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Foreign Policy in People's Multiparty Democracy

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ABSTRACT

Foreign policy refers to the set of strategies and actions implemented by a state to manage its relationships with other countries, derived from various sources. This paper explores the outlook on foreign policy as mentioned in the work of Madan Bhandari and his theory of People's Multiparty Democracy (PMPD). Although PMPD represents a pioneering effort by Bhandari to theorize Nepal's socio-political dynamics, encompassing several segments of society through its fourteen characteristics, the foreign policy aspect of PMPD remains under-researched in academic literature. In this context, using both primary and secondary data sources, this article first examines the emergence of Bhandari, then Secretary General of the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist), in the Nepali political landscape. Additionally, by exploring the theoretical framework of PMPD as proposed by Bhandari, the paper aims to analyze both the international and domestic political contexts to understand the evolution of PMPD as a political theory. Specifically, it examines the outlook on foreign policy within the PMPD framework, identifying the objectives and principles considered. The scope of this research is that it contributes to the academic literature by providing a detailed analysis of the foreign policy perspective under PMPD and opens avenues for investigating the application of PMPD by the CPN (UML) during their tenure in the government.

Introduction

Foreign policy refers to the set of strategies and actions implemented by a state to manage its relationships with other countries or international organizations to safeguard and advance its interests within the international system. Hans Morgenthau (1948) argues that foreign policy revolves around the pursuit of power and national interests within the international system. According to Kenneth Waltz (1948), state behavior is shaped by the anarchic nature of global politics, and foreign policy is influenced by the international system. Henry Kissinger (1994) highlights the concept of realpolitik, stressing the strategic and pragmatic

elements of foreign affairs. Joseph Nye (2004) broadens the scope of foreign policy to include soft power, where influence is achieved through attraction and persuasion rather than coercion. Therefore, foreign policy has remained a key part of nations' strategy for survival, which is an outcome of several domestic and international factors.

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 ended the chaos of the Cold War (Hanson, 2014). Between the years of the disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the United States of America (USA)-led capitalist globalization ready for take-off, there were many significant

political developments across the world, including in Nepal. The fall of the Berlin Wall gave USA-led capitalist globalization unprecedented and unchallenged heights, which made people question the relevance of communism. The end of the Cold War and the disarray of events created space for global frustration against communism. Fukuyama (1992) claimed that the debate of communism vs. capitalism had officially ended, considering that the end form of governance is liberal democracy (qtd. in Roth, 1993).

In this backdrop, the emergence of Madan Bhandari in the Nepali political spectrum received vibrant support as his political theory, 'People's Multiparty Democracy: A Program of Nepali Revolution' (PMPD), gained significant support inside and outside the party's landscape (Karki, 2023). It was Bhandari's rhetoric that made him popular among the general public (Karki, 2023). The document itself legitimized Bhandari's theory through greater public acceptance. Amid the global crisis of communism that reverberated across the world in the later years of the 20th century, PMPD emerged as a remarkable fusion that melded the traditional tenets of communism with a distinctive Nepali flavor, seamlessly integrating elements of democracy and socialism (Pokhrel, 2023). PMPD officially became a guiding principle of the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist) (CPN [UML]) after the Seventh National General Convention. However, it had been fully endorsed at the Fifth National General Convention held in 1993; it touched upon various spectrums of society, including socio-economic and domestic and international political movements (Dhakal, 2023).

However, Bhandari's innovative approach sought to address Nepal's specific context while navigating the tumultuous currents of global political upheaval. The theory is nuanced with a pragmatic framework that has aimed to harmonize domestic and international situations all within the broader goal of achieving socialism through democratic practices. The availability of literature in the form of journals and papers suggests that PMPD has received very little attention in the academic landscape and there is still room for research. There is a gap in academic research that specifically deals with PMPD's ideas on foreign relations. For example, Pokhrel (2023) argues that People's Multiparty Democracy (PMPD) has significantly shaped Nepal's political landscape since 1990. This legacy is rooted in the foundational work of Bhandari, who creatively wove democratic principles into the fabric of PMPD, whose innovative approach breathed new life into communism, especially during the global crisis triggered by the collapse of the USSR in 1991 (Dhakal, 2023). Bhandari's vision diverged from classical Marxist theory. His theoretical contributions were instrumental in steering Nepal's left movement away from traditional communist dogma (Pokhrel, 2023). By blending Marxism with the Nepali context, he provided a unique framework for understanding class dynamics and production relations in Nepal, maintaining a differing viewpoint on feudalism, imperialism, expansionism, and comprador capitalism and socialism. Pokhrel (2023:119) states that CPN (UML) has validated its acceptance of PMPD's value while leading the government during various phases, whether during Manmohan Adhikari's tenure as Prime Minister or KP Sharma Oli as head of the government.

