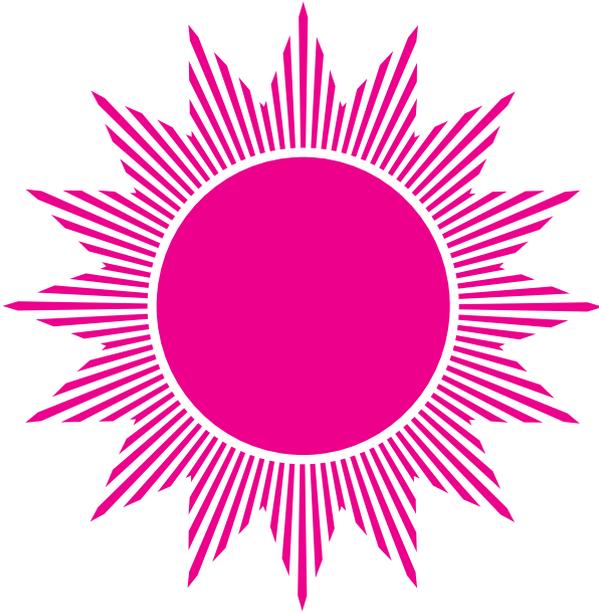


**UML's Vision and Appropriate Policy!  
UML's Leadership for a Strong Nepal with Prosperity!**



**Constituent Assembly Election  
2013**

**Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist Leninist)**

***Election Manifesto***

### *Respected Sisters and Brothers!*

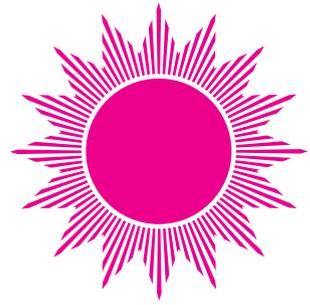
We are once again on the verge of the Constituent Assembly (CA) election. Just into the election process, comrade Mohammad Alam, our Party's Central Committee member, the candidate for the Constituency No. 4 in Bara district and the Central President of the *Nepal Muslim Ittehad Organisation*, succumbed to bullet injuries fired by a criminal gang on 4th October 2013. On the eve of the election, our party pays homage to comrade Alam and all the martyrs who have sacrificed their lives for the cause of national sovereignty, social emancipation and for the establishment of the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal. CPN (UML) also felicitates all the people and communities who have made an invaluable contribution to these causes, and pledges to fulfil the expectations of the people and the nation.

Why did the first CA, which was an achievement of the 2006 People's Movement, fail and we have to hold the second election CA? Who were responsible to spoil people's expectations? What are the foundations of the second CA election and on what basis will the new constitution be drafted? These are the questions in the court of history. They will be critically studied and reviewed in the future political course. Time will punish those who were responsible for the failure of the first historic CA and for pushing the nation to current crises.

CA is a highly democratic process to give expression to supremacy and sovereignty of people. It has become inevitable for us to conclude a free, fair and peaceful second election of the CA and bring political stability in the country by promulgating the constitution of Federal Democratic Republic. In the given context, CA is also an integral part of the peace process and a special model of conflict transformation. The CA is also necessary to institutionalise the mandates of people's movement and revolution and to consolidate the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal that has been declared by the past CA. The CA should also deliver on the aspirations and expectations of people and communities, and bring to an end the prolonged transition. In a word, the CA is necessary to open a new era of Nepal's prosperity, development and stability by creating a constitutional basis for progressive transformation of our nation and Nepali people.

The election is being held in an abnormal and exceptional circumstance in the country. The achievements of the people's movement

*CA is a highly democratic process to give expression to supremacy and sovereignty of people. It has become inevitable for us to conclude a free, fair and peaceful second election of the CA and bring political stability in the country by promulgating the constitution of Federal Democratic Republic.*



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of 2006 and the ongoing peace process are at risk. The nation is in the weakest period of its history. The value systems that bind us together and create a social harmony are being damaged day by day. People of all classes and communities are disappointed. The old production relation is breaking down but no new production relation is emerging in favour of the working class. However, we do also have some favorable conditions for rapid socio-economic development. If the situation is not handled creatively by revolutionary democratic forces, there is a high possibility of past achievements being lost and the country being at risk of failure.

Although the last CA was not able to promulgate the new constitution, it has made historic achievements on a number of pertinent issues. Among others, Nepal has been declared a Federal Democratic Republic from the very first meeting of the last CA, and the task of the management of Maoist combatants has been completed. These achievements have established the foundation for sustainable peace.

One of the main reasons for the failure of the last CA was its unfavourable political composition and balance of power. A historical opportunity to take the country into right direction and usher into a new epoch following the successful political revolution was greatly missed in the absence of leadership of revolutionary democratic force like CPN (UML).

CPN (UML) made its sincere efforts, with following options, in order to stop the failure of the CA and prevent the country plunging into a political vacuum.

- *Promulgate a full constitution with the federal model as agreed on the 15<sup>th</sup> of May, 2012.*
- *Or, promulgate a constitution by incorporating subject matters agreed in the CA.*
- *Or, transform the CA into a legislature-parliament and extend its term; give the transformed parliament the responsibility to fix the number of federal units and sort out names and borders of the units. And promulgate the constitution after the finalisation of federal restructuring, which would be part of the constitution, within six months.*
- *If that was also not possible, protect the achievements of the constitution making process by endorsing the preamble and leaving remaining parts to be concluded by the legislature-parliament.*
- *If that was also not possible, continue the legislature-parliament for at least three months in order to find a safe and constitutional way to hold next election, which would require amending the interim constitution and endorsing electoral laws.*

*But the UCPN (Maoist) and Samyukta Madhesi Morcha (Joint Madhesi Front) did not accept any of those options,*

## Four Years of the Constitutional Assembly: Looking Back

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### Expectations and Missed Opportunities

Both the nation and the people had high expectations from the CA, which was achieved after the six-decade long struggle of Nepali people. The establishment of a Federal Democratic Republic and achievement of sustainable peace by ending the violent conflict were among those expectations. It was believed that social discriminations would be ended after the progressive restructuring of the state and that Nepal would enter a new era of stability, prosperity and progress. People had also expected that the CA would replace social structure based on the feudal, comprador bourgeoisie production relations and the political system supporting these with a new production relation and an order that would address the interests and expectations of the working class. It was with those expectations that you had voted in the last election.

However, the constitution was not drafted despite incessant efforts in the past four years. Some meaningful outcomes were achieved, but not institutionalised. Prudent agreements were reached, but not implemented. Serious discussions were undertaken, but not concluded. A preliminary draft was drawn, but could not be transformed into a constitution. As we prepare for the second CA, we should seriously reflect on the past, enlist the outcomes of the first CA, review the role of various parties represented in the CA, evaluate the causes of its failures, and draw lessons to make a difference this time around.

### Contentious Issues: Endeavours for Consensus

During the four-year tenure of the first CA, serious discussions were held on issues of nation building, state restructuring, social structures and production relations, social transformation and its direction, identity and rights of ethnic communities and marginalised groups, including those of linguistic, geographic and sexual minorities. Despite numerous challenges, the CA completed some procedural steps, such as the drafting of by-laws, formation of thematic committees, collection of public opinion, preparing concept papers and thematic reports, and drawing up of a preliminary draft constitution. Pertinent constitutional, theoretical and political bases of constitution are incorporated in the thematic reports and in a 2835-page draft

compendium. Through a series of debates and discussions, differences have been narrowed down. The contributions made by the ‘Conceptual Paper and Preliminary Draft Study Committee,’ the ‘Dispute Resolution Sub-committee’ under the ‘Constitutional Committee’ and the Working Committee related to the same tasks formed by the CA were of high significance.

The foundation of a new constitution was made stronger after the cantonments of the Maoist combatants were handed over to the Nepal Army on 10th April 2012 and the unity government was formed on the basis of an agreement among political parties on 3rd May 2012. Similarly, on 15th May 2012 three major political parties agreed to resolve all contentious issues, including the issue of state restructuring. The parties also agreed to adopt a multi-identity model of federalism by guaranteeing equal rights of people from all castes, ethnicities, religions, languages and cultural backgrounds. Also agreed was the mixed model of government with a president directly elected and a prime minister elected by the parliament. Further, it was agreed to elect a House of Representatives of 311 members and a National Assembly of 65 members through the mixed electoral system of first-past-the-post and proportional representation. The disputes related to the provision of a Constitutional Court were also resolved where the court was agreed to have jurisdiction on inter-state disputes, disputes between provinces and the centre and between state and local governments. An important foundation was, thus, created to promulgate the constitution on 27th May 2012. A positive message was transmitted to the general people that the constitution is being promulgated.

The Unified CPN (Maoist) broke the agreement of May 15<sup>th</sup>, declaring it was ‘irrelevant’ and the party was “trapped by the opponents of federalism”, and instigated a campaign that would badly affect the nation’s social harmony. The Maoist behaviour was not worthy of a responsible party. Instead of appealing people to be calm and respectful of the rights and dignity of others, the Maoists divided peoples and communities in the name of federalism. The situation became worse after such incidents as the parliament blockade by *Madhesi* members, extraneous speech of an Indian Consular in Birgunj, the *Nepal Bandha* by Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities (NEFIN), and the reactive strikes called by Brahman and Chhetri Societies. Rather than drafting a constitution by consensus, the UCPN (Maoist) hindered the consensus process to impose their version of constitution through deceptive means, including projected floor crossing in the CA. Even the issues already resolved by the Dispute Resolution Sub-committee, which was led by the

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UCPN (Maoist) itself, were prevented from submission in the CA for decision making. It is a shame that the UCPN (Maoist) intentionally obstructed the entire constitution making process and, then, resorted to the propaganda that the Chairperson of the CA, a nominee of CPN (UML) did not allow contentious issues to enter the constitutional process.

Due to inter-party differences and divisions, largely instigated by the UCPN (Maoist), the CA did not get the agenda to deliberate on. Its meetings had to be postponed time and again. And gradually, it was drawn to a situation in which it could neither initiate a process to forge consensus nor decide on matters through a process of voting.

Given the Supreme Court's verdict that the tenure of the CA could not be extended any longer, it was both inappropriate and impossible to try to extend the tenure. In such a situation, the CPN (UML) made its sincere efforts, with following options, in order to stop the failure of the CA and prevent the country plunging into a political vacuum.

- Promulgate a full constitution with the federal model as agreed on the 15<sup>th</sup> of May.
- Or, promulgate a constitution by incorporating subject matters agreed in the CA.
- Or, transform the CA into a legislature-parliament and extend its term; give the transformed parliament the responsibility to fix the number of federal units and sort out names and borders of the units. Then, allow the parliament to take a final decision based on recommendations from a constitutional federal commission, and promulgate the constitution after the finalisation of federal restructuring, which would be part of the constitution, within six months.
- If that was also not possible, protect the achievements of the constitution making process by endorsing the preamble and leaving remaining parts to be concluded by the legislature-parliament.

- If that was also not possible, continue the legislature-parliament for at least three months in order to find a safe and constitutional way to hold next election, which would require amending the interim constitution and endorsing electoral laws.

But the UCPN (Maoist) and *Samyukta Madhesi Morcha* (Joint Madhesi Front) did not accept any of those options, and became responsible for ruining democratic way to adopt a full constitution by the CA. The UCPN (Maoist) proposed a dozen states in the hills based on a single-ethnic-identity model and stood against its own linguistic-identity model (such as Mithila, Bhojpura, and Awadh) proposed for Tarai-Madhes.

