

Philosophical and Ideological Foundations Guiding People's Multiparty Democracy

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ABSTRACT

People's Multiparty Democracy (PMPD), formulated by Madan Bhandari as the guiding ideological principle of the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist–Leninist) (CPN [UML]), emerged from the distinctive historical experiences of both the Nepali and international communist movements at a moment of profound global ideological contestation. Situated at the intersection of Marxist theory and the concrete socio-political realities of a multiethnic, multilingual, and geographically diverse society, PMPD constitutes a systematic attempt to reconceptualize the foundations of progressive social transformation. This study examines PMPD as a creative and innovative development of Marxism, interrogating its philosophical, ideological, and theoretical underpinnings through a qualitative analysis of primary theoretical texts, academic literature, and historical documentation tracing the evolution of Marxist thought. The findings reveal that PMPD introduces substantive innovations to classical Marxist theory: while orthodox Marxism locates the origins of discrimination, exploitation, and oppression exclusively in economic relations and class structures, PMPD advances the proposition that the diversity inherent in nature itself generates social plurality, rendering differences in ideas, beliefs, and consciousness additional sources of domination and inequality. To address this expanded understanding of social contradiction, Bhandari introduced the principles of democratic competition and initiative as instruments of political governance, complemented by an emphasis on democratic organizational practice and collective leadership—The significance of PMPD resides in its theoretically grounded yet empirically validated argument that political legitimacy must be secured and renewed through periodic electoral consent—a proposition affirmed by the CPN (UML)'s electoral achievements during a period when communist movements worldwide were confronting deep organizational and ideological crises. As such, PMPD represents a distinctive and enduring contribution to contemporary Marxist thought.

Introduction

Many political leaders, intellectuals, and scholars have engaged in debates on the concept of People's Multiparty Democracy (PMPD). The central focus

of these debates has been the ideological foundation of PMPD as a means of achieving social prosperity and individual happiness. Philosophers have been advancing ideas since the dawn of human

civilization. For nearly 160,000 years after the emergence of modern humans, humankind lived a largely unconscious and passive existence confined to the cycle of birth and death. However, following the biological mutation that occurred around 70,000 years ago, humans underwent a cognitive revolution that enabled them to think about, inquire into, and explore things they had never before seen, heard, touched, or experienced. This unique human capacity gave rise to aspirations and contributed to the formation of society (Harari, 2014).

People gradually began to organize themselves. As long as there was no scarcity of the resources and materials necessary for survival, human consciousness was not a decisive factor. The social relations that developed during this period were not discriminatory; in other words, people within groups did not experience relations marked by inequality. With the continuous growth of curiosity and the search for new resources, technology developed, and changes emerged in production relations. Conditions arose in which control over produced goods became possible. Competition for the control of resources began. Religions and sects developed as means of establishing dominance and authority. State power emerged to regulate and balance society. As a result, discriminatory social relations gradually evolved. Great wars took place, and empires continued to expand. Society began to fragment because of these inequalities and conflicts.

To revive human civilization, which had been burdened by conflicts and counter-conflicts, intellectual movements emerged in the fields of art, literature, science, and human welfare. From this process, new ideas and theories were developed. Various theories were formulated to protect the existence of human civilization and to make life prosperous and meaningful. Philosophers developed ideas on the basis of the universal laws of nature and the experiences accumulated throughout the course of human civilization. As the latest link in this historical chain, the CPN (UML), under the leadership of Madan Bhandari,

developed the principle of PMPD (Belbase, 2015). Initially, PMPD was interpreted as a program for the transformation of Nepali society. Later, through an analysis of the universal character of its propositions, it came to be defined as a principle of social transformation.

The nature of matter is dynamic. Consequently, the consciousness reflected and expressed through it is also inherently dynamic. Objects, societies, and events are in a constant state of change. Human thoughts, desires, and aspirations continuously evolve. Ideas constantly emerge in the human mind and are expressed through various means. Only through continuous inquiry and analysis can humanity move closer to the truth of life and the world. The scenes, actions, and reactions visible on the surface are merely external manifestations of reality. Therefore, many human expressions tend to be subjective and self-centered. Under such conditions, illusions may also arise. Human curiosity not only creates new possibilities but also gives rise to various anxieties and uncertainties. If such fears become dominant, society may even move in a regressive direction. Curiosity continuously reshapes aspirations according to time, place, and context. When such aspirations exceed natural limits, they take the form of ambition. When these ambitions remain unfulfilled, they manifest as frustration, which can drive individuals, organizations, society, and even the state toward conflict and disintegration. To regulate and guide such tendencies, ideology and theory become necessary (Pahari, 2025).

Due to globalization, capital has expanded in an unprecedented manner and has increasingly developed into a global economic empire. Rapid advances in science and technology have made both human resources and capital highly mobile, while international trade has gained new momentum, making the world resemble a “global village.” In such a context, production relations have changed. The forms of discrimination have also changed, yet discrimination, exploitation, repression, and oppression continue to persist. The vision of a

prosperous and happy society founded on justice, equality, independence, and inclusiveness remains a distant goal.