Bhusal (2012) asserts that People's Multiparty Democracy (PMPD) advocates for a non-aligned and independent stance for Nepal. PMPD contends that forcibly establishing a socialist state without sufficient development of a sovereign and independent national economy would ultimately lead to the state's premature downfall. This perspective resonates well with Nepal's political context, as historical events have demonstrated the perils of such an approach.

The work of Rai (2023) touches upon the personality of Bhandari and his strong stance on a nation-first policy. Rai revisits how Bhandari

strongly argued in favor of national interest during several neighborhood policy irritants, including the infamous Tanakpur Treaty. Although PMPD, as postulated by Bhandari, keeps national interest at its core, Pokhrel (2023, pp. 91–114) argues that CPN (UML) has yet to match the footsteps of Bhandari's works.

Although numerous writings exist on PMPD's outlook on various aspects of the contemporary world, foreign policy is just one of the fourteen characteristics of PMPD. There remains a research gap in academia concerning its objective and independent examination in the context of foreign policy, which this article aims to address.

Methodology

Research design and analysis method

The researcher draws from both primary and secondary data sources. Primary data sources include the original texts produced by Bhandari, while secondary data involves academic literature available on PMPD. The analysis employed in this research is content analysis, which involves identifying and categorizing specific characteristics within the text. By examining the content thoroughly, the researcher gains insights into patterns, themes, and underlying meanings of the texts, through which the findings of the study are presented in an analytical and descriptive format. This means that the results are not only summarized but also interpreted and explained. Furthermore, the events of global and domestic politics are viewed through process tracing to track the evolution of PMPD as a political theory, for which both physical and online sources have been explored.

Data sources

In this study, primary data are collected from firsthand accounts and observations found in diverse libraries and archives. These primary data sources include documents such as party constitutions, party regulations, election manifestos, political reports, and other relevant documents of the CPN (UML). By delving into these sources, the researcher has interpreted the documents based on the theme and objectives of the research. However, the research does not solely rely on primary sources of data. While primary data provide direct information that is not filtered, secondary data drawn from existing sources offer additional context and background to the research. To analyze the primary data, the researcher employs two key methods: content analysis and archival research. This systematic technique involves examining the content of documents to identify patterns, themes, and recurring elements (Drisko & Maschi, 2016). By accessing archival records, the researcher explores historical documents stored in libraries and repositories. These materials provide crucial context and allow for a comprehensive analysis of primary data. The researcher has also considered secondary sources in the study. These include relevant books, academic journals, and reputable websites.

Results and Discussion

Global socio-political context

PMPD represents the fusion of several elements, from the aftereffects of past revolutions to the subtleties of modern socio-political environments. As a result, People's Multiparty Democracy captures the essence of global phenomena, extending beyond national lines and representing the diverse interests and goals of both local and global audiences. For example, Bhandari's paper and remarks presented in Calcutta in 1993 made a significant departure from the classical Marxian idea (Dhakal, 2023).

The emergence of the USSR in 1922 signaled a shift in the global geopolitical landscape, initiating a protracted era of ideological confrontation spanning nearly a century between the United States and the Soviet Union (Marples, 2011). Under Vladimir Lenin, the October Revolution of 1917 paved the way for the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) a few years later, ushering in a new epoch of

communist governance that lasted for almost seven decades. Despite its initial policy of isolationism in foreign affairs, the United States was drawn into World War II after Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in December 1941 (Nordlinger, 1996).

Between the years of the First and Second World Wars, the seeds of ideological confrontation began to germinate. However, it finally started to show signs institutionalized with the formation of the formalized institutions North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949 and the counter-security bloc, the Warsaw Pact led by the USSR, in 1955 (Schlesinger, 1967).