As such, the CA, a symbol of the achievement of the six-decade long struggle of Nepali people, was dissolved without adopting a constitution due to an ill-intentioned and planned conspiracy.

### **Continuous Efforts: Valuable Achievements**

The four years were not however completely useless. Various historic decisions and important agreements were made in the period, as listed below. These achievements should be owned and protected.

- The first meeting of the CA has declared Federal Democratic Republic by ending the monarchy. This declaration is of revolutionary significance in the history of Nepal's democratic movement.
- The management of the Maoist combatants was completed in this period. It was one of the most complex issues of the peace process and its completion is an achievement in its own right.
- A remarkable level of socio-political awareness has been created in society in the course of the CA election and thereafter. People's participation in political processes has heightened, and people's aspirations and expectations have found ways to constitution making processes. Almost all issues and opinions have come to the surface. These indicate what opportunities are available and challenges left to be tackled as the process moves on.
- Major issues have been established in national politics through the discourse on the constitution and the process of the CA. The advocacy of violence has been rejected and the value of peaceful and democratic means to change society has been proved. Authoritarian values have fallen by the wayside and those who believe in

authoritarianism are also compelled to accept the universal value of democracy. Those who used to take the traditional parliamentary system and neo-liberalism as having all the answers have also arrived at the side of progressive democracy and socialism-oriented economy. Radical rhetoric has stopped holding water.

The following subject matters, which were agreed and included in the draft of the constitution, are very significant. They are similar to what we included in our manifesto for the last CA election.

- **Fundamental Rights with Economic, Social and Cultural Rights:** The draft expands the regime of fundamental rights, including both economic, social, and cultural rights and civil and political rights. It underscores the importance of positive discrimination in order to make 'right to equality' a substantive one and also provides for the right to life with dignity, right to freedom, right against torture, and right to freedom from discrimination and untouchability. It also ensures full freedom of press and speech, right to an effective remedy, right to compulsory primary and free higher secondary education, right to basic health services, right to employment, right to food and food sovereignty, right to access to shelter, labour rights with guarantee of social security, and rights of consumers to quality goods, commodities and services.
- **Gender Equality as Fundamental Rights:** Women are provided with an equal right to inheritance and rights related to safe motherhood and reproduction. All violent activities in the name of religion, tradition or rituals and all forms of exploitation are criminalised and the victims are entitled to compensation. Right to proportional representation in all state mechanisms, affirmative action in education, health, employment and social security, right to marriage, divorce and other family matters are also guaranteed. Father and mother have an equal obligation to raise their children. There was also a provision to count the contribution of domestic work to GDP.
- **Untouchability as a Punishable Social Crime:** Untouchability and caste-based discriminations are punishable as a social crime. Right to employment in all state organs, right to free education from primary to higher levels, social security, protection and promotion of traditional occupations and skills, right to land and shelter for the landless peoples and right to participation in political processes (with

compensation for the past wrong) are other rights and privileges protected for Dalits.

- **Rights of Marginalised Communities:** Socially marginalised ethnic nationalities, *Madhesis*, sexual and gender minorities, Muslims, persons with disabilities, and peasants and working class people will have a full social and cultural protection. Peasants will have the right to land and indigenous nationalities will have the right to their language, culture and identity. The Madhesi communities will have an equal opportunity to participate in economic, social and cultural activities and to benefit from state services. Persons with disabilities will be able to live with dignity. Special provisions will be made to honour the family of the martyrs, the injured and the disappeared. The minority and marginalised groups also have the guarantee of an equal access to relevant policy processes that affect their lives.
- **Fundamental Duties:** The duties include the protection of nationalism and sovereignty, devotion to the interest of the nation, compulsory service to the nation in times of need and respect for the law of the land.
- **Directive Principles:** The main political aim is to establish Federal Democratic Republic and to create socialism-oriented independent economy. Other principles include communal harmony and development of the state with cultural diversity; enhancement of national dignity among the world community; national security and unity; good governance; social and cultural transformation; economic development through the partnership of the public sector, the cooperative and the private sector; scientific land reform; progressive taxation; balanced, environment friendly and distributive development; promotion of domestic investment; and measures as necessary to fulfil basic needs, develop labour force, enhance social justice and promote inclusion.
- **Obligation of the State:** The government will submit progress reports of the implementation of state policies and programmes to parliament through the President every year, and the parliament will monitor the progress. The obligation also includes a mandatory provision to enact laws referred to in the constitution within two years.
- **Provision of Equal Citizenship:** There is a provision of a single federal citizenship. Other provisions relate to the end of gender

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discrimination existing in the citizenship process and a mandatory provision that a citizen by decent is a must to be elected in major state organs.

- **Zero Tolerance against Crime:** There is a provision to enact a retroactive law against grave violations of human rights, crime against humanity and war crimes.
- **Federalism and Distribution of Authorities:** Federal structures basically incorporate three tiers of 'federal', 'provincial' and 'local' structures. This section also deals with bases of identity and capability; judicious distribution of financial authority and creation of a concurrent list of specific and common authorities; policy of equitable distribution of natural resources; guarantee of self-governance and identity of concerned indigenous nationalities; and, interrelationship based on the principles of coordination, co-existence and cooperation.
- **Political Party and Electoral System:** A mixed electoral system will be adopted with a provision that political parties cannot be prohibited.
- **Independent Judiciary:** The judiciary will be independent and the Supreme Court will have the final authority to interpret the constitution. A Constitutional Court will be established for five years to resolve disputes that may occur among federal units and between federal and provincial units. An independent mechanism will be established for the appointment and dismissal of judges.
- **Constitutional Commission:** Following constitutional commissions are provisioned: a national financial commission; a national natural resource commission; and, social and inclusion commissions for women, Dalits, indigenous nationalities, persons with disabilities,

minorities, Madheshis, Muslims; and relevant commissions for labour and peasants.

- **Language, Religion and Culture:** All native languages spoken inside Nepal are accorded the status of national language while the Nepali language is established as the language for official business. A Language Commission will be formed. Religious harmony and tolerance will be ensured by reaffirming secularism.
- **National Interests:** Sovereignty, national independence, democracy, proportional and inclusive participation, development and equality are included as fundamental national interests.

### **CPN (UML): Policy Leadership and Proactive Role**

The CPN (UML) had played an active role in drafting the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal in the last CA.

The party had presented the following commitments in its manifesto of the 2008 CA election: abolition of the monarchical system and establishment of a Federal Democratic Republic from the very first meeting of the CA; establishment of inclusive democracy with economic and social rights; establishment of equality and end of discriminatory policies; development of socialism-oriented national economy based on the involvement of the public, cooperative and private sectors; consensus-based national government; state restructuring; and a new constitution. We had appealed to all the parties to forge consensus to fulfil basic needs of people, such as education, health, shelter, food and security. Similarly, the democratization of the state and society; the formation of common policy for the development of infrastructure and human resources; eradication of poverty; rational distribution of resources of the country between centre, provinces and local bodies; co-existence between capital and labour; and building consensus for the establishment of sustainable peace were the major agenda of the party.

### **Plurality and Diversity for New Constitution: The Features of Nepali State**

Under this heading, the party had declared these commitments: people's common aspirations, collective wellbeing and national unity based on common feeling; the people of Nepal as the source of state power; guarantee of fundamental rights; commitment and respect for sovereign

values and norms of human rights and political freedoms; equality and rights against exploitation and suppression; economic and social rights; social security and public welfare; emancipation from untouchability; establishment of federal democratic republic; linguistic equality and impartiality; right to mother tongue; Nepali language as the means of official business; inclusive democracy; constitutional supremacy; separation of power and the rule of law; periodic elections; multiparty system of democracy; independent judiciary; end of feudalism; development of socialism-oriented economy; scientific land reform and modernization of agriculture; good governance; accountability of national army to parliament; and, the end of all forms of discrimination against women.

Guarantee of 33 percent representation of women in all state organs; equal right to inheritance; the right to reproductive health; special provisions for education and employment; protection and nourishment of children; citizenship for all Nepalis without discrimination; political, social and cultural rights for indigenous communities; protection of all languages, cultures and traditions of marginalized communities; the right to language, culture and development for Tarai-Madhese and Muslim people; protection of rights of workers, youths, persons with disabilities, and inhabitants of remote regions; the end of impunity; and, foreign policy based on national independence and national interests had been mentioned in the election manifesto of the party as the fundamental elements of a new constitution.

The fact that most of the above-mentioned subject matters have already been included in the proposed draft of the constitution proves that the stand of CPN (UML) were correct, balanced and far-sighted.

The active role of CPN (UML) in the CA and its various committees was far ahead in comparison with other political parties. The execution of tasks by the thematic committees headed by our party members was also far more effective than committees led by other parties.

To find a middle ground in the face of conflicting activities of extreme forces had been a complicated job, however the party devoted itself tirelessly to conclude the peace process by finding an appropriate way on such matters as the management of the Maoist combatants in accordance with standard norms, creation of an Office of the Directorate within the Nepal Army for the integration of the combatants, development of a detailed plan of action for their voluntary retirement, and development of procedures for transitional justice mechanisms.

In general, our party was always clear that the new constitution should be drafted through the CA. Therefore, we took the position to make the CA successful in promulgating the constitution. The party continued its endeavours to persuade political parties forwarding various alternative proposals towards resolving contentious issues. Our senior leader Madhav Kumar Nepal resigned from the post of Prime Minister even though he had an absolute majority in parliament, and Party Chairperson, JN Khanal, also resigned within a few months of his premiership to protect the CA and let the CA proceed smoothly.

Until the last minute, the party consistently tried to protect the CA to avoid the constitutional crisis that would emerge in absence the CA.

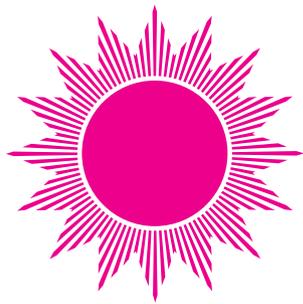
The party fought day and night against all detrimental designs such as changing the name of the country and the flag. Likewise, our party opposed the view of ‘One Madhes, One Pradesh (province);’ compulsory military training; a governance system without opposition; and stood firmly for scientific land reform and end of impunity. Our party also opposed the demand for self-determination with right to secession; foiled the plan to compromise the independence of the judiciary; rejected the demand to recognize Hindi as the official language of the central government and fought against all other divisive and discriminatory efforts.

However, we were not in a decisive position in the CA in terms of the size of our presence. And, alongside these important works, there might have been some shortcomings from our side as well. If those shortcomings had been corrected in time, the role of the party would have been more effective. We have made a serious self-assessment drawn a lesson for the days ahead.