Even today, in various countries, power centers and forces seeking to maintain global hegemony spread hatred and hostility within communities through social media and digital platforms in pursuit of their vested interests. They create limitless aspirations among people while promoting ethnic supremacy and fanaticism. Such forces misuse public sentiment for populist purposes. As a result, people are increasingly trapped in new forms of manipulation, and social inequality continues to widen.

Methodology

This study employs a qualitative research methodology to examine the philosophical foundations of PMPD. Data were gathered exclusively from secondary sources, including academic articles, research reports, dissertations, books, and literary works related to philosophy, Marxism, Leninism, and the scientific laws of nature. Additional materials were drawn from library collections and scholarly writings on social transformation.

The analysis focuses on four interrelated thematic areas: the philosophical and theoretical basis of PMPD; the role of Marxism and Leninism as frameworks for progressive social transformation; the nature of class struggle and its centrality to societal change; and the sources of inequality in society, encompassing both economic factors and the diversity inherent in nature and geography.

Through systematic interpretation of the collected literature, the study investigates how PMPD synthesizes classical Marxist-Leninist principles with broader civilizational experiences—including historical reforms, democratic achievements, and lessons from the international communist movement—into a coherent and contemporary theoretical framework. The research situates this analysis within the wider context of global civilizational development, technological

advancement, and persisting social contradictions, thereby establishing PMPD as both a philosophy and a theory of social transformation.

Results and Discussion

Philosophy and PMPD

The study of the interrelationship between life and the world, matter and consciousness, and the governing laws of nature and society falls within the scope of philosophy. In a broader sense, the understanding of truth and reality, as well as the laws governing the development and change of life and the world, falls within the domain of philosophy (Nepal, 2022).

Philosophy explains the nature, scope, and limits of human knowledge. It also clarifies the limits of what can be understood about any subject. It explores whether there are ideas beyond our current understanding, whether moral truths are subjective or objective, and whether knowledge can be absolute or only provisional. In short, philosophy explains the foundational dimensions of life and the world (Payne, 2015).

In the pursuit of knowledge, various philosophers have developed and justified their understandings of life and the world based on time, place, context, and experience. These understandings have taken the form of theories. Among them, the philosophy that explains life and the world based on universal scientific laws is materialist philosophy. According to this philosophy, the world is composed of matter, and matter is inherently dynamic. Matter contains opposing characteristics within itself, giving rise to both contradiction and unity. It is this dialectical relationship that keeps matter in constant motion. This principle is known as dialectical materialism.

Similarly, consciousness arises from the motion of matter. Social structures emerge from the development of consciousness. The evolution of social relations and human history is explained by historical materialism. PMPD is based on, though not limited to, this dialectical and historical materialist philosophy.

A theory refers to an explanation of a subject that has been established as a universal truth based on facts and evidence. In nature, the universal explanation of laws concerning their foundation, structure, form, character, and motion is called a theory (e-Gyankosh, 2020). From this perspective, theories are necessary for establishing the reality of any field of society.

Theories are developed through experience, study, research, and reasoning, and they provide a foundation for guiding practice. Simply stated, a theory is the central idea or principle that helps us understand a subject and act accordingly (Paliwal, 2020).

In the form of a conceptual framework, a theory systematically explains a subject. It is based on logic and evidence, provides direction for practice, can be modified according to time and context, and is developed through research and experience. Therefore, theory is an important foundation that clarifies the relationship between knowledge and practice.

Truth or truthfulness is closely associated with theory. However, truth is often difficult to define or verify because it is frequently influenced by belief. Truth is a fundamental concept. A theory cannot be tested without examining its relevant subject matter. This implies that what is accepted as true is often not questioned. Another aspect related to theory is that a proposition remains valid until it is disproved through logic and evidence. A further dimension concerns the expression of reality. To speak the truth is to speak about reality. Therefore, the experience of truth constitutes knowledge itself. This universal understanding of theory has been adopted by PMPD. How has PMPD adopted such a universal understanding of theory?

Marxism and Leninism

Marxism refers to the political, economic, and social philosophy developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. It explains the development of society based on class struggle and holds that

ownership of the means of production determines the structure of society. According to Marxism, history has developed through conflicts between different social classes. The class that controls the means of production (land, industries, factories, capital, human resources, etc.) derives profit from the labor of the working class, which constitutes exploitation. Therefore, Marxism aims to establish a classless and exploitation-free society. It advocates the interests, rights, and equality of the working class. Marxism is primarily concerned with socio-economic propositions and provides a framework for analyzing social and economic inequalities (Worsley, 2002).

In essence, Marxism is a theory of liberation for the oppressed. It explains that social development occurs through changes in the economic base and production relations. It views the development of human civilization as a history of class struggle. The concept of surplus value in Marxism explains that a portion of the value created by workers is appropriated as profit by the capitalist class. Marxism also provides explanations of socialism and communism.