During the tumultuous years between the First and Second World Wars, the seeds of ideological confrontation began to grow between the USA and the USSR, sowing discord that would ultimately define much of the 20th century (Wagner, 1978). However, it was not until the post-World War II era that these ideological fault lines were formalized and institutionalized on the global stage. The year 1949 became a pivotal moment with the establishment of NATO, a collective security alliance formed by the Western bloc led by the USA, which in response gave birth to the USSR-led Warsaw Pact in 1955 (Wagner, 1978). This institutionalization of two security blocs intensified the bipolar division of the world into two competing spheres of influence: the Western capitalist bloc and the Eastern communist bloc, where these ideological divisions created global chaos filled with everyday uncertainties. The formation of security blocs like NATO and the Warsaw Pact culminated in ideological differences, ushering in a new era of geopolitical rivalry and tension known as the Cold War.

Persistent endeavors to avoid confrontations were increasingly ineffective, exemplified by the Geneva Agreement of 1954's inability to uphold its intended aims, which led North and South Vietnam to fight with one another. Tensions escalated dramatically during the Cuban Missile Crisis, almost bringing the USA and USSR to the brink of war. Against a backdrop of escalating global uncertainty and chaos, smaller and less involved nations sought refuge from the vicissitudes of the Cold War. Amidst this tumultuous landscape, the Bandung Conference of 1955 emerged as a pivotal moment, heralding the birth of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) to provide an alternative to the Cold War. The NAM allowed countries to avoid superpower rivalry, offering a path characterized by non-alignment.

A series of negotiations, such as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks I (SALT I) and SALT II, as well as the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties I and II (START I & START II), failed to yield concrete results and getmaterialized.

Meanwhile, the emergence of Mikhail Gorbachev as the USSR leader brought about a shift in the USSR's position with the US. Gorbachev's tenure was marked by a significant departure from the policies of his predecessors as he embarked on a path of restructuring and openness known as 'glasnost' and 'perestroika' (Gidadhubli, 1987). These reforms, while intended to revitalize the USSR, brought opposite results, which prompted its demise. Gorbachev's leadership from the early days signaled the end for the Soviet Union, as it was unable to sustain its existence due to mounting economic, political, and social upheaval. The symbolic moment of this decades-long event came with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 (Brown, 2009). The disintegration of the USSR and the dissolution of the Soviet bloc into 15 republics brought a profound restructuring of geopolitical power dynamics, paving the way for US-led capitalist globalization. Authors like Francis Fukuyama declared that the highest and final form of governance is US-led liberal democracy, as communism had no future.

Domestic socio-political context

King Mahendra's royal coup in December 1960 significantly shaped the political landscape of Nepal, marked by significant instability and upheaval. The coup dismantled the B. P. Koirala-led democratically elected government, dissolved the parliament, and inaugurated a partyless panchayat system, concentrating all state power under the monarchy (Yadav, 2012). To facilitate the panchayat system, King Mahendra promulgated the Panchayati constitution in 1962, which sparked widespread discontent among various political factions within the country. The abrupt dissolution of the democratically elected government was unwelcome to many. The Communist Party of Nepal (CPN), in particular, found itself at odds with the new regime from the outset of the Delhi Accord. The party's dissatisfaction only deepened following King Mahendra's consolidation of power, viewing it as a setback for their aspirations of social and political change, which eventually led to 30 years of political disarray. In the wake of these tumultuous events, Nepal grappled with profound uncertainties (Mishra, 2001). The abrupt shift away from democracy and the consolidation of power by the monarchy created chaos, as the subsequent years saw various struggles that shaped the course of Nepal's political development.

King Birendra, ascended the throne after King Mahendra died in 1972, igniting hope that the Eton graduate would opt for political liberalization. However, the fate remained largely unchanged as the panchayat system continued (Whelpton, 2005). Civil and political unrest grew, with voices echoing demands for democratic reforms. King Birendra held a national referendum in 1980 to choose between retaining a reformed Panchayat system or a multiparty democracy. The Panchayat faction won, but dissatisfaction persisted, fueled by news of a rigged election to let the panchayat win, leading to increased political unrest during the 1980s (Baral, 2012). During this period,

protests, strikes, and civil disobedience multiplied against the panchayat system, supported by various political parties, student unions, and civil society groups. The situation reached a pinnacle and turned into a civil movement (Jana Andolan I), a mass uprising demanding the establishment of multiparty democracy and the abolition of the partyless panchayat system (Hoftun, Raeper, & Whelpton, 1999).

Amid growing protests on the domestic front and relentless international pressure, King Birendra lifted the ban on political parties in April 1990, dissolved the panchayat system, and agreed to form an interim government in coalition with democratic forces. The interim government contributed to drafting a new constitution, which was promulgated in November 1990, establishing a constitutional monarchy with a multiparty parliamentary system.