## Major Causes for the Failure of the CA

- **Pre-election context, balance of power and its effect:** A minimum level of trust and environment of understanding had been expected among major political parties on a number of pertinent issues. However, from the very beginning, a tendency of egocentrism and trickery was noticed. The Maoists and Nepali Congress Party had an undeclared understanding to make the election process favourable to them. As such, there was dilly-dallying to fix the date and initiate other processes on their part. That had created an unhealthy political environment even before the CA polls. The understandings reached among Madhesi parties before the polls weakened the representation of the people from the hills in the CA. Just to appease the Madhes-centric parties,

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the requirement of the principle of inclusion was relaxed for those parties that contested in less than 30 percent of constituencies, which undermined the principle of inclusion itself. In the absence of threshold for proportional representation, the composition of the CA became unmanageable.<sup>7</sup>

The UCPN (Maoist), who had not yet renounced the doctrine of violence, became the largest party in the CA. After the end of the monarchy, the Maoist party adopted a policy to negate democratic parliamentary parties as per their allegiance to an ultra-leftist ideology, which spoiled an environment for political understanding. The Maoist party rejected both Girija Prasad Koirala and Madhav Kumar Nepal as the candidate for the first presidential election. Even the first president of the country could not be elected by consensus. None of the governments could be formed on the basis of consensus after the establishment of the republic. Each term extension of CA was conditioned upon the change of government.

Thus, the CA which required agenda on the basis of consensus was marred by negation, suspicion and disbelief particularly on the part of the UCPN (Maoist). Time and again, the UCPN (Maoist) presented itself against widely accepted democratic values and norms, and even drew fundamental values of democracy into controversy.

- **Prolonging Peace Process and its Adverse Effects:** As per agreement, the management of Maoist combatants was to be completed within six months after the election of the CA. However, the Maoist party prolonged the process for four years in order to continue the reign of terror, and abuse money and other resources provided by the state. Its design to influence the function of the army by sacking the army chief and installing one of their favourites created general confusion

and mistrust within the army. All this prolonged the peace process and also contributed to the failure of the CA.

The UCPN (Maoist) also opposed the formation of the truth and reconciliation commission and the commission on investigation of disappeared persons. The party did so to conceal the atrocities it their hand during the insurgency. Ignoring the need and voices for justice to the victims, the Maoists did not allow related bills to proceed in parliament as they wanted the provision of general amnesty to be included in the bills.

- **Difference in objectives:** The CPN (UML) and other democratic parties had aimed to formulate a democratic constitution by transforming the Maoist party into a democratic and civilian party. However, for UCPN (Maoist), the CA was just a tool to implement its tactical agenda through the new constitution. The strategy of the UCPN (Maoist) was, thus, to introduce the so-called single-identity model of federalism.
- **Power-Centered Activities:** Formation of consensus and power sharing government was necessary to handle the transitional period effectively. But this did not happen. As a result, parties were dragged to the formation and dissolution of cabinets. This power-centric attitude of parties did not enable them to focus on key issues of constitution making and transitional justice.
- **The Issue of Federalism and Identity:** The political leadership had been expected to address the issue of identity in totality so that all forms of social oppressions would end. But the attendant issues were not handled in time, and were allowed to be manipulated by extremist forces. The high level commission for state restructuring could not conclude its task by consensus. The CPN (UML) stood for the model of federalism that would honor all identities, transfer power to local communities and institutionalize democracy from below. The Maoist party advocated for a single-ethnic model and provoked every caste and ethnic community. Nepali Congress followed the view of federalism with provinces based on geography, excluding the question of identity. The Madhes-based parties were in favor of 'One Madhes, One Province.' Thus, there was an inscrutable difference in understanding and expectation of federalism. Amidst this chaos, Madhes-based parties and the Maoists joined hand to exploit the situation for them to come to power. Their unholy alliance on federalism issues became the main cause for the failure of the CA.

- **Disregard of the Constituent Assembly:** After the completion and submission of preliminary drafts with concept notes by various thematic committees in the CA, the CA members were left without any role to lurch in humiliation. The CA was left helpless as the agenda it had to deliberate were transferred from CA to Constitutional Committee, from Constitutional Committee to Dispute Resolution Sub-Committee, from the Sub-Committee to the Task Force and from there to the table of a few high-ranking leaders.
- **The Intraparty contradictions:** Just after the election of the CA, an internal contradiction arose almost in every political party. Some parties even split. These intra-party contradictions also became a challenge to the process of constitution making. Particularly, the internal contradiction of the CPN (Maoist) forced it to backtrack from agreements and change positions frequently on crucial issues. Unable to sort out their internal contradiction, the Maoist party spent much of its time on debating unnecessary petty matters in order to block proceedings on crucial constitutional questions.
- **Influence of external forces:** It is natural for external forces to have interests in constitution-making, state restructuring and peace processes in a neighbouring country. But in our case, some external forces crossed basic limits of diplomatic decorum and became part of controversies.
- **The Role of the Supreme Court:** The verdict of the Supreme Court blocking further extension of the tenure of the CA also became contentious. The Court did not seem to have been sensitive to the specific condition of the peace process and the progress being achieved in constitution making. The Court was not even found to be respectful of some basic judicial principles, such as the principle of the separation of power. It cannot be ignored that the Supreme Court verdicts of different times also played a role to complicate the matter.

## The CPN(UML) pledges that:

- *A proposal will be tabled at the first sitting of the CA securing ownership of the tasks and conclusions of the previous CA.*
- *Special efforts will be made to ensure the commitment of all parties to continue the agreements made by the previous CA into the new constitution.*
- *A comprehensive calendar of operations will be prepared specifying tasks that should be accomplished to prepare and promulgate the draft of the constitution within a year from the first sitting of the CA. In case some issues could not be settled through the CA process, a referendum will be held to address those issues.*
- *The party will continue to stand for political consensus to handle issues related to transition. The party will not support a permanent polarisation, and will do all it should, with due constructive responsibility, to avoid a situation that may affect constitution making in the name of majority and minority in the CA and in the process of government formation.*
- *Yet-to-be-settled constitutional issues will be dealt with in the light of following principles and perspectives:*

## CPN (UML): Commitment and Roadmap of Constitution Making

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Now, we are preparing to elect the second CA. The failure of the previous CA has raised doubts that the constitution will be made. We take such doubts to be obvious, but do not shy away from the responsibility the history of Nepal has bequeathed to us. It is the responsibility to free our country from the crises it is in, and take her to a new era with all energy and ability it requires. The primary tasks towards this end are to make a new constitution engaging everyone in the process, including those opting out of the election due to some differences, and to handle the prolonged transition effectively, creatively and logically. To fulfil this historic responsibility, the party pledges that:

1. A proposal will be tabled at the first sitting of the CA securing ownership of the tasks and conclusions of the previous CA.
2. Special efforts will be made to ensure the commitment of all parties to continue the agreements made by the previous CA into the new constitution.
3. A comprehensive calendar of operations will be prepared specifying tasks that should be accomplished to prepare and promulgate the draft of the constitution within a year from the first sitting of the CA. In case some issues could not be settled through the CA process, a referendum will be held to address those issues.
4. The party will continue to stand for political consensus to handle issues related to transition. The party will not support a permanent polarisation, and will do all it should, with due constructive responsibility, to avoid a situation that may affect constitution making in the name of majority and minority in the CA and in the process of government formation.
5. Yet-to-be-settled constitutional issues will be dealt with in the light of following principles and perspectives:
  - a. **Nature of the State, Federal Democratic Republic:** The new constitution will be made based on the principles of federalism and democratic republic. The preamble, articles and clauses of the constitution will be drafted in the light of this political commitment.
  - b. **Socialism-oriented Economy:** The constitution will aim to establish a socialism-oriented economy with socio-economic equality and

justice. To this aim, a mixed economy involving a balanced interaction among the public, cooperative and private sectors will be adopted. An independent, industrial and prosperous national economy will be established ending all remnants of feudalism.

- c. **Progressive Democracy with Social Justice:** The aim of the constitution will be to establish a progressive democracy that guarantees fundamental economic, social and cultural rights, including a free education upto higher secondary level, free basic health, access to employment and housing and food security. The constitution will provide for a scientific land reform. It will unequivocally protect the rights of women; Dalits; the working class; indigenous nationalities; Madhesi; Muslims; people from geographically remote areas; linguistic, religious, sexual and gender minorities; persons with disabilities; senior citizens; and every other person on margins of society. A system of public accountability will also be established to ensure the implementation of these provisions.
- d. **Pluralism, the Feature of Nepali State and Society:** Nepal will be declared as a state of multiple castes, ethnicities, languages, cultures, religions and geographies. These diversities and multiplicities will be adopted as a national treasure that creates national unity with social harmony.
- e. **Nepali People as the Source of Power:** The Interim Constitution has already established the Nepali people as sovereign and the source of state power. The new constitution will further consolidate the people's sovereignty with specific constitutional roles assigned to the people. The constitution will guarantee people's votes as final and decisive in relation to issues of national importance.
- f. **Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms:** The rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Interim Constitution and those agreed upon in the previous CA, including political freedoms, right to equality and freedom from exploitation, will be firmed up with additional clarity.
- g. **Social Security:** Social security will be established as an inalienable fundamental right. The rights of the senior citizens, children and persons with disabilities will be protected with strong enforcement mechanisms. State investment in the social sector and social security will be constitutionally mandated.

- h. **Religious Freedom and Secularism:** The issues of secularism, religious freedom and religious tolerance will be dealt with as provided for in the Interim Constitution and as agreed in the previous CA. Forced proselytation will be treated as a legal offence.
- i. **Untouchability-free Nepal:** Untouchability and caste-based discrimination will be established as a punishable social crime, and a provision of progressive reservation will be made to protect and promote the rights of Dalit people.
- j. **Independent Judiciary:** Internalising the concept of the independent judiciary, the role of Supreme Court will be firmed up as the final interpreter of the constitution and laws. The provision for an independent mechanism to appoint judges will be continued. A constitutional court will be established with specific mandates.
- k. **Inclusive Democracy:** The principle of the proportional representation of women, Dalits, indigenous nationalities, Madhesi, Muslims, remote areas, persons with disabilities and the marginalised will be upheld. A concrete plan will also be initiated to translate this principle into action.
- l. **Form of Governance:** A mixed form of governance will be adopted with a directly elected executive prime minister and a parliament-elected constitutional president. There will be special provisions to ensure checks and balances between the two offices.
- m. **Language Policy:** All spoken languages of Nepal will be respected as national languages, and a constitutional language commission will be established to protect these languages. The Nepali language will be adopted as the language of official business.
- n. **Good Governance and Democratisation of Political Parties:** Good governance, transparency and service to the people will be adopted as the main feature of the state. Earnest efforts will be initiated to democratise the function of political parties.
- o. **Constitutional Bodies:** Efforts will be made to further strengthen the existing Commission for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority, the Election Commission, the Public Service Commission and the National Human Rights Commission. The Office of the Auditor General will be developed into the Commission for General Audit. A constitutional inclusive commission will be formed to ensure

the inclusion of women, Dalits, Muslims and other communities in marginalised areas. A financial commission will be established to ensure the judicious use of natural resources and equitable distribution of revenues among federal units.