From a Marxist perspective, socialism is a system that seeks to eliminate social discrimination, establish equality and justice, serve the interests of workers, reduce class contradictions, and place the major means of production (land, industries, factories, natural resources, etc.) under collective ownership (Marx & Engels, 1848). In a socialist system, resources are controlled by society or the state rather than by private individuals. It seeks to reduce inequalities in wealth and opportunity and to ensure equal access for all, thereby minimizing economic disparity. A socialist state guarantees social security and a welfare system while protecting and empowering weaker sections of society. Socialism is regarded as a transitional stage toward communism.

Marxism envisions a classless, exploitation-free, and egalitarian society. The political, economic, and social system aimed at building such a

society is called communism. The fundamental characteristic of communism is the elimination of the exploitation of human beings by other human beings and the provision of equal rights and opportunities for all. Communism envisions a classless society in which divisions such as rich and poor, or owner and worker, no longer exist. It upholds the principle of collective or social ownership of the major means of production, such as industries, large landholdings, mines, and banks. According to Marx, society develops through different stages: primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, socialism, and communism. In simple terms, communism is expressed by the principle: “from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs” (Marx & Engels, 1999:321).

Leninism is an integral part of Marxist philosophy. It represents the practical and revolutionary development of Marxism. According to the Leninist interpretation, as capitalism develops, capital becomes concentrated in the hands of a few groups and powerful countries. These countries then establish economic, political, and military control over weaker nations. This condition is known as imperialism. Leninism provides an analysis of imperialism, the organization of revolution, the leadership of the working class, and the principles of building a socialist state.

According to Lenin, imperialism leads to war, exploitation, and inequality. He emphasized the need for a political party to organize the working class and explained the nature of state power as the “dictatorship of the proletariat.” Lenin also introduced the principle of “democratic centralism” for party organization (Alia, 1970). This principle includes democratic discussion within the party, decision-making through majority vote or consensus, discipline, and the practice of criticism and self-criticism. The method of criticism and self-criticism aims to identify weaknesses, correct them, strengthen the organization, and

make leadership more accountable. According to Lenin, there must be a close and interdependent relationship between the party and the people. He also emphasized that leadership should be collective rather than individual and that important party decisions should be made through collective discussion. These universal propositions of Marxism and Leninism are regarded as integral components of PMPD.

Class and class struggle

Society consists of classes. A class is a social group formed based on its relationship to the means of production. Karl Marx explained these groups, which are primarily divided according to economic relations, as “classes.” According to Marx, a person’s position in society is determined by his or her relationship to the means of production

In this process, the capitalist class owns capital and property, earns profit from the labor of workers, and exercises economic and political influence in society. The working class, on the other hand, survives by selling its labor, remains economically disadvantaged, and becomes subject to exploitation. Karl Marx regarded class struggle as the primary driving force of history. According to Marx, the interests of different classes in society do not coincide. There is a continuous conflict between the class that controls the means of production and the class that performs labor. This contradiction serves as a driving force of social change (Marx & Engels, 1848).

The root cause of class struggle lies in economic inequality and the ownership of the means of production. Class struggle takes various forms, including debates, protests, strikes, movements, organized struggles, criticism, revolutions, and ideological conflicts. The existence of classes in society, and the relationship of unity and struggle between them, is grounded in dialectical materialist philosophy. PMPD adopts this understanding as a foundation for social transformation.

Discrimination and its underlying factors

Economic factors as the basis of discrimination

Economic factors constitute the basis of all forms of discrimination.

The root cause of discrimination lies in the control of resources. These resources are transformed into goods through the application of labor power and technology. Intangible goods take the form of services. Goods and services are means of fulfilling human aspirations. Complexities in the production, collection, distribution, and consumption of resources, goods, and services generate discrimination. The dynamic nature of money as a medium of exchange and the complexities associated with it also give rise to discrimination. Social classes emerge from these dynamics. Through the resolution of contradictions among classes, discrimination gradually decreases. Through class struggle, control over state power is established, and through the exercise of state power, resources are controlled (Marx & Engels, 1848).

In the course of the development of civilization, unequal treatment among people emerged for various reasons. The principal issue was the struggle for dominance and control over the production, collection, and consumption of goods and services used to fulfill human aspirations. Depending on time, place, and context, favorable and unfavorable conditions developed within these processes. Cultural norms were formed, social structures were established, and economic relations evolved. From these relations, various forms of discrimination emerged. Different ethnic groups and languages developed, giving rise to ethnic and linguistic discrimination. Concepts of higher and lower castes were constructed, resulting in practices such as untouchability, social exclusion, and the denial of opportunities. Discrimination also appeared on the basis of language, culture, and tradition in relation to status and hierarchy. Inequality between men and women emerged in access to education, employment, property, and decision-making

processes. Similarly, discrimination was observed among different religions and cultures in terms of opportunities, respect, and rights. Geographic accessibility and remoteness also produced unequal development, services, and opportunities across regions (Ananthi, 2013).

The underlying cause of all these forms of discrimination is economic in nature. During the successive stages of slave, feudal, and capitalist societies, economic, social, and political relations were formed, and corresponding forms of consciousness developed, which in turn produced various forms of discrimination. Therefore, through the process of class struggle, these forms of discrimination can gradually be eliminated.

