://doi.org/10.3126/jps.v25i1.75780>
- Joshi, B. (2023). Trends in budgeting in the education sector of Nepal. *Interdisciplinary Research in Education*. 8. 146-154. 10.3126/ire.v8i2.60233.
- Kangas, O. & Palme, J. (2005). Social policy and economic development in the Nordic Countries: An introduction. In O. Kangas & J. Palme (Eds.), *Social policy and economic development in the Nordic Countries* (pp. 1-16). Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230523500>
- Kenworthy, L. (2014). America's social democratic future: The arc of policy is long but bends toward justice. *Foreign Affairs*, 93(1), 77-86. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23526939>
- Khanal, A.B. (2020, March 2). Scandals expose conflict over patronage. *The Kathmandu Daily*. <https://kathmandupost.com/columns/2020/03/02/scandals-expose-conflict-over-patronage>
- Khanal, M. (2018). Nepalese tax structure: An analytic perspective. *JMC Research Journal*, VII (1), 15-26. <https://doi.org/10.3126/jmcrj.v7i1.34355>
- Khanal, R. (2001). *Democracy and its challenges and prospects*. Smirti Books.
- Khanal, R. (2006). Peoples' participation in local governance; *Journal of Political Science*, Volume IX (3), 157-176.
- Khatiwada, N. (2023, March 7). Nepal's opposition politics has been a saga of opportunism. *The Kathmandu Post*. <https://kathmandupost.com/politics/2023/03/07/nepal-s-opposition-politics-has-been-a-saga-of-opportunism>
- Kolakowski, L. (1978). *Main currents of Marxism: Its rise, growth, and dissolution*. Oxford University Press.
- Kumar, R. (2019, July 5). The business of politics undermines Nepal's democracy. *Nepali Times*. <https://nepalitimes.com/here-now/the-business-of-politics-undermines-nepal-s-democracy>
- Lipset, S.M. (1959). Some social requisites of democracy: Economic development and political legitimacy. *American Political Science Review*, 53 (1), 69 -105. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1951731>
- Mahat, A., Bezruchka, S.A., Gonzales, V. & Connel, F.A. (2013). Assessment of graduate public health education in Nepal and perceived needs of faculty and students. *Human Resources for Health*, 11 (16). <https://doi.org/10.1186/1478-4491-11-16>
- Martin, J.M. & Swank, D. (2012). *The political construction of business interests: Coordination, growth and equality*. Cambridge University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139088299>
- Miliband, R. (1977). *Marxism and Politics*. Oxford University Press.
- Mishra, P., & Close, K. (2020). The Value of School. *ECNU Review of Education*, 3(3), 576-583. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2096531120926687>
- Myint, U. (2000). Corruption: Causes, consequences and cures. *Asia-Pacific Development Journal*. 7(2), 33-58. <https://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/apdj-7-2-2-Myint.pdf>
- NHRC, (2022). *Promote equitable access to quality health services (Policy brief)*. Nepal Health Research Council.
- Oberlander, J. (2010). The ten years' war: Politics, partisanship, and the ACA. *Health Affairs*, 29(6), 1113-1121. <https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2019.01444>
- Pandey, S. (2017). Healthcare reforms in Nepal: Achievements and challenges. *Journal of Health Policy and Planning*, 32(3), 245-252. <https://www.nepjol.info/index.php/JNHRC/issue/view/1534>
- Parajuli, L. (2019). School as an arena of Struggle: Reexamining the Panchayat era politics of education. *Studies in Nepali History and Society* 24(2), 381-414.
<https://www.martinchautari.org.np/storage/files/sinhas-vol24-no2-article-lokranjan-parajuli.pdf>
- Paudel, K. (2024, February, 17). Liberating academia from partisan politics. *The Kathmandu Post*. <https://kathmandupost.com/columns/2024/02/17/liberating-academia-from-partisan-politics>
- Rijal, M. (2020, March 12). Politics, money and corruption. *The Rising Nepal*.
<https://risingnepaldaily.com/opinion/politics-money-and-corruption>
- Sharma, S. R. (2006). Foreign aid and development in Nepal. *Journal of Development Studies*, 42(1), 24-47.

- Sharma, S.R. (2014) Nepal's experiment with development aid. In S.R Sharma, B. R. Upreti, P. Manandhar, & M. Sapkota (Eds.), *Contested Development in Nepal: Experiences and Reflections* (pp. 105-120). <https://kuso.edu.np/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/contested-development.pdf>
- Sharma, S.S. (2010). The long and winding road of state building. In B.R. Upreti, S.S Sharma, K.N. Pyakurel, & S. Ghimire (Eds.), *The Remake of a State: Post-conflict Challenges and State Building in Nepal* (pp. 305-311). Human and Natural Resources Studies Centre. <https://www.nccr.org.np/uploads/publication/40c688cbcaa307ca25a790f3c3c46723.pdf>
- Subedi, M. (2024). The level of corruption in democratic republic of Nepal: An in-depth analysis of root causes, governance impact, and potential solutions. *Contemporary Research an Interdisciplinary Academic Journal* 7(1):39-58. <https://doi.org/10.3126/craiaj.v7i1.67252>
- Subedi, M. S. (2005). Corruption in Nepal: An anthropological inquiry. *Dhaulagiri Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 1, 110-128. <https://www.nepjol.info/index.php/DSAJ/article/view/283>
- Sundaram, J. K., & Chowdhury, A. (2012) Introduction: Governance and development. In Sundaram, J. K., & Chowdhury, A. (Eds.), (2012). *Is good governance good for development?* (pp.1-28). Bloomsbury Academic.
- The Kathmandu Post. (2020, January 16). *Hope and despair in Nepal*. The Kathmandu Post. <https://kathmandupost.com/columns/2020/01/16/hope-and-despair-in-nepal>
- Towah, W. D. (2019). The impact of good governance and stability on sustainable development in Ghana. Dissertation of Philosophy of Doctor, Walden University.
- Upreti, B. R. (2004). Dynamics of resource governance, resource scarcity and conflict in Nepal, *Journal of Forest and Livelihoods*, 4(1), 13-18. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237329165_Dynamics_of_Resource_Governance_Resource_Scarcity_and_Conflict_in_Nepal
- Wagle A. (2024, September 23). Perils of shrinking-revenue. *The Rising Nepal*. <https://kathmandupost.com/columns/2024/09/23/perils-of-shrinking-revenue>
- Wagle, A. (2020, September 21). दलाल मार्क्सवाद र लम्पट सर्वहाराहरू. *The Kantipur Dailey*. <https://ekantipur.com/opinion/2020/09/21/16006534557385156.html>
- Wagle, A. (2024, September 9). Socialism: A national 'bluff': Nepali political parties are competing to prove themselves purer socialists than others. *The kathmandu Post*. <https://kathmandupost.com/columns/2024/09/09/socialism-a-national-bluff>
- Wimmer, C. & Engster, F. (2023). In/Equality in socialism and communism. In Jodhka S. S. & Rehbein, B. (eds.), *Global Handbook of Inequality* (PP.1-24). Springer Nature. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-97417-6_91-1
- Wright, E. O. (2010). *Envisioning Real Utopias*. Verso. <https://www.aacademica.org/erik.olin.wright/46>