- p. **Rights of Women:** Equality of women will be constitutionally protected and the right to property, divorce and reproduction will be established as special rights of women. At least one-third representation of women will be ensured in all organs of state, and the rights guaranteed by the Interim Constitution and those agreed in the previous CA processes will be taken forward.
- q. **Citizenship Policy:** All Nepalis will get the guarantee of citizenship. The gender discrimination prevailing in the existing citizenship policy will be ended. A citizenship on the basis of decent will be mandatory for elections to important state positions.
- r. **Rights of Indigenous Nationalities:** Economic, social, cultural and political rights of indigenous nationalities will be guaranteed in the light of international human rights instruments that Nepal is party to. Special measures will be initiated to guarantee the right to identity, representation and access.
- s. **Rights of Youths:** Every youth will be entitled to the right to education, business, occupation, employment, sports and entertainment. An environment will be created for every youth to develop their full potential and capacity to lead the process of social and economic transformation of this country.
- t. **Local Autonomy and Self-governance:** People's self-governance will be constitutionally guaranteed through a powerful and autonomous local government.
- u. **Multi-identity Federalism:** There will be seven federal provinces based on multiple identities. Each province will have common and mixed communities with equal rights guaranteed to all. There will be a clear-cut division of authorities and mandates among the centre, province and local governments. The index of authorities and mandates will be as discussed and agreed in the previous CA. The nomenclature of the provinces will be done by the concerned provincial councils.

Vision of CPN (UML):  
Prosperous Nepal and Happy Nepalis



## Following examples summarise CPN (UML)'s vision:

- *The initiation of the “Let’s Build Our Village Ourselves” campaign to enhance people’s participation in and ownership of development processes from the base. The campaign returned to the people the tax collected from them for their own development.*
- *Start of the programme of social protection by paying allowances to the senior citizens and those in need.*
- *Some 60 thousand landless people were given title to land within a short time span of nine months.*
- *Start of inclusive political participation by ensuring 20 percent representation of women in local bodies.*
- *Establishment of a legal regime guaranteeing the participation of Dalits, indigenous nationalities and Madhesis from the local level.*
- *Initiation of the “People Housing Programme” for the homeless families in Tarai.*
- *The campaign of “9 ‘SA’”, and the programme of “Cooperative in every Village, Employment in Every House”.*

## Vision of CPN (UML): Prosperous Nepal and Happy Nepalis

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The vision of CPN (UML) is to establish prosperous and equitable Nepal where every Nepali lives happily.

CPN (UML) has taken the CA as the final forum for the movement for human rights, and the main entrance to the era of socio-economic transformation and prosperity. The establishment of Federal Democratic Republic has elevated Nepal's anti-feudal political movement to a new height. The responsibility before us is to consolidate what has been achieved to-date, end the remnants of feudalism and lay the foundation for the transformation of socio-economic structures. At a time when the power balance of the world is shifting towards Asia and neighbouring China and India rising as a new economic force in the world, it is only inclusive economic development at home that can protect Nepal's identity and boost her efforts at progressive transformation. The main challenge of the day is to extend the political revolution (against feudalism and its relics) to the level of socio-economic and cultural revolution, and to replace the existing feudalism-led production relations with a socialism-oriented political-economic system. In a word, we need to shoulder the responsibility to establish a new production relation to free the stunted workforce from the trap of feudalism and enable it to grow as an independent and creative force.

This means, our mission is to institutionalise Federal Democratic Republic and achieve a rapid social and economic growth.

Class contradiction is the main contradiction of Nepali society as well as the main source of oppression. This contradiction also provides the basis for gender, caste, ethnic, linguistic, cultural and other social oppressions. For economic prosperity, a clear political action plan is necessary to end the divisive and discriminatory structures prevailing in Nepali society. A development effort not backed by appropriate politics is doomed to failure. A rapid economic growth is necessary for development, and such growth cannot be achieved by the system that supports the interest of a handful of elites. To tackle this scenario, CPN (UML) will follow a balanced development model that at once supports a rapid growth as well as just distribution.

Nepal has all the means necessary for a nation to achieve prosperity: vast amount of natural and cultural treasure; honest and hardworking human resources; rich biodiversity, geography and cultural multiplicity; and, international goodwill and cooperation.

Let us repeat what we had said before: neoliberal capitalist democracy does not resolve the problems facing the working class. Similarly, one-party totalitarianism, irrespective of the name given to it, does not address the problems of the day. CPN (UML) is, as such, in favour of a welfare state that guarantees all democratic rights and ensures social justice to all through a participatory and inclusive governance process. CPN (UML) is, as such, guided by the principles of People's Multiparty Democracy.

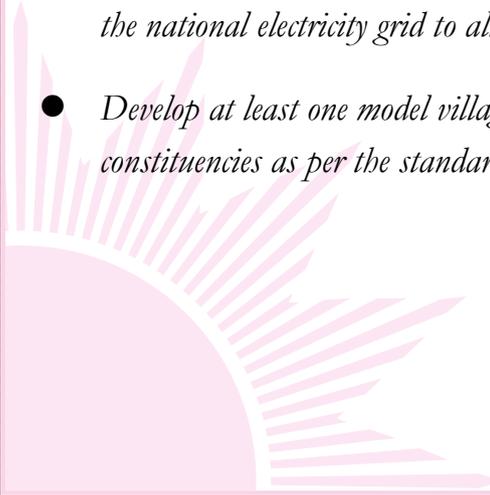
CPN (UML) is a tested political force on which Nepali people can count. Its balanced role over the years is not its weakness as some forces project it to be. Our struggle is for strong nationality, stable democracy and people's prosperity. It is for every person's food, shelter, clothing, education, health and employment. From 1995, when CPN (UML) formed a minority government, it has presented its vision and programmes for Nepal's socio-economic transformation. Following examples summarise CPN (UML)'s vision.

- The initiation of the “Let's Build Our Village Ourselves” campaign to enhance people's participation in and ownership of development processes from the base.
- Start of the programme of social protection by paying allowances to the senior citizens and those in need.
- Initiation of the “Child Protection Grant” to build healthy and able citizens by supporting mental and physical development of children from the low-income class.
- Policy direction for land reform and land management through high level land reform commission: some 60 thousand landless people were given title to land within a short time span of nine months.
- Start of inclusive political participation by ensuring 20 percent representation of women in local bodies. Presentation of a proposal, in the restored House of Representatives, ensuring at least 33 percent of women's participation in every organ of the state.

- Initiation of a policy for land and property registration without cost for women to enhance their right to property, and the start of a delivery allowance to protect maternity and the lives of newborns.
- Establishment of a legal regime guaranteeing the participation of Dalits, indigenous nationalities and Madhesi from the local level.
- Initiation of the “People Housing Programme” for the homeless families in Tarai.
- Initiation of a campaign to connect villages and communities to road networks. As such, the start of “mid-hills” road project in the hills and “Hulaki Sadak (postal road)” in the Tarai. The start of the “fast track” project to connect Kathmandu to the mid-Tarai is the UML’s vision of connecting the nation and the people.
- Initiation of projects to construct an international airport in Nijgadh and regional airports in Pokhara and Lumbini.
- The campaign of “9-SA”, and the programme of “Cooperative in every Village, Employment in Every House”.
- Protection of Tarai through construction of “People’s Embankment” projects.
- Establishment of the base for workers’ social security through “1%” tax.
- Scholarship for schoolgirls at community schools - covering education upto grade 10.
- Initiation of hydro projects, including the Uper Tamakoshi project, with national efforts.
- Government grants to maintain patent of various agricultural products.
- Initiation of a foreign employment saving bond through which to build an infrastructure for the investment of remittance in productive schemes.
- Initiation of the concept of the national identity card and ‘state support identity card’ for those below the poverty line.

With these evidences of success, which are representative, CPN (UML) believes that the socio-economic transformation of Nepali society is possible within a short period of time.

## Our Party will commit to achieving the following results in the next five years:

- *Continue the “Let’s Build Our Village Ourselves” programme by allocation five million rupees per VDC per year, and also the “9 ‘SA” campaign by allocating 50 million rupees per constituency per year*
  - *Guarantee housing to 500,000 homeless families. No one will remain homeless within 10 years from now.*
  - *Guarantee everyone’s access to basic and primary health services. Reduce maternity mortality rate to the lowest minimum, and protect all children below the poverty line from malnutrition.*
  - *Ensure everyone’s access to modern energy. Free the country from the problem of load shedding, and expand the national electricity grid to all district headquarters.*
  - *Develop at least one model village in all 240 election constituencies as per the standard of developing countries.*
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## CPN (UML)'s Roadmap for Economic and Social Transformation

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The Interim Constitution of Nepal has already provided that Nepal will have a mixed economy based on a balanced collaboration and complementarily of public, private and cooperative sectors. The public sector will invest in the development of infrastructures and the guarantee of fundamental rights, such as basic education, health, drinking water and food security. The public sector will also lead the process to ensure equitable development of the social sector, guarantee of minimum employment, poverty reduction, environmental protection and development, balanced regional development, industrial security and economic development.

The cooperative sector will play a key role to uplift the living standard of common people. Through the cooperatives, scattered capital will be collated at the community level and invested in both income and employment generating enterprises initiated by low-income groups for production, sales and services.

The private sector will be developed as a catalyst to boost both the morale and momentum of the entire economy. There will be a constitutional protection of the right to property of all businesspersons and entrepreneurs. The “profit – sustainability – and security” of investment will be guaranteed in a manner that maintains a co-existence between labour and capital investors. Agricultural transformation, development of water resources and physical infrastructures, tourism and industrial promotion and development of human resources will be identified as the key sectors for a complete development of the economy.

Central to our vision of development will be (i) to create massive employment through industrialisation and development of the service sector, and (ii) to develop productive forces through a balanced production relation.

Our Party will commit to achieving the following results in the next five years:

1. Elevate Nepal's standard from its current status of a Least Developed Country to one of a Developing Country by achieving significant improvements in per capita income, social and physical infrastructure development and indices of human development.

2. Continue the “*Let’s Build Our Village Ourselves*” programme by allocation five million rupees per VDC per year, and also the “9 ‘SA’<sup>1</sup>” campaign by allocating 50 million rupees per constituency per year
3. Guarantee housing to 500,000 homeless families. No one will remain homeless within 10 years from now.
4. Bring pure drinking water to all citizens. Free the entire country from the shame of open defecation.
5. Generate at least 300,000 jobs a year to effectively manage the 400,000 workforce that enters the labour market every year.
6. Eradicate illiteracy completely. Enhance everyone’s access to education and end the existing unproductive education system.
7. Guarantee everyone’s access to basic and primary health services. Reduce maternity mortality rate to the lowest minimum, and protect all children below the poverty line from malnutrition.
8. Guarantee the right to food while ensuring complete food independence. No life will be at jeopardy just in lack of food.
9. Ensure everyone’s access to modern energy. Free the country from the problem of load shedding, and expand the national electricity grid to all district headquarters.
10. Connect all district headquarters with round-the-year blacktopped roads. Connect at least 95 percent of communities with road networks. Create a road network in a manner that enables all human settlements to access the road within less than a four-hour walking distance. Complete the mid-hill *lok marg*a (highway) and the *Hulaki* (postal) highway in Tarai.
11. Launch a special programme entitled “useful education–gainful employment” for the youths who comprise nearly half of the nation’s population. Youth leadership will be established to lead the process towards Nepal’s prosperity. Employment for youths will be guaranteed and an allowance will be paid to those who remain unemployed.
12. Promulgate a development policy that promotes dignified employment. Guarantee workers’ social security through a contributory integrated

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1 *This campaign includes programmes that start with Nepali- १ (SA), those were: 1) Education & Literacy; 2) Health & Drinking Water; 3) Irrigation and Modernization of Agriculture; 4) Road, Communication & Infrastructure Development; 5) Social Security & Employment; 6) Community Forest & Environment ; 7) Cooperative & Small and Medium-size Enterprises; 8) Small Hydro-power & Modern Energy; 9) Skill Training & Human Resources*

social security fund, and create an environment for the workers and employers to coexist with an investment-friendly environment.