Geographical and natural diversity as an additional basis of discrimination

Nature and its laws are also contributing factors to discrimination. The position and motion of the Earth and other celestial bodies have created diversity in nature. The Earth's axial tilt, its rotation on its axis, its elliptical orbit around the sun, the presence of molten materials within its core, and the gravitational forces operating among bodies and matter have produced diversity in seasons, climate, and geography. As a result, various forms of mountains, plains, and water bodies have emerged. Likewise, diverse forms of plant and animal life exist in water, on land, and in the air. This diversity is not created by class or economic factors.

The diversity existing in nature has also generated diversity in consciousness. This diversity constitutes plurality—the diversity of consciousness, or simply plurality (Baghrarian & Ingram, 2020). This natural reality has influenced individuals, political parties, society, and the state. To address this plurality, the democratization of individuals, parties, society, and the state is necessary. Only then can discrimination be effectively addressed.

For social transformation, it is essential to identify all existing forms of discrimination and take the

initiative to eliminate them through scientific methods. Only then can a just, equitable, inclusive, and sovereign society be built.

Experiences gained during the development of civilization

For a long period following the emergence of human beings—nearly 160,000 years—humans existed largely as passive beings. Human civilization gained momentum only after the development of cognitive consciousness. During the Primitive Age, social relations were simple, collective, and based on cooperation. People lived in small groups or clans and depended on hunting, gathering, and natural resources for survival. Private property, class divisions, and complex state systems had not yet developed. Society functioned through a collective way of life in which common welfare was given greater importance. Relations among people were based on equality, and the family or clan served as the foundation of social organization. Labor was divided relatively equally, decisions were made collectively through discussion, and no individual possessed significant private property. Society at that time was characterized by cooperation and mutual support, a simple lifestyle, collective production and consumption, a classless social order, and a life closely connected to nature (De Laet, 1996 I).

Production in primitive society was extremely limited. Later, with the development of agriculture, animal husbandry, and tools, production began to increase. Once production exceeded basic needs, the groups controlling surplus production became more powerful. This increased the tendency to control labor power and laid the foundation for slavery. Initially, land, forests, water, and other resources were used collectively. However, with the development of agriculture and permanent settlement, individual ownership of land gradually expanded, and wealth and property became concentrated in the hands of a few individuals. This created divisions between owners and workers.

Wars emerged as groups sought dominance over wealth and property. Victorious groups captured defeated people and forced them into labor. The buying, selling, and exploitation of war captives as slaves became widespread. During the slave era, classes emerged, and social divisions deepened. States and systems of governance developed to maintain domination. The exchange, buying, and selling of goods among groups also expanded, giving rise to organized economic activity. Slave society was characterized by widespread exploitation and inequality. Slaves were treated as the property of their masters and were subjected to harsh labor.

Rebellions against such inhumane conditions occurred at various times and places. Likewise, religious leaders and philosophers promoted ideas of humanity, compassion, and morality to reform cruel practices. Although these efforts were limited, they played an important role in developing a consciousness that eventually contributed to the abolition of slavery.

The socio-economic system that emerged after slavery was feudalism. In this system, land was the principal means of production, and society was divided between feudal lords (landowners and rulers) and peasants. Land was the primary source of power and wealth, and those who owned it were regarded as powerful. Peasants worked on the land of feudal lords and were required to provide a substantial portion of their production in the form of taxes or labor. This system enriched the feudal class while making peasants economically dependent.

Feudal lords maintained military forces, while peasants provided labor and taxes in exchange for protection. Since military power remained in the hands of feudal lords, centralized governance was often weak. The principal characteristics of feudal society included land-based power, an agriculture-based economy, the exploitation of peasants, the dominance of local feudal elites, social inequality, and strong religious influence (De Laet, 1996 II).

The major problems of feudal society included land-based exploitation, heavy taxation, and the excessive concentration of power in the hands of feudal lords.

During this period, peasants repeatedly revolted against feudal exploitation. Some reforms were introduced into taxation systems, and religious reform movements emerged. Education expanded, intellectual thinkers appeared, and consciousness regarding human rights and freedom began to develop—Trade and industry expanded beyond agriculture, and with the growth of a money-based economy, labor markets also developed (Herrmann, 1996).

Capitalism is an economic system in which the means of production (land, industries, capital, human resources, etc.) are privately owned and profit-making is the primary objective. As feudalism weakened, various economic, social, and historical conditions made the development of capitalism possible. Capitalism developed through the expansion of trade, the growth of cities and industries, the decline of feudalism, the Industrial Revolution, scientific progress, the strengthening of private property rights, the emergence of banking systems, colonialism, and the formation of the working class. Together, these transformations enabled the development of the modern capitalist economic system.

Although capitalism contributed to economic growth, it also produced distortions such as economic inequality, the exploitation of workers, unemployment, economic crises, class divisions, consumerism, monopolies, and environmental degradation. According to Karl Marx, these distortions arise from the internal contradictions of the capitalist system, which create the basis for social conflict and transformation (Ogot, 1992).