The restoration of multiparty democracy ended 30 years of political repression and centralization, institutionalizing democratic elections, political pluralism, and the protection of fundamental rights.

Evolution of PMPD: Events and ideals

The Nepali state has been very fertile for communism because of the deep-rooted feudal structure at both societal and state levels. The repercussions of the familial feudalistic regime of the Ranas played a key role in this, as the Nepal Communist Party (NCP) was established on April 22, 1949, under the leadership of Pushpa Lal Shrestha. As events unfolded, communist parties became more pronounced within the machinery of the state apparatus. For example, the Delhi Accord of 1951 was not accepted by the CPN, highlighting the divergence of ideological perspectives within the political landscape (KC, 2012). Although democracy was established, it was still in its infancy and emerging; vestiges of feudalism stubbornly persisted in the government's attitudes. These shadows, cast by centuries-old feudal power structures, obscured the possibility of reform, presenting formidable challenges to

the newly established democracy. Taking over the power of the democratically elected B. P. Koirala government, King Mahendra instituted a nationwide ban on political parties. The ban forced the communist parties beyond national boundaries and beneath the oppressive surface. Amidst this covert landscape, a complex tapestry of political ideologies emerged, with many communist factions independently aligning themselves with classical Marxist legacies, though never fully uniting. Yet, even within these ideological boundaries, there was a need for political leadership to take on the responsibility of restoring democracy (Dhakal, 2023).

Bhandari, along with his elder brother, went to India to pursue higher education and became well-known for his awareness of political developments in his home country. During his time as an undergraduate student, Bhandari closely watched the developments inside and outside the region, which led him to engage deeply with the evolving socio-political landscape of that era. It was in the city of Dehradun where Bhandari found himself drawn to the vibrant community of Nepali youth espousing communist ideologies, resonating with the principles of communism, and contributing to communist writings (Dhakal, 2023). After two years, in 1969, Bhandari returned to Banaras as a committed communist. He wasted no time in formalizing his allegiance to the greater cause and seeking out party membership from Pushpa Lal.

During these years, B. P. Koirala was also in India after being released from prison. Pushpa Lal had hoped to collaborate with the Nepali Congress to spark a mass movement, but this did not happen. Pushpa Lal was also unable to find common ground among other communist parties to form a coalition against the palace (KC, 2012). At this point, Bhandari sought a new direction, leaving Pushpa Lal to join forces with rebels in the Jhapa district. As a graduate of vibrant Indian universities of the time, Bhandari was well-informed about global political developments. The failure of classical communism around the world and Nepal's reluctance accept the guerrilla warfare prompted him to align more with the 'new left' with democratic values rather than Moscow-led communism (Levitt, 1979). The germination of PMPD, with Bhandari's full commitment to democratic values, was cemented after he successfully led the rebelling youths of Jhapa towards peaceful means of revolt. PMPD's emergence offered a beacon of hope and inspiration, providing an alternative to the cycles of classical Marxism with Bhandari's popular saying of applying Marxism creatively. This is why Bhandari eventually convinced the youths in Jhapa that 'violence' could not be sustained in the long run as it had run out of fuel on the global scale.

Many factions of the movement were centered around the Coordination Committee (Ko-Ke), which eventually evolved into the Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist-Leninist) (CPN [ML]). In later years, Bhandari maintained his position that multiparty democracy was the right approach, eventually persuading party leaders not to use violence in revolt, despite not having a defined political position (Pokhrel, 2023).

In 1989, Bhandari was elected as the General Secretary of the CPN (ML). Having witnessed Pushpa Lal's failed attempts to unite political parties, Bhandari recognized the necessity of uniting all political parties to make the revolution successful (Pokhrel, 2023). On that ground, he began efforts to form a coalition with the left and the Nepali Congress, ultimately succeeding, which gave the 2046 movement more momentum and ensured the restoration of multiparty democracy. Bhandari's astute leadership and unwavering commitment to inclusive political mobilization elevated him to greater heights as he became the General Secretary of the unified political party CPN (UML) after the merger of CPN (ML) and CPN (Marxist) (Karki, 2023).