13. Bring communication services to all individuals and the high-tech information technology to all VDCs. Every effort will be made to end the digital divide, and a campaign will be launched to develop necessary infrastructures to suit the federal structure of the country.
14. Develop at least one model village in all 240 election constituencies as per the standard of developing countries.
15. Initiate efforts to construct an international airport in Nijgadh, and complete the construction of regional airports in Pokhara and Bhairahawa.
16. Construct an ethnic museum to depict Nepal's social diversity, and develop the Narayanhiti Museum in a manner that shows Nepal's historical development.

**To achieve them, CPN (UML) presents the following short-term, mid-term and long-term vision and plan:**

## **A. Economic Sector**

### **Development of a Prosperous Society: Scientific Land Reform and Epoch-making Transformation in Agriculture**

- Access of peasants to land will be guaranteed through scientific land reform. Foundation of prosperous society will be established by increasing the productivity and maximum utilisation of land. Land will be classified as per land use category and title certificates will be distributed on the basis of its utilisation. Agricultural land shall not be allowed to be used for any other purposes. Provision will be made to reallocate agricultural land from absentee landlords by providing appropriate compensation.
- State will allocate budget and grants, develop infrastructure, provide insurance, manage price and monitor markets for the overall protection of agriculture.
- Agriculture will be modernised and commercialised focusing on the use of high quality agricultural technology, productive seeds, improved livestock breeds and healthy fodders for cattle. If the seeds/seedlings and breeds certified by the State result in any loss, the State will provide compensation for the peasants.
- Food security of the people will be guaranteed through the productivity growth, systematising distribution system with the participation of the state and controlling price and monitoring of quality.

- Development of rural infrastructures, agriculture-based small-, medium- and large-scale industries will be promoted. Agro-market information centres will be established. Public godown and cold stores will be made available for the storage and processing. Monopoly and profits of middlemen will be restricted by making cooperatives an integral part of distribution system by promoting their social responsibility.
- Regular irrigation will be made available in at least 75 percent of the agricultural land. Underground water will be utilised and multipurpose irrigation plan will be implemented through surface irrigation, shallow tube-well and deep-boring. Irrigation through rain harvesting will be made effective where there is a lack of natural resources. The rivers and riverbanks will be appropriately used in multi-purpose development, such as fishery, water-transportation and so on.
- Land yield will be amplified with the increased utilisation of organic manure prepared through the use of multipurpose forest products. Efforts will be made to end dependency on fertilizers.

### **Foundation of Prosperity:**

#### **Water Resource, Energy and Strong Infrastructure**

- Energy is a matter of civil right. Such right will be established by providing access of energy to all people within 5 years. Electricity will be provided for free to the very poor class people. A policy will be adopted to gradually provide free energy to destitute citizens and for agriculture use.
- Strategy with the national consensus will be adopted for the development of energy sector. High priority will be given to the multi-sectoral utilisation of water resources, energy development and infrastructure development. Government will invest in the expansion of transmission line and development of hydropower projects with reservoirs.
- Public-private partnership policy will be adopted at the national level for the development of energy, expansion of market and maximisation of multi-sectoral benefits. Bilateral and multilateral partnership plans will be implemented for the development and expansion of energy of inter-country regional importance.
- A legal, autonomous and powerful body will be established to address the dispute over the energy development. Security of the investment in energy will be guaranteed. Land acquisition and use of public forests will be made easy and accessible.

*Energy is a matter of civil right. Such right will be established by providing access of energy to all people within 5 years. Electricity will be provided for free to the very poor class people.*



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- Interest of local community and national ownership over natural resources will be ensured.
  - Larger hydro projects including Upper Karnali, West Seti, Budhigandaki, Upper Marsyandi, Lower Arun, Tamakoshi III, Arun III, and Upper Tamor will be completed with the participation of private sector. Renewable energy and solar energy, together with hydroelectricity, will be promoted. Concessional loan will be provided for the development of energy. Emphasis will be made on early completion of hydro-power projects under construction, increased investment and subsidy for micro-hydro, bio-energy development and energy generation from solid waste.
  - Construction of roads to link north-south borders will be completed at least in four river corridors and an east-west railway and Kathmandu-Pokhara railway will be started with the investment of government and private sector. Kathmandu-Tarai fast-track highway and tunnel highway as well as monorail in Kathmandu Valley will be constructed with the involvement of the private sector.
  - Development of basic infrastructures will be immediately started in the possible provincial capital cities.

### **Development of Cultural Partnership:**

#### **Promotion of Internal and External Tourism**

- Tourism industry will be promoted by introducing Nepal as an open library for the study of bio and cultural diversity, natural beauty, climate change and forest resources. Government controlled conservation areas and national parks will be developed as tourism destinations.
- Tourism destinations will be further developed in the mid-west and far-west regions with high potential for tourism. Two million tourists will be brought to Nepal by 2017 by developing new trekking routes.
- Greater Lumbini Development Masterplan will be charted encompassing the regions of Ramgram, Devdaha, Lumbini and Tilaurakot. Centres

of religious tourism such as Pashupatinath and Ram-Janaki Temples be further promoted.

- Multi-sectoral tourism will be developed by promoting the destinations for adventure, entertainment, medical care, sports, film and conventions.
- Special support will be provided for the protection of indigenous arts, cultures and traditions of local communities. Special attention will be paid to the security of tourists and protection of environment in the tourism destinations. Development of tourist regions will be geared to ensure the rights of local communities to the benefits accruing from tourism.
- Internal tourism will be developed and the citizens will be made aware of the beauty and potential of our nation with a focus on the importance of cultural diversity.

### **Human Resource for Economic Development**

- Basic role of human resources as the main productive force will be emphasised and skilled, educated and competent human resources will be developed. To prepare educated human resources as required for the labour market, the education policy of the state will be amended appropriately and the technical and scientific education will be expanded rapidly.
- Labour market suitable unified training policy will be adopted to produce capable human resources required for the industrial enterprises.

### **Industrial Policy, Trade and Foreign Investment**

- Priority will be given to the industries that have a comparative advantage to the domestic investment and in other sectors foreign direct investment will be invited.
- Huge trade deficit will be reduced by establishing industries which can substitute import and incentive will be provided to the industries increasing export.
- Special facility will be provided to labour intensive industries based on domestic raw materials. International market will be explored for the Nepali products.
- State will play a leading role in the promotion of cottage and small industries based on local skills, technology and raw materials.
- State will provide support and facility to the industries that create more employment opportunities such as knowledge based industries.

## **Independent Economy, Improved Taxation and Financial Accessibility**

- In order to build an independent economy, the basic liability of the state will be met from internal revenues. Tax system will be made scientific, justifiable and private sector friendly. Citizen's awareness will be raised to make a habit of paying tax. Dependence on foreign aid will be gradually reduced.
- It will be ensured that it is the Nepalese who decide on country's development roadmap, economic policy determination, resource mobilisation and the distribution of the dividend of development.
- Import-oriented production structure, consumption and revenue collection pattern will be put to an end. Internal investment will be increased, exports strengthened and the national economy will be made stronger.
- Easy access to finance will be made available for all Nepalese guaranteeing them secure deposit through financial system, providing them with easy insurance service, and making them avail loan through easy process.
- Special measures will be adopted for the security of people's deposits. Saving protection plan will be brought into implementation to make reliable the savings and transaction of cooperative shareholders.
- Small scale finance will be developed as a foundation of economic and social transformation and equitable economic development. It will be utilised to increase income and employment opportunities for the poor people and women empowerment through the mobilisation of local means and resources.
- Loan facility will be provided to the low income people without any mortgage. Easy finance facility will be provided to the small and medium scale industries to create self-employment opportunities.

## **B. Social Sector**

### **Education**

- Education will be guaranteed as a fundamental right of the people. Basic education will be made compulsory and secondary level education (up to grade 12) will be made free.
- Child development centres will be established, developed and strengthened to implement the elementary child development concept. Children will be attracted to the school education expanding the pre-school concept.
- Primary schools will be established in such a manner that guarantees an easy access to every school age child. Employment friendly education

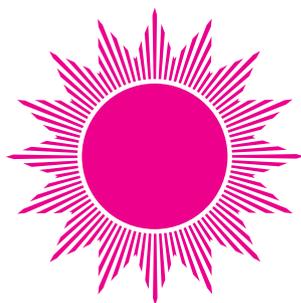
will be promoted from grade eight. The concept of 'residential school' will be implemented in the mountain and high hill districts where human settlement is scattered.

- Efforts will be initiated to make community schools more effective. Discriminations rampant in education sectors and situation of 'two types of citizens' created by the discriminatory education system will be ended. A grade system will be applied instead of the current 'pass-fail method of school and college examinations' to save the investment in education. Students will be prepared to choose from vocational, technical and scientific educations based on the grade for their higher education.
- Scholarships will be provided to women, Dalits, persons with disabilities, Muslims, Madhesi, workers, and peoples from excluded and marginalised communities to guarantee their access to higher education.
- Agriculture, forestry and technical universities will be standardised as per the concept of multi-universities. Online and IT-based distance learning will be promoted. Higher education will be made research-oriented.
- Emphasis will be placed on access to information and reading habits through 'One School - One Library' and 'One village, One Library' campaigns. The National Library will be strengthened and its e-library programme will be expanded, developed and further standardised.

## Health

- Basic health services will be guaranteed as fundamental right of the people. Everyone will have access to free essential and primary health care. State funds will be mobilised to bring all citizens to a health insurance scheme. Contribution-based social security funds will be mobilised for health insurance for those in the employment.
- Maternal mortality rate will be brought down to the lowest minimum. State will take the whole responsibility for maternity protection. An air ambulance facility will be arranged for the protection of postnatal deaths in remote areas.
- Hospitals and health posts will be arranged in such a manner that increases every citizen's access to health services. Prioritised health services will be made easily available. Enough subsidies will be provided for the treatment of heart, cancer, kidney and other chronic diseases. Tele-medicine facility will be promoted.

*Basic health services will be guaranteed as fundamental right of the people. Everyone will have access to free essential and primary health care. State funds will be mobilised to bring all citizens to a health insurance scheme.*



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- Children of the families with the State Facility Identity Card will be provided with a child protection subsidy to ensure that the children are malnutrition-free.
  - Access of all citizens to essential health services will be guaranteed through a health insurance scheme. No one will be deprived of basic health services due to the lack of economic support.

### **Social Security**

- Necessary policies and mechanisms will be developed for effective implementation of an integrated social security system.
- Social security of those in employment will be strengthened by mobilising the funds established through a mutual agreement between workers and employers.
- Lifelong social security will be arranged for targeted groups and communities utilising the tax paid by the citizens.
- Through social support programmes, relief will be provided to the people from backward communities and those out of social protection nets. The allowances for senior citizens, single women, persons with disabilities and other schemes will be increased to make the amount enough to earn a living. Necessary policies and programmes will be launched to ensure that senior citizens are given respect in family and society and they have a productive life-style.

### **Problems of Landless and Homeless People**

- Problems of landless squatters awaiting a solution for a long time will be addressed by forming a powerful commission.
- The state will guarantee the access of people to housing.
- Housing facility will be provided to five million people in a five year period. No citizen will be left homeless within ten years.
- Problem of squatters will be solved by implementing a contribution-based housing system in urban areas.