To address the problems that emerged under capitalism, various initiatives were undertaken, including labor movements, labor legislation, social security systems, welfare-state policies, the

expansion of education and healthcare, economic regulation, and human rights movements. These efforts played an important role in reducing discrimination and inequality. They have contributed to making society more equitable, sovereign, inclusive, and just (Ade Ajayi, 1989).

The various forms of discrimination that emerged during the development of civilization should be understood as historical experiences, while the reforms introduced for the protection of human existence, prosperity, and a better quality of life should be embraced. Reform efforts must be continuously tested, and their universal validity should be examined to advance society. PMPD has incorporated the positive experiences and human-centered reforms accumulated throughout different stages of civilization into its own framework, particularly with regard to a just social order, the form and structure of state power, individual freedom and liberty, and a moral and disciplined way of life and conduct.

Philosophical basis of PMPD

The study of the interrelationship between life and the world, the relationship between matter and consciousness, and the governing laws that regulate nature and society falls within the domain of philosophy. Likewise, the subsidiary laws of nature, society, and thought, as well as the relationship between matter and consciousness, are also subjects of philosophical inquiry. The understanding of truth and reality, together with the laws governing the development and transformation of life and the world, falls within the sphere of philosophy. The theory of PMPD is founded upon this understanding and the essence of philosophy.

Core principles of Marxism as integral components of PMPD

Marxism is a dynamic scientific philosophy. It explains the dialectical character and dynamic nature of life and the world. This proposition has been repeatedly confirmed through scientific

inquiry. The three major principles of Marxism are dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, and scientific socialism.

According to dialectical materialism, matter is the fundamental basis of the world, while thought, consciousness, and emotions arise from matter. The essence of dialectical materialism is that the world is material and continuously changing, and that the root cause of change lies in the internal contradictions between opposing elements inherent within matter. Society and history are likewise the products of the development and struggle of material and economic conditions.

Similarly, according to historical materialism, the structure and development of society are based on the system of production, including the means of production and production relations. When productive technology and productive capacity change, the form of society also changes. Consequently, classes and class struggle—the driving forces of history—also change. Political, social, religious, legal, and educational structures are built upon an economic foundation. In essence, historical materialism holds that the course of human history is not driven primarily by ideas or chance but by the development of modes of production, economic relations, and class struggle. Society is continuously changing, and each new economic system advances by replacing the old one (Worsley, 2002).

Political economy, as developed by Marx, provides a scientific analysis of the capitalist economy and explains the relations of production, distribution, exchange, and consumption from a class perspective. Its primary objective is to reveal the real nature of exploitation under capitalism. It regards production relations as the foundation of the economy and considers labor to be the source of value. Through the theory of surplus value, Marx demonstrated that the difference between the total value created by workers and the wages they receive constitutes capitalist profit. In reality, this profit represents the exploitation of workers

because they do not receive the full value of what they produce. The essence of Marxist political economy is that capitalism is based on class exploitation: labor creates value, yet the surplus value generated from labor is appropriated by capitalists. This economic relationship produces inequality, class struggle, and ultimately the basis for social transformation (Marx & Engels, 1848).

Scientific socialism is another important principle of Marxism. It explains socialism not as an imagined ideal but as a social system grounded in the scientific analysis of history, economics, and class struggle. Such a society is based on the production system, economic relations, and class struggle. The means of production are socially owned, and production is carried out according to social needs rather than private profit. Socialism is regarded as a transitional stage between capitalism and communism, in which the state continues to exist but remains under the control of the working class.

The essence of scientific socialism is that socialism is not an imagined utopia but the scientific outcome of the internal contradictions and class struggles of capitalism (Marx & Engels, 1848). Its objective is to establish social ownership of the means of production, a planned economy, and an exploitation-free society. PMPD has embraced these fundamental principles of Marxism.

The core principles of Leninism as integral components of PMPD

Leninism refers to the principles advanced by Lenin on the basis of the Marxist understanding of ending exploitation and oppression in society. It is primarily founded upon the concepts of the revolutionary vanguard party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the abolition of capitalism, and the transition toward socialism (Alia, 1970). Leninism not only gave Marxism a practical form but also regarded revolutionary struggle as necessary for the capture of political power. Accepting Marx's view that class struggle is essential for human welfare

and for making life prosperous and fulfilling, Lenin argued that the working class must organize itself into a revolutionary party and carry out a revolution against imperialism. To operate such a party, he proposed democratic organizational principles.

Lenin also explained the various forms of exploitation created by the global expansion of capital. He argued that, through the struggles and movements arising from class conflict, capitalists might be compelled to introduce certain reforms to address exploitation and oppression. However, such reforms alone could not fundamentally transform the capitalist system. For this purpose, Lenin maintained that a socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat was necessary (Stalin, 1925).

Society cannot be transformed without organized effort. Unless the oppressed classes assume leadership of state power, the forms and foundations of exploitation cannot be abolished, nor can socialism be established. To achieve its objectives, an organized party requires discipline and effective methods of organization and operation. These principles have universal significance. PMPD has adopted these fundamental principles of Leninism.