Bhandari started to emerge as a strong communist leader with his creative Marxist application in Nepali land given the catchy phrase 'based on Nepali characteristics' coupled with his spectacular oratorical skills to mobilize the masses, as his victory against popular sitting Prime Minister Krishna Prasad Bhattarai made international highlights. His international height could be deduced when Newsweek published his interview mentioning 'In Nepal, Karl Marx Lives'. In the interview, he firmly stood to the multiparty-based democratic ideals, Bhandari while asked about the sustainability of communism in the face of other countries' communist failure to keep up said,

> The main objective of communism is to eliminate exploitation, corruption, and injustice from society. If there have been some mistakes in the past while implementing that policy, it does not mean that the objective of communism has failed. In the case of our party, we have decided to establish democracy and will take power only after we get the mandate from the people. (Bhandari, 1991, p. 58).

Bhandari's strong philosophical and pragmatic ideals made him very popular within his party. His concretized theory of 'People's Multiparty Democracy,' which serves as a guiding principle for the CPN (UML), received overwhelming endorsement at the Fifth National General Convention held in 1993.

The materialization of PMPD stems from both global scenarios, mainly the Cold War between the USA and the USSR and the philosophical polarization between capitalist and communist regimes, as well as the domestic situation that demanded democracy through revolutionary events. Therefore, Bhandari's foreign policy vision, which is part of the broader PMPD theory, is deeply rooted in both global and national contexts.

PMPD's foreign policy outlook

Bhandari's influence on People's Multiparty Democracy (PMPD) blends his depth of philosophical insights with pragmatic viewpoints of the country's socio-economic landscape. Bhandari's philosophical outlook, rooted in Marxism-Leninism, has significantly shaped his ideas and their application to the Nepali context. For example, his ideas of freedom, equality, social justice, and values serve as a philosophical baseline. Additionally, his ability to adapt philosophical ideas to the local context and address immediate challenges faced by the people in Nepal reflects his pragmatic approach to blending both. Bhandari's philosophical vision encompasses various aspects characterized as the fourteen characteristics of PMPD, including foreign policy, within the framework of People's Multiparty Democracy (Bhandari, 1993, p. 14).

Bhandari's contribution to the Nepali socio-political arena stems from two angles. First, the international situation, where Moscow-based communism had already failed, marked the takeoff point of neo-liberal economic globalization guaranteed by the Washington Consensus and led to mass pessimism towards communism. Bhandari, who studied in Indian universities during the height of emergency rule in India and amidst several unfolding global events, had a sound understanding of international relations. He realized that Nepal could not remain isolated from global events. Nepal's progress toward democracy and its attitude toward foreign policy were influenced by the dynamics of the Cold War era, ideological conflicts, and power rivalries among major states. Nepal needed a realistic foreign policy to deal with global developments. Bhandari's analysis of Nepal's socio-political landscape identifies Nepal as a state combining elements of both semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism, a condition that can only be overcome through the establishment of a strong

manufacturing-based national capital. His evaluation of the national situation was guided by the idea that there is a necessity for a national consensus on foreign policy while remaining in line with multiparty democracy. This could entail upholding neutrality, establishing diplomatic relations, encouraging economic collaboration, and defending national interests simultaneously. Therefore, PMPD's foreign policy objectives are based on protecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence, and nationality of the country, emphasizing the conduct of foreign relations based on policies of non-alignment, independence, and progressiveness (Bhandari, 1993).

Prioritizing neighborhood

Bhandari presented his ideas at the CPN (UML)'s Fifth National General Convention and received widespread support and endorsement. Given Nepal's landlocked geographical position, which poses significant challenges in building a national capital, it is important to establish relationships with neighboring countries based on principles of friendship and equality (Bhandari, 1993, pp. 1–7). When asked about changes in foreign relations with India, Bhandari insisted on conducting relations based on mutual respect.

> Regarding India, there have been some unequal and humiliating treaties in the past. We will review the treaty and try to update it. We want to remove provisions that are insulting and unequal to us. One thing we want is to maintain amicable relations with both China and India. We do not want to be pro-China or pro–India. (Bhandari, 1991, p: 58).

Aryal (2021) believes that Bhandari's actions and expressions have always prioritized friendship with neighboring countries while keeping national interest as a prime concern (Aryal, 2021, pp. 4–5). Bhandari's speech

in parliament proves his stance on national interest. In the 33rd meeting of the lower house of the assembly, Bhandari presented his ideas on why the Tanakpur Treaty was under the jurisdiction of both upper and lower houses. His address in parliament comprehensively explained why the Tanakpur Treaty was not the right decision at that moment (Aryal, 2021: 24–35).