- The state will provide a housing facility to the families of the victims of natural disasters.

## **Sports**

- Sports will be developed as a medium of healthy development of children, personality development of youths and national unity and pride.
- The National Sports Council will be restructured democratically. A national sports authority will be formed and the existing sports policy will be amended as necessary.
- Existing sports infrastructures will be protected and their capacity will be upgraded throughout the country. Sports stadiums with complete facilities will be built in all five development regions. The private sector will be encouraged to invest in sports making arrangement of tax exemption for them. A sports academy of different sectors will be developed and promoted.
- Concept of institutional development of sports will be implemented in schools and rural areas.
- Sports will be included in the curriculum right from the school level. A sports college will be established.
- Investments will be made to systematise the recordkeeping of players, explore their potential and enhance their capacity. Minimum allowances will be provided to national and international players for their living.
- A High Altitude Sports Training Centre will be set up.
- Adventure sports, such as mountaineering, rafting, canoeing, paragliding, bungee jump and ski will be linked to the broad plan of tourism development.

## **Building a New Culture**

- Effective campaigns will be launched against superstition, discrimination, hatred and bigotry.
- Efforts will be made to remain active in ending decadent capitalist culture, which is based on consumerism, ultra individualism, corruption and extravagance.
- Special campaign at state and mass level will be launched to build a new culture-based on nationalism, democracy, diversity and pluralism, humanism, respect for labour and human values.

- Effective legal provisions and people's awareness campaigns will be launched against drug abuse, and health risks of smoking and alcohol use.

## **C. Democracy, Governance and Justice**

### **Transparency, Governance and Culture of Information: Guarantee of Diversity in the Means of Communication**

- Diversity in the media will be maintained to guarantee the multiplicity in beliefs and opinions and strengthen democracy with a complete press freedom. Environment will be created for the mass media to develop it as an industry.
- Government's means of transmission will be completely free of political interference and will be operated as the public means of transmission. Policy provisions will be arranged to guarantee their autonomy and fair operations.
- Mass media will be completely free from political and business interests. Editorial freedom, transparency of investment, and freedom of opinion and expression will be guaranteed legally.
- The Working Journalists Act will be completely respected and minimum wages provided to working journalists as per the recommendations of the Wages Determination Committee.
- The Right to Information Act will be fully implemented. Multiplicity in media will be ensured by developing a culture and system of diversity in the ownership of media. Foreign investments will not be accepted in the media. An Act against centralisation will be developed to end monopoly over the mass media.
- Support will be provided for the practice of investment, protection and respect for labour to develop healthy relations between journalists and investors.
- The frequency of radio and television will be managed as a natural or national property. Effect of social networking and online media will be utilised as a means of awareness raising of the people. Necessary legal arrangements will be made for the development and operation of new media outlets.
- Media study, training, research and mass media education will be promoted. A mass media museum will be established in Kathmandu.
- An appropriate national film policy will be developed to strengthen the Nepali film industry.

## **Justice and Governance**

- Ingredients of good governance such as transparency in decision making and responsiveness will be implemented through e-governance and by utilising other technologies of transparency. Public services will be made available to all people. A prompt, easy and accessible justice system will be developed and free justice will be provided to the helpless and vulnerable people. Administrative services will be made pro-people and more efficient. They will be restructured in-line with the federal system of governance.
- Zero tolerance will be adopted against corruption. Social campaigns including public awareness will be launched against corruption. Corrupt people will be socially boycotted. The culprits of corruption will be expelled from the political, social and state responsibilities.
- Effective actions will be taken to control increasing crime and anarchy in society and malpractices in politics.

## **Human Rights**

- International human rights standards including the international humanitarian laws, covenants and conventions to which Nepal is a State party will be effectively implemented. Fundamental rights and freedoms enshrined in the constitution will be fully implemented. The role of the National Human Rights Commission will be further strengthened and made more effective.

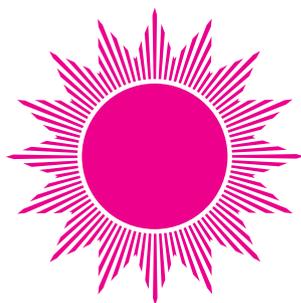
## **Local Elections for Local Development through People's Representatives**

- The right to self governance of local people will be guaranteed by holding local elections immediately. Local bodies will be made resourceful and fiscal good governance will be maintained as the basis of the federal structure of governance.
- Capacity of local bodies will be enhanced and local leadership developed to guarantee people's participation in development.

## **Justice and Relief to Conflict Victims**

- The perpetrators of the grave violation of human rights and the guilty of crime against humanity during the armed conflict will be prosecuted by establishing the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Commission on 'Disappearance' as per international standards. Justice will be ensured to the victims of such grave acts.

*International human rights standards including the international humanitarian laws, covenants and conventions to which Nepal is a State party will be effectively implemented. Fundamental rights and freedoms enshrined in the constitution will be fully implemented.*



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- Easy and effective relief will be provided to the victims of conflict without any discrimination.
  - Massive social campaign will be launched against violence and in favour of peace.
  - Artists, cultural activists, writers, leaders of religious sectors and social activists will be encouraged to contribute to increase social harmony and unity.
  - Rehabilitation works and psychosocial counselling will be effectively carried out to heal the wounds of conflict.

#### **D. Natural Resources, Environment and Urban Development**

- Inherent rights of Nepalese people over Nepal's natural resources will be secured.
- Minimum 40 percent green (forest) area will be conserved. Productivity of forest areas will be increased by ensuring effective conservation and management of the forest resources. Similarly, community forest users groups will be provided with leadership and ownership of the forest management system. Processes will be expedited to transfer forest management responsibilities to the community people.
- Sustainable conservation of biodiversity and ecosystem will be made effective. State will act responsibly to minimise the effects of climate change and enhance the capacity of Nepalese citizens to face climate change challenges.
- Appropriate policies will be adopted to utilise water resources for national interests by fully protecting Nepal's rights over the resources. Effective mobilisation of foreign and multilateral aid will be ensured to meet Nepal's development goals.
- Special policy will be adopted for mine development.

- To protect the *Chure* region, the green belt of Nepal, disastrous human settlements and unplanned agriculture sectors will be managed through systematic options. Establishment of environmentally hazardous industries will be completely prohibited. People residing around the *Chure* region will be provided with modern energy facilities in order to minimise over-exploitation of natural resources.
- The “People’s Embankment” programme, which was initiated by previous CPN (UML) government, will be intensified. New dams will be constructed in all major rivers of Tarai-Madhes. Land reclamation, forest area extension and housing for landless people will be other key priorities to be included in the development plans.

### Urbanisation and Housing Development

- Special programmes will be implemented to develop urban areas around Mid-Hill Highway, “*Hulaki* Highway” (postal highway) in Tarai, Kathmandu-Tarai Fast Track and North-South highways.
- Planned urbanisation, easy supply of drinking water, electricity and other facilities, garbage management and special greenery development programmes will be implemented in order to make clean, green and beautiful Kathmandu Valley and other cities. Mandatory provisions will be made to ensure earthquake resistant building constructions. Reflection of local culture and Nepali architectures in construction works will be promoted. The capital city will be made load shedding-free within a year and the same will be done within two years in all sub-metropolitan towns. Greater Kathmandu Development plan will be launched by including adjacent areas of the capital. The industries will be relocated out of the capital.
- Programmes will be launched to transform scattered settlements into more dense settlements in upper hill and mountain areas. Townships to resettle the liberated Kamaiya, Kamalari and liberated Haliya will be built.
- Places like Jiri, Jomsom and Jumla will be developed as summer cities.
- While elevating Nepal from a Least Developed to a Developing country, at least one model residential area will be constructed in each of 240 election constituencies to reflect the development standard of Nepal’s rural areas.

### E. Labour Relation and Employment

- Comprehensive labour laws will be promulgated by covering all sectors of work and employment. Labour relation will be redefined based on the

constitutional guarantee of labour rights, their representation in policy-making levels, and implementation of all agreements reached by the government, trade unions and employers in the past. At least 10 percent representation of the working class will be ensured in the elected and policy decision-making bodies of the state.

- The labour-capital balance will be maintained by implementing a policy of “the more social security, the more labour market flexibility”. A Social Security Fund Act, prepared on the basis of tripartite understanding, will be immediately released. Special provisions will be made to involve every worker in social security plans. Social security identity cards will be provided to workers for immediate health treatment, unemployment allowances, accident insurance, reproductive health facilities and retirement pensions.
- All forms of labour exploitation will be ended by ensuring minimum wage to every worker, by providing at least 100 days of employment by the state, and by establishing a comprehensive labour inspection system.
- Freedom of organisation and expression, collective bargaining, and the rights against discrimination, child labour and bonded labour will be included as fundamental rights in the new constitution. A Labour Commission will be formed to ensure prompt justice to workers.
- Provisions will be made to register all workers, who are involved in formal and informal, organised and unorganised sectors, and regular and irregular types of employment. By uniting labour forces on the bases of diverse trade unions, ongoing campaign of establishing a ‘single umbrella confederation’ will be made more effective to increase labour force productivity and ensure labour rights.
- Foreign employment will be made secured, decent and skilful. For the protection of Nepali migrant workers, special labour agreements will be made with the government of country of desitination.
- Trainings and financial supports will be provided to workers for empowering them to be the masters of means of production.

### **Ending Unemployment: Launching Massive Employment Campaign**

- Even one fourth of 400,000 youths who enter into labour market annually do not get employment in the country. Fifty percent of youth population or 30 percent of general citizens are outside the remit of descent employment. Following measures will be taken to address such an adverse situation.

- State's investment will be focused on sectors such as agriculture, tourism, micro enterprises, hydropower, micro finance and construction services that create large-scale employment opportunities.
- Cooperative sector will be strengthened and expanded to create self-employment and other types of employment opportunity. Cooperative initiatives will be facilitated to effectively deliver production, processing and distribution of the products.
- Employment opportunities will be created by making facilities and concessional provisions in the Industrial Policy and Act, and by promoting private investment in the industrial as well as vocational and service sectors.
- Based on the above policy, 300,000 new jobs will be created annually. Every year 100,000 jobs will be created in agriculture sector. Similarly, 50,000 jobs will be created in each of large-scale production, small and medium size enterprises, construction, and service sectors on an annual basis.
- Remaining labour force will be mobilised through safe and decent foreign employment. Skill development provisions will be made available for those who opt for foreign employment so as to prepare them at least as semi-skilled workers. Returned migrant workers will be provided with trainings in microcredit, technology and entrepreneurship to absorb them in the domestic labour market. Information centres will be established to maintain database of migrant workers and to mobilise remittance for productive purposes. Foreign employment will be gradually replaced by domestic employment.
- "One Household: At Least One Employment" programme will be implemented. Legal provisions will be made to ensure employment for youths.

## **F. Special Sector: Special Policy**

### **Respecting Women: Prospering the Whole Society**

- Equitable society will be created by changing all discriminatory laws, norms and practices that are against women.
- At least 33 percent women representation will be ensured in all sectors of public life. Efforts will be made for 50 percent women representation in the local governments.