Democratic approaches integrated into PMPD to address natural diversity and plurality

Owing to the position and motion of the Earth, numerous forms of diversity exist. On the one hand, there is geographical diversity; on the other, environmental, biological, and climatic diversity is equally complex. There is also a need to address disasters arising from both natural causes and human activities. The Earth moves according to its own rhythm and motion, and nature operates according to its own laws. All living beings and plants on Earth have reached their present state through the long process of natural selection. Competition is a law of nature and exists among all living organisms. Those possessing greater adaptive and competitive capacities tend to advance (Darwin, 1869:444). Human beings are increasingly intervening in the

natural process of selection through conscious and technological action, thereby creating new conditions. Consequently, it has become necessary to develop ideas and programs to eliminate the inequalities and discrimination arising from both natural conditions and technological development.

Due to geographical and natural diversity, differences are evident in human thinking, behavior, and judgments regarding right and wrong. This diversity is reflected in the Nepali saying, “*Kos kos mā badalinchha pānī, chār kos mā bānī*,” meaning that water changes every *kos* and behavior changes every four *kos*. When such differences cannot be harmonized, they may appear in the form of conflict. These differences are also referred to as plurality.

The diversity existing on Earth is an enduring reality. This diversity is not created by class or economic factors. Rather, the diversity present in geography and nature naturally gives rise to plural consciousness. The debates, disagreements, and dialogues found in society are expressions of this plural consciousness. Likewise, the existence of various ideologies and philosophies reflects this plurality. This reality of nature influences individuals, families, political parties, society, and the state (Pahari, 2025). Diversity and plurality are fundamental characteristics of all societies and are reflected in multiethnic, multilingual, multireligious, and multicultural communities. For social transformation, it is essential to identify all forms of discrimination and eliminate them through scientific methods. Only then can a just, equitable, inclusive, and sovereign society be built.

PMPD has added a new dimension to Marxist philosophy. Marxism has traditionally explained that all forms of discrimination in society arise from class and economic factors. PMPD, however, argues that nature and its laws can also contribute to discrimination. According to this view, discrimination may arise from the diversity inherent in geography and nature, which is reflected in the plurality existing within society. PMPD further

argues that the thoughts, behavior, and conduct of individuals and families can be guided through discipline and ethical principles, while conflicts within society, political parties, and the state can be addressed through democratic methods based on competition and initiative.

The diversity of nature is a universal characteristic. Likewise, plurality is a universal characteristic of human society. Although plurality is distinct from political economy, it is inseparably connected to it. The influence of plurality on society and its progressive transformation constitutes the essence of PMPD. Plurality exists in all historical periods and is not confined to any particular stage of social development. In this sense, PMPD represents a creative application of Marxism.

Valuable achievements in the development of civilization integrated into PMPD

In the early primitive stage of civilization, human society exhibited few forms of discrimination. Equality, collective ownership, collective labor, collective security, and collective production were dominant features of this period and provided the basis for minimizing discrimination (De Laet, 1996 I). During the slave era, revolts against exploitation and oppression became important steps toward building a more advanced civilization founded on freedom and rights. During the feudal era, movements for peasants' rights, the separation of powers between kings and feudal lords, the development of legal systems, the expansion of moral education, and growing awareness of human rights laid important foundations for democracy, human rights, and modern society.

Following the Industrial Revolution, issues such as worker exploitation, economic inequality, unemployment, and social discrimination led to reforms concerning minimum wages and working hours. Organizations were established to protect workers' rights and interests. Equal pay for men and women gained recognition. Access to education and healthcare expanded. Child labor was restricted

or prohibited. Citizens demanded political rights, freedom of association, and freedom of the press. Civil rights were formally defined. Programs such as pensions, insurance, unemployment benefits, and social security were introduced for the poor, elderly, unemployed, and vulnerable groups. Liberal democracy and welfare-state systems also developed (Ade Ajayi, 1989).

In the modern era, scientific socialist ideas and the concept of class struggle emerged as approaches to building an exploitation-free society. With the expansion of capitalism, anti-colonial movements and campaigns against slavery also developed. Ideas of human rights, social justice, equal opportunity, and legal equality gained strength. As conflicts in human society intensified, world wars occurred, and even today their consequences continue to be felt (Gopal & Tikhvinsky, 2008).

The efforts undertaken throughout different historical periods to build a civilized society constitute important achievements. It is natural to systematize these tested experiences into principles and incorporate them into theory (Bhandari, 1993).

For the security, unity, and prosperity of human society, it is essential to establish equality, social justice, and freedom. To guide this process, methods validated through the historical development of civilization are indispensable. Such universally recognized methods must form integral components of any theory of progressive social transformation. PMPD has institutionalized the positive experiences and human-centered reforms accumulated across different stages of civilization as principles of governance in areas such as social justice, the form and structure of the state, individual freedom and sovereignty, and moral and disciplined conduct.