Panchasheel and non-alignment

Panchasheel and Bhandari's notion of non-alignment continue to be principal ideas in the management of international relations. Among the 14 characteristics of PMPD, on conduct of foreign relations Bhandari stressed based on the principles of Panchasheel (Bhandari, 1992). The paper presented at the 5th NC expresses the conduct of relations between neighboring countries based on the Panchasheel principle (Bhandari, 1993, p. 14). His acknowledgment of the NAM's significance comes as a forum for opposing racism, colonialism, aggression, hegemony, imperialism, interference, nuclear proliferation, and war (Bhandari, 1993). However, the movement was also noteworthy for its support of national independence and social liberty. Bhandari believes that it still needs to be taken into account when establishing principle-based pragmatic policies.

The geopolitical angle in Nepali political spectrums has immensely contributed to the emergence of Bhandari and PMPD's foreign policy outlook, which has made the neighborhood a primary concern. One of Nepal's weaknesses has been its geographical landlocked status. Bhandari has placed a high value on developing friendly relations with China and India, its neighboring countries (*Kantipur*, 2017). The primary element that has been taken into consideration is ensuring amicable and equal relations between the two neighboring countries. Stressing upon the revision of unequal treaties of the past

and also becoming attentive to one another's legitimate interests, PMPD's perspective on the neighborhood is based on the strong foundations that strictly lie on mutual respect and benefit (Shahi, 2021).

Regionalism and multilateralism

Bhandari's position on regionalism and multilateralism reflects his extensive ideas in international political economy and realpolitik pragmatism. While PMPD has placed a high priority on building ties with nations across the globe, it has also emphasized the importance of strengthening the UN to guarantee its independence and effectiveness. In terms of regionalism, PMPD supports the idea that SAARC should act as a unifying regional organization while also promoting stronger connections among its member countries. PMPD's philosophy identifies regional integration as an important tool that could overcome Nepal's geographical limitations (CPN UML, 1993).

International law and peace

The value of world peace in Bhandari's writings encapsulates the recognition and prioritization of peace as a fundamental principle and goal of PMPD, which gives importance to international law and rejects all forms of aggression in the conduct of foreign relations (Bhandari, 1993). Solidarity against acts of human rights abuses, arms races, regional wars, direct attacks, and adherence to international law remains PMPD's highest aspiration and an active commitment to promoting global harmony, which also protects the rights of landlocked countries (Bhandari, 1993).

Therefore, the foreign policy perspective of People's Multiparty Democracy (PMPD) is shaped by both state and system levels of analysis. PMPD's philosophical base includes geographical considerations that play a pivotal role in determining immediate national interests. Simultaneously, at the system level, the international distribution of power and the presence of various regimes on the global stage have exerted an influence on PMPD's approach to international relations. All in all, the integration of state and system levels has directed in crafting PMPD's foreign policy framework that not only addresses immediate concerns but also is cognizant of broader international variables.

Conclusion

Bhandari's contribution to Nepali politics not only concretized the philosophical and pragmatic orientation into a materialized form but also brought new vibrations to classical communist ideologies. His ideas through PMPD gave communism a new birth amidst a dearth of creativity looming around. By infusing fresh perspectives into classical communist ideologies, which were experiencing a crisis and lacked creativity, Bhandari revitalized communist ideologies through their successful application in Nepal's political discourse.

PMPD became the vessel through which Bhandari's vision found expression, offering a platform for the materialization of his ideas into concrete policies and actions. His approach struck a balance between ideological clarity and pragmatic relevance, resonating with the aspirations of a populace eager for changes in the Nepali political landscape.

His demarcation of clear boundaries on almost every aspect of the socio-political horizon can be found in PMPD's philosophical outlook. Most importantly, the democratization of the regime counts as a significant contribution, including in foreign policy.

All in all, Bhandari's conceptualization of foreign policy revolves around the intricate interplay of two key factors: 'geography' and the 'international system'. These elements serve as the key determinants in the theorization of his strategic vision for Nepal's engagement with the global community. His nuanced understanding of geography has contributed to his recognition of the inherent constraints and opportunities

posed by Nepal's geographical location, which lies between two major nations. Moreover, Bhandari's analysis also extended beyond geographical boundaries to acknowledge the broader and complex dynamics of the international system, including international law, world peace, regional integration, and multilateralism.

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