*Comprehensive labour laws will be promulgated by covering all sectors of work and employment. At least 10 percent representation of the working class will be ensured in the elected and policy decision-making bodies of the state.*



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- Equal rights will be ensured in ancestral and property shares for all children. Women's rights will be ensured in reproductive health and divorce-related issues. Special priority will be given to women for education, health, employment and social security programmes.
  - Strict laws will be promulgated and effectively implemented to end all forms of discrimination against women. Provisions will be made to establish Fast Track Court to deal with such issues. Child marriage and polygamy/polyandry will be completely prohibited. Code of conduct will be prepared and implemented for political parties and their sister organisations to combat gender-based violence and discrimination against women.
  - Joint land ownership certificate programme will be effectively implemented to increase women's ownership of land.
  - Constitutional provision will be made to have at least one woman among the positions of Head of State, Deputy Head of State, Prime Minister and Speaker of the Parliament.

### **Dignifying Dalits: Respecting Humanity**

- The declaration of 'untouchability-free country' will be made meaningful in reality. The offence of untouchability and caste-based discrimination will be made strictly punishable as a serious social crime.
- Special campaigns will be launched by the state to eliminate caste-based discrimination and all forms of discriminatory practices against Dalits.
- As a compensation for the historical discrimination and exploitation against Dalits, special provisions will be made for their proportional representation in state structures. Special rights will be provided for Dalits in education, health and employment sectors.

### **Rights of Indigenous Nationalities: Foundation for a Pluralistic Society**

- Right to identity, representation and access of indigenous-nationalities to resources and services will be ensured. Appropriate legal and institutional

arrangements will be made for their economic, social and cultural development.

- National laws will be promulgated to ensure their rights as enshrined in various international conventions and treaties.
- Special programmes will be launched by the state to protect language, culture, traditions and ancestral skills of the indigenous people.

### **Identity of Tarai/Madhesh People: Progress of the Entire Nation**

- Specific programmes will be launched to bring Tarai-Madhesh people in the national mainstream by ending socio-cultural discrimination, internal oppression and exploitation against them.
- Tarai-Madhesh focused education, awareness and empowerment campaigns will be run to eliminate harmful traditional beliefs and practices.
- Special programmes will be implemented to address problems of poverty, scarcity and underdevelopment in Tarai-Madhesh. Serious attention will be given to resolve border invasion, violent crimes, natural disasters and social discriminations in those areas.

### **Geographically Marginalised Region**

- Special facilities and concessional services will be provided by the state to the people from Karnali and other remote and geographically marginalised regions to bring them at the average national development standard.
- Right to food and right to basic health care services will be ensured for the people in Karnali and other geographically marginalised regions. Special campaigns will be launched to develop the rich natural resources of those regions by benefiting local people.
- Road, electricity and financial services will be made easily accessible in remote regions within five years.

### **Youth: Drivers of Transformation and Partners of Leadership**

- Youths, who share half of the total population, will be developed as main drivers of economic and social transformation as well as today's partners for change. Youth leadership will be developed by enabling them to take responsibilities in social, political and economic affairs.
- "Useful Education: Productive Employment" programme will be launched by targeting youths.

- By increasing entrepreneurship, youths will be attracted to self-employment. Conducive environment will be made for the advancement of creativity, energy and prospects of youths. The trends of misusing youths in violence, addiction and anarchy will be controlled.
- Internship systems will be developed to introduce youths with pre-job work experiences. Measures will be taken to create faith over labour and working habits of the youths. They will be integrated into society through volunteering programmes.
- Domestic high salary employment opportunities will be created for educated and deserving youths.
- Vocational training programmes will be initiated by targeting school dropout and under-SLC youths.

### **Disability: Opportunity, Not a Challenge**

- Positive attitude is to be created towards disability. Capacity of persons with disabilities will be enhanced through special education, skill development and employment programmes. Life-long social security will be ensured for persons with disabilities. Infrastructures will be made disable-friendly.

### **Children: Future of Our Nation**

- By realising the concept of 'children as zone of peace', their rights to live with proper care and healthy environment will be guaranteed. Early childhood development and right to education will be ensured. Child-centred programmes will be brought into practice to protect their childhood, and to provide proper nutrition and motherhood for physical and mental growth. Child labour will be abolished. Child protection allowances will be increased through long-term investment in this area.

### **Rights of Minorities**

- Religious and cultural rights of minority communities, including Muslims, and their cultural heritages will be preserved and protected. Education run by Madarassa and other religious institutions will be integrated into national education system. Appropriate space will be provided for crementation to different religious minority groups. Religious tolerance and equality amongst various religious beliefs will be developed.
- Special language survey and protection programmes will be run in order to preserve endangered ethnic communities and their languages.

- Provisions will be made to ensure respect for the rights of sexual and gender minorities and other sections of LGBT group and to increase their dignity of life. Effective steps will be taken to end discriminations faced by them in various fields including obtaining citizenship, and procuring employment.

## **G. Issues of National Concern**

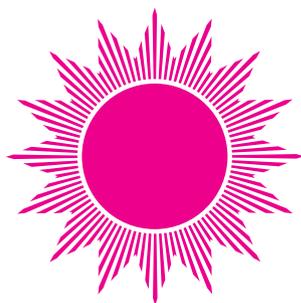
### **National Security**

- National security policy will be prepared by ensuring protection of national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, conservation of natural resources, and by maintaining social harmony and human security. The concept of ‘people as foundation for national security’ will be upheld in the policy. Pride for patriotism and sense of national unity will be promoted amongst all citizens.
- Modernisation of Nepal Army, their professional capacity development, provisions of adequate resources and democratic restructuring processes will be continued. Its structures will be made more inclusive.
- In order to enhance their professional ability, Nepal Police will be well equipped. Citizens–Police relationship will be further strengthened.
- Armed Police Force will be modernised and capacitated.
- The capacity of National Investigation Department will be enhanced for enabling them to effectively forecast on and address national and internal security issues and challenges.

### **Non-Residential Nepalese**

- Initiations will be taken to involve Non-Residential Nepalese as partners of national development by recognising them as Nepal’s Goodwill Ambassadors across the world and by utilising their skills, resources and experiences for the benefit of the country. Necessary arrangements will be made for them to invest in Nepal, take with them the profit of their investment and ease financial activities.
- Non-Residential Nepalese will be provided with economic and social rights and they will be respected as equal as other Nepalese citizens. Non-Residential Nepalese citizenship certificate will be provided to them.
- Partnership with the government, national investors and Non-Residential Nepalese Association will be developed to maximise investments in large-scale projects.

*National security policy will be prepared by ensuring protection of national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, conservation of natural resources, and by maintaining social harmony and human security. The concept of 'people as foundation for national security' will be upheld in the policy.*



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## **International Affairs**

- Cordial and balanced relationship will be maintained with neighbouring countries by protecting Nepal's national interests, independence and sovereignty, and by being sensitive to each others' genuine concerns and interests. It is assured that Nepal's land will not be provided to use against the interests of any neighbouring country.
- The main goal of the international relation and foreign affairs policy will be to make visible contribution for national development and prosperity of Nepalese people by promoting world peace, humanity, harmony and friendly relationship with other nations. The Charter of the United Nations, principles of peaceful coexistence (*Panchsheel*), non-alignment, and regional cooperation and support will be major pillars of the foreign policy.
- Anti-people acts such as imperialism, domination, neo-colonialism, armament, casteism, racism and terrorism will be denounced. World peace, disarmament, and national and social liberation movements will be supported.
- South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) will be made more effective by facilitating mutual support amongst member states.
- Effective processes will be expediated for diplomatic initiations and bilateral dialogues to resolve border issues, including proper management of checkpoints.
- Participation of Nepal in the United Nations Peace Missions will be increased for maintaining peace in the world. Nepal's foreign missions will be effectively mobilised for economic diplomacy as well.
- Rights of Nepalese citizens, who are in foreign countries for employment purposes, will be protected.

## Science and Technology

- Considerable development of science and technology will be given priority in order to raise scientific awareness in the society, modernise traditional technology and capacity, integrate modern technology in national development efforts, and comfort people's lives. Modern technology will be integrated into economic production endeavours.
- State will play a leading role to ensure easy access to science and technology for all.
- Emphasis will be given on producing IT-based human resources and IT-based young entrepreneurship. Measures will be taken for the penetration of internet to every nook and corner of the country and taking broadband network and IT-based services to village level.

### And, CPN (UML) also declares:

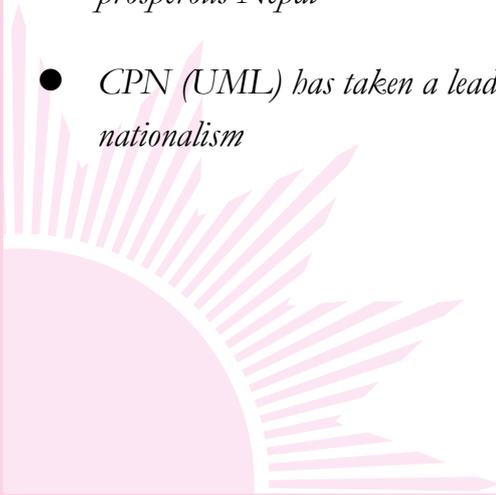
1. Ongoing culture of *Nepal Bandh* (general strike) in the name of raising demands, making complaints or organising protests creates trouble for ordinary citizens, results in loss of economy, devastates the future of students and spoils the image of the country. Therefore, we try to resolve any problem through dialogues and other peaceful means. CPN (UML) makes a commitment: **We will never call for Nepal Bandh!**
2. **Politics is not profession but service.** However, in the present days, the trend of taking politics as a profession has been polluting it. CPN (UML) appeals all its cadres to take politics as service to the people, to be self-reliant by linking politics with productive activities, and to keep politics clean and sound. CPN (UML) will be firmly initiating provisions for **state grants to political parties** on the basis of their votes so as to enable them to run operations more systematically and to put an end to running politics on the basis of non-transparent economic relations.

From a Transitional State towards  
**Long-term Stability in the Country**



For the sake of a strong and prosperous Nepal, the policy of CPN (UML) and leadership of CPN (UML) is necessary, because . . .

- *CPN (UML) has the correct ideology*
- *CPN (UML) has set an example of people-centred government*
- *CPN (UML) is at the forefront of every movement*
- *CPN (UML) is the initiator of the peace process*
- *CPN (UML) has played a responsible role in the first Constituent Assembly*
- *CPN (UML) has a vision for nation building and prosperous Nepal*
- *CPN (UML) has taken a lead in promoting progressive nationalism*



## From a Transitional State towards Long-term Stability in the Country

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*Respected Brothers and Sisters!*

The political transition in the country, which has existed for longer time than desired, has reached to a fragile state after the dissolution of the first CA. This prolonged transition besides affecting politics and economy, has negatively impacted on our security and external relation issues. Every sphere of national life has been hit, people's suffering and pain have worsened and it has also weakened the cause of national interests. There is even fear of upsetting social harmony. Undesirable external interests and interferences in the national affairs have increased. About one-fourth of population is reeling under the line of absolute poverty. Under-employment and unemployment figure have reached a staggering 30 percent. Every day, thousands of youth are migrating abroad for employment. Country's import is seven times of its export, resulting in alarming trade deficit. Acute energy crisis, poor infrastructure, worsening social situation, weak governance system have all resulted in a chaotic situation with low GDP growth rate, double digit inflation and skyrocketing consumer price hikes. These have become hallmark of our weak economy. Owing to unstable political situation and confusing policies, investments both foreign and internal could not be attracted and capital flight has become an increasing problem now. Political parties are currently out of the governance system and day to day function of government on the basis of the Interim Constitution has brought a complicated situation.