These include the supremacy of the constitution, a pluralistic open society, the principle of separation of powers, the protection of human rights, multiparty competition, periodic elections, majority government and minority opposition, and the rule

of law, among others. These principles guide society toward a more civilized and prosperous future. Such universally established principles of human society are integral components of PMPD (CPN [UML], 1993).

Addressing distortions in people's governance through PMPD

The international communist movement, which began with the objective of abolishing inequality, discrimination, and exploitation and advancing toward communism through scientific socialism, has passed through decades of both achievements and setbacks. In particular, the failure of the Soviet model of socialism and the collapse of socialist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe created major shifts in the global balance of power. The international communist movement entered a defensive phase characterized by stagnation and ideological uncertainty.

The capitalist world responded by launching a major ideological offensive against Marxism and socialism, promoting concepts such as the “end of history” and the “death of ideology.” Under such circumstances, it became necessary to identify the causes of these failures, chart a new direction for revolution and socialism, and reaffirm confidence in the universal truths of Marxism and the historical necessity of socialism (Bhandari, 1993). It also became necessary to establish that fundamental social transformation could be achieved through peaceful means by addressing the strategic confusion that had emerged within the international communist movement.

Within Nepal's communist movement, there were tendencies to treat Marxism as a rigid dogma, mechanically imitate the revolutionary experiences of other countries, assume that state power could only be achieved through armed struggle, and advocate a one-party authoritarian system. These tendencies contributed to divisions within the movement. In such a context, it became necessary to establish that Marxist theory is not a rigid

formula but a universal method derived from the concrete analysis of concrete conditions.

Through a careful study of Nepali society, popular struggles, objective conditions, and the diversity of geography and culture, it became necessary to identify the problems facing Nepali society and seek solutions capable of protecting and advancing the communist movement (CPN [UML], 1993).

Among the distinctive experiences of Nepal's communist and democratic movements, the historic People's Movement of 1990 succeeded in restoring democracy, particularly through the formation of the United Left Front (ULF) and its working alliance with the Nepali Congress (NC). Through cooperation between these forces, the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990, was promulgated. The formation of the ULF and the tactical alliance with the NC, established to achieve common objectives, were objective necessities that produced significant political achievements.

Likewise, an important strategic decision was made to organize and operate the party openly and legally, maintain direct relations with the people, and compete with other political parties within a democratic framework. As a result of this strategy, the CPN (UML) emerged as the principal opposition party in the first parliamentary election, enjoying broad popular support among the Nepali people (Dhakal, 2023).

In the context of Nepal's multiethnic, multilingual, and multicultural society, together with its geographical diversity, it became necessary to formulate policies and methods for the creative application of Marxism to the economic, political, social, and cultural realities of Nepali society. These experiences collectively constitute the foundations of the theory of PMPD.

The fundamental principles of Marxism and Leninism are integral components of PMPD. Likewise, the universal values and principles that have been validated throughout the course of civilization for the benefit of individuals and

society are also integral elements of PMPD. The experiences of democratic and socialist revolutions undertaken for social transformation, the experiences of Marxist parties in exercising state power, the achievements and failures of the international communist movement, and the creative experiments carried out while learning from its various successes and setbacks are all regarded as important components of PMPD (Bhandari, 2021).

Plurality in society is considered a natural phenomenon. Nature itself is characterized by diversity and plurality. Nature blossoms with flowers of countless colors and contains innumerable forms of life. Likewise, there are countless varieties of tastes and experiences. Nature is not uniform; rather, it is multidimensional and diverse. In the same way, society is inherently diverse. Therefore, the pluralistic character of society is consistent with the nature of reality itself. PMPD upholds a system in which society, political parties, and state power are guided through “democratic competition and initiative” while addressing the diversity and plurality shaped by the enduring laws of nature.

As long as classes exist in society, it is natural for each class to possess distinct interests, principles, and perspectives. Likewise, as long as class divisions remain, different forms of politics reflecting those class interests will continue to exist. Therefore, class-based approaches and politics exist in a class-divided society, and even within the same class, diversity of opinion and political differences may emerge. This is diversity; this is plurality. The interpretation of plurality existing within society is regarded as a creative application and development of Marxist philosophy.

The philosophical foundation of Marxism is dialectical materialism. Marxism recognizes that every object, event, and idea contains dialectical interrelationships and contradictions. Conflict itself is a universal law. If this is true, then conflicts must also be allowed to exist in politics. If the dialectical realities inherent in society are suppressed and

prevented from being expressed, they may eventually take the form of hostility and social upheaval. Therefore, various political viewpoints existing in society should be allowed to compete constitutionally. Diversity within society must be given the freedom to express itself. Only then can a genuinely democratic system exist (Bhandari, 2021).

Every entity possesses both form and essence. Political power likewise contains both formal and substantive dimensions. The essence of state power relates to the character and structure of the state, whereas its form relates to the system of governance. A multiparty system is not the essence of the state; it is merely one aspect of its form. The question of the essence of the state concerns which class interests the political system represents and on whose behalf authority is exercised. This belongs to the substantive character of the state. The structure of the state defines the position of different classes and social strata and determines the policies adopted toward them. Governance, however, concerns how governments are formed and how day-to-day administration is conducted. Thus, it belongs to the formal aspect of the state (Pokhrel, 2024). This understanding is one of the important components of PMPD.