The country has to get out of such a crisis situation and advance towards change, prosperity and stability for which correct politics and correct leadership are quite essential. It is only the peace, democracy and change-oriented political line which can guide the country out of current crisis and it is only the balanced, matured and farsighted leadership that can keep the nation united. Dissolution of the first CA and challenges appearing in the party system has given leeway to the extremist trends in the country. Right extremists have been challenging federal democratic republic and harping for the return of monarchy for which they have even misguided the religious sentiments of people. On the other hand, left extremists are advocating for violent rebellion again by ignoring the historic changes of 2006, federal

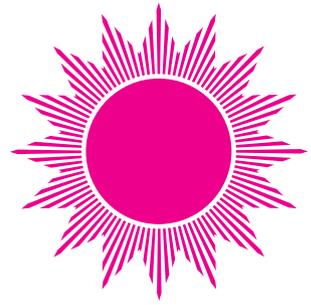
democratic republic and other achievements of the past movements. At times these two extreme lines have come together in strange proximity. It is imperative to repudiate all kinds of extremism and promote democratic values.

Of late, narrow ethno-regional interests and extremism have also surfaced in politics. Instead of using a scientific class analysis, these extremists have been trying to upset social harmony and pluralism. They have tried to misuse federalism and identity issues to aggravate inter-ethnic conflict. In the name of single ethnic identity, they have tried to negate or diminish the identity of other ethnic groups. On the other end of political spectrum, the upper caste hegemonists who have stood against federalism, identity and the rights of oppressed people have also tried to resurface. Those who had advocated for single province in Tarai have ignored the cultural diversity and multi-ethnicity of the Tarai-Madhes region and in the name of double nationality, there is a trend to push the country towards division. It has become imperative to firmly repudiate such narrow and extremist trends appearing in the socio-political arena and promote the cause of social harmony, national unity and federalism suitable to our condition.

During last decade, the country suffered badly from the left extremist terror, the remnants of whose impact are still haunting the country. Although the principle and practice of violence, dictatorship, and one-party-rule have utterly failed, the inheritors of these principles have not yet made a democratic transformation. Those who had terrorised the society with violence yesterday are bent on aggravating ethnic and regional extremism today. Subservience instead of nationalism, ethnic extremism instead of class analysis, the opportunist trend of allying with any forces for the sake of power, and highly corrupt practices have brought yesterday's extreme left opportunists down to the right opportunism. So it is imperative to make constant efforts for the democratic transformation by launching ideological struggle against all kinds of opportunism.

This responsibility however cannot be fulfilled by the forces of status quo. Those who want to withhold the flow of change and keep the society in the status quo can cause the loss of the achievements already made. Their anti-change ideology can give rise to extremism, which was proved by the post-1990 experience of about 15 years. With their faint voices against republic and federalism and such baseless accusation as "failure to make constitution due to left dominance", their refusal to collaborate with forces of federal

*It has become imperative to firmly repudiate such narrow and extremist trends appearing in the socio-political arena and promote the cause of social harmony, national unity and federalism suitable to our condition.*



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democratic republic, they cannot obviously lead through the current logical process of change that society has sought. The nation cannot afford another crisis by handing leadership to those who carry neo-liberal politics, status quo ideology and abandonment of change process.

*Dear Justice-loving people,*

We have come to your door-steps once again to appeal for your valuable support and vote for CPN (UML) to build constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic and then to lead through the process of speedy development of the nation. We are sure that we will not need to explain much about our party which has carried out continuous struggle for social emancipation and national independence in the last six-and-a-half decades. The confidence you have placed on us at every turning point of struggle and sacrifice has always remained the source of our energy. Your overwhelming support has remained the basis of our strength. In this crucial moment of history when nation has stood at the crossroads of opportunities and challenges, we once again seek your valuable trust.

**For the sake of a strong and prosperous Nepal, the policy of CPN (UML) and leadership of CPN (UML) is necessary, because...**

### **CPN (UML) has the correct ideology -**

CPN (UML) embodies the values of national politics. Opposition of feudalism, comprador bourgeoisie and imperialism on the one hand and social emancipation, national independence and revolutionary transformation of society on the other are our indomitable ideals. Transformation to socialism through the People's Multi-party Democracy is our aim. Only such a social system can fulfill dreams of our predecessors and our internationalist ideal. In this advanced time of the twenty-first century when many old values have proved wrong and new values, discoveries and constructions have been established in the world, our belief that peaceful transformation is possible

has further strengthened. It is on the basis of this belief that we opposed the violent conflict and terror launched by the Maoists during the last decade. For this stand we had to pay a price of the lives of about four hundred leaders and cadres of our party who became victims of cold blooded murders. However we also take pride in the fact that those who used to base their politics on the dictum of political power growing out of barrel of a gun have today abandoned guns and came to peaceful path and those who used to believe that a party without armed forces cannot be called communist party are today compelled to dissolve their army.

In the current times, whether it is a democratic state or socialist state, it should adopt multi-party competition, periodic elections, rule of law and pluralism. These are the values we have taken firmly. For these very values, we suffered not only at the hands of the autocratic monarchy but the ultra-revolutionaries also attacked us physically and politically. But we take pride in the fact that due to our sincere efforts, the country ushered into a new federal democratic republic. The Maoists who used to accuse the multi-party competition and democratic values as revisionist and rightist are today compelled to tread the same path. On the other hand, the likes of Nepali Congress who used to stand for not making slightest change in the constitution of 1991, used to take constitutional monarchy as inseparable part of democracy and used to take open market policy and traditional parliament as the final truths. They have also today come to accept constituent assembly, republican system and social justice as a part of democracy. These changes in the political scene reaffirm the correct policy adopted by CPN (UML) in the course of intense ideological-political struggle in the past decades.

### **CPN (UML) has set an example of people-centred government**

Not only on ideological front but on every aspect of movement and governance, our party has played an excellent role. The CPN (UML) government led by then Chairman of the Party Com. Manmohan Adhikari had set first ever standards of a people-centred government, which are being copiously followed by subsequent variants of political forces. Those were the foundations of a clean government as a part of the party's general policy but at the same time, they also changed the track in the history of governance in Nepal. To the questions of the general mass even today as to why people-centred policies are not followed these days as done by Manmohan government, our answer is that single party government of CPN (UML) never became a reality thereafter, which denied us giving an impression of

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CPN (UML) standards. However, it is abundantly clear before the people how CPN (UML) tries to follow same standards on the front of clean governance.

### **CPN (UML) is at the forefront of every movement**

On the every front of democratic movement, our party has taken an ideological lead and held its practical command. The party played a supportive role during the 1951 democratic revolution, and played leading partner role in the 1990 movement and during the 2006 movement, the party was the mastermind and true leader of the movement. Owing to the party's active and leading role, the historically reinstated parliament mainly addressed the party's 27-point disagreements to the 1991 constitution by way of its historic pronouncements. By overcoming a series of attempts for status quo, the new journey arrived at the state of making of the Interim Constitution and declaration of the Federal Democratic Republic. But for CPN (UML)'s leading and active role, the Maoists who asked the people to come to streets against the announcements of 24 April 2006 and a number of Nepali Congress leaders who made attempts at placing a "baby king" and "ceremonial king" would have hijacked the achievements of the movement and it could not have reached a logical conclusion.

### **CPN (UML) is the initiator of the peace process**

The party had played a leading role in peace process and the initiative it had taken in this regard is a historical fact. When the state and insurgents were both bent on resolving the issues through the guns, our party leaders made risky journeys from Siligurhi to Delhi and from Rolpa to Lucknow and brought the belligerent forces to the peace process. Even after initiation of the peace process, it had to pass through many fragile turning points of hostility which was successfully mediated by the party. At one extreme end was the stand of two separate armies and on the other was the refusal to accommodate former militants to the army. Our party put forth the proposal

to accommodate those fulfilling the set criteria and for the remaining, a package of voluntary retirement and resettlement was offered. At the same time special directorate under the Nepal Army was also proposed by our party. Despite of an inordinate delay and many hanky-panky games, our party's sincere efforts brought an end to the conflict situation. The CPN (UML) took a steadfast, albeit a lonely, stand in favour of justice for the conflict-stricken people and end to impunity. While attempts are still being made to forget the extreme crimes committed during the conflict period and give a blanket amnesty to criminals, our party is constantly fighting to ensure transitional justice.

### **CPN (UML) has played a responsible role in the first Constituent Assembly**

We played an active role during the four year tenure of the first CA and we were able to maintain an accord with other parties in the course of developing a balanced approach for the future structure of the country. When the house was plagued by the ultra-left extremism who hesitated to accept multi-party competition, ideological diversity and social pluralism, rule of law and independent judiciary on the one hand and neo-liberals who could not see beyond open market economy and privatisation, it has not been an easy task to strike an accord in favour of democracy with social justice and socialism-oriented economy. But the initiative and efforts undertaken by the party has remained significant in this respect. The propositions of CPN (UML) on the aforementioned subjects in the constitution have reflected quite well among the general public.

### **CPN (UML) has a vision for nation building and prosperous Nepal**

The federalism and state restructuring which remained the most contentious issues of the last CA will remain a subject of hot debate in the days to come. Unification of Nepal was not a simple event of feudal state expansion as some had argued but that was a historic necessity brought about by the internal and external socio-economic and political realities of the time. That very process of history has bestowed us the present territory on which we could stand to advance towards new state structure.

The nation building process of Nepal has its own specialties. This is not a nation-state developed through the unity of various nationalities and

*When the house was plagued by the ultra-left extremism who hesitated to accept multi-party competition, ideological diversity and social pluralism, rule of law and independent judiciary on the one hand and neo-liberals who could not see beyond open market economy and privatisation, it has not been an easy task to strike an accord in favour of democracy with social justice and socialism-oriented economy.*



emerging out of unification of such states. Instead, this is a nation-state where nation-building took place over the period by the intermingling of multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-cultural groups. The debate being launched in the name of multi-nationality and bi-nationality is not only misguided but also can be detrimental.

We firmly want to establish federalism for the sake of the devolution of power from the centre, institutionalisation of democratic republic at the local level and intrinsic recognition of identities. Federalism is not in itself an end-all affair; rather it is an important aspect of state restructuring. Federalism does not simply mean to shift an anti-people feudal class character of central state to the provinces. Redistribution of power alone cannot fulfil the essence of federalism. Therefore, we want to establish federalism along with the change in the anti-people class character of state and establishment of democracy with social justice. We are firmly in favour of establishing federalism based on multi-identity and essentially to empower the people. Therefore anyone questioning the commitment of CPN (UML) towards federalism is misguided, biased and ill-intended.

The peaceful people's revolt of 2006 has brought revolutionary changes in the political field. Political alignments are in the process of change. Our entire attention is focused on the institutionalisation of these political changes and accelerating the socio-economic transformation. Old production relations are falling down but new ones are not yet established. The agricultural labourers related to feudal production relations have left the sector and villages and entered into towns and cities in search of jobs. But in the absence of employment, they are either forced to migrate out of the country or suffer in the vicious cycle of