In order to accomplish revolution, the fundamental and decisive factor is not class coordination or class compromise, but class struggle itself. However, the specific form that struggle takes depends upon concrete conditions. Revolutionaries must develop the ability to skillfully employ all forms and methods of struggle. The objective is primary and decisive, whereas methods are secondary. Any means capable of advancing the revolutionary objective should be utilized firmly and creatively. Struggle is essentially a clash and competition between opposing forces. The form of struggle that becomes principal and decisive cannot be determined solely by theoretical texts or the imagination of leaders. Rather, it emerges from the people themselves, from class struggle,

and from conflicts between opposing social forces. Whether a struggle becomes violent or peaceful cannot be decided unilaterally; it depends upon circumstances, necessity, opportunities, and constraints. No form of struggle, including defensive struggle, can be artificially imposed from above. Such struggles arise from the arena of class struggle itself, while the party must guide, coordinate, and develop them. Revolution cannot be accelerated merely by the impatience of leaders. Struggle itself is a combination of offense and defense, and neither aspect alone is sufficient (Bhandari, 1993). This interpretation of the form and essence of revolution within PMPD represents a creative application and development of Marxist philosophy.

Revolution is an objective historical process. It cannot occur solely through subjective desire. If conscious political efforts are directed in accordance with the objective laws of social development, revolution may advance more rapidly; otherwise, it may be delayed. A revolution cannot occur unless the elements of a new society emerge and develop within the womb of the existing society itself. Forcibly negating the old order without the objective development of new social elements contradicts the universal laws of dialectics. Without eliminating the semi-feudal and semi-colonial economic foundations of society, a fully democratic people's state cannot be established. Therefore, the class struggles of peasants, workers, and the broader working masses, together with anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolutionary movements, must be advanced firmly and given primary importance.

Revolutionaries must seek to establish influence within the political superstructure and utilize it to transform the underlying economic base. This concept emphasizes the formation of governments even before the completion of the revolution and the use of state mechanisms to advance revolutionary transformation (Bhandari, 1993). This perspective of PMPD has contributed significantly to the creative application and development of Marxism.

PMPD prioritizes ideological and political struggle against ultra-leftism, anarchism, and dogmatic thinking. It embodies a philosophical understanding of the type of social system, party structure, and ideological framework that should be adopted. Theory should not be understood rigidly as dogma; rather, it must be understood dynamically. PMPD seeks to organize political competition within the constitutional framework of an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist people's democratic state while carrying out social, economic, and cultural transformation through democratic procedures and peaceful competition. Its objective is to lay the foundations for socialism while building a prosperous, progressive, and just society (CPN [UML], 1993).

PMPD has also formulated a national security policy aimed at protecting national independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity; preserving natural resources; and ensuring social harmony and human security. It seeks to liberate the nation from neo-colonial forms of interference, oppression, and economic, social, and cultural exploitation carried out through various mechanisms, while strengthening national independence and safeguarding national interests. The propositions, objectives, foundations, and conclusions advanced by PMPD have been supported by evidence, tested through practice, and demonstrated to possess broader applicability and enduring significance. Therefore, PMPD is both a philosophy and a theory.

Conclusion

PMPD represents a significant and creative contribution to contemporary Marxist thought, one that emerges not from abstract theorizing but from the concrete historical, geographical, and political realities of Nepal and the broader international communist experience. By grounding itself in the philosophical foundations of dialectical and historical materialism while simultaneously transcending the limitations of classical Marxist

orthodoxy, PMPD offers a dynamic and adaptive framework for progressive social transformation.

At its core, PMPD reaffirms the indispensability of Marxist and Leninist principles—class struggle, the abolition of exploitation, and the pursuit of a just and egalitarian society—while introducing critical innovations that respond to the complexities of the modern world. Most notably, Bhandari’s recognition that natural and geographical diversity, not only economic relations, can serve as a source of discrimination and oppression broadens the analytical scope of Marxism in a meaningful and historically grounded way. This insight underpins PMPD’s insistence on democratic competition, plurality, and periodic electoral consent as essential instruments of governance and legitimacy.

Furthermore, PMPD’s integration of the positive achievements of human civilization—from democratic rights and the rule of law to social security and individual freedoms—demonstrates its commitment to a socialism that is both scientifically informed and humanistically oriented. Rather than treating these achievements as bourgeois concessions, PMPD embraces them as universally validated gains in the long struggle for human dignity and justice.

The enduring relevance of PMPD lies in its ability to remain principled yet flexible, rooted yet forward-looking. In an era marked by rising inequality, resurgent authoritarianism, and ideological fragmentation, PMPD’s vision of a prosperous, inclusive, and democratically governed society continues to offer a compelling and philosophically coherent path toward genuine social transformation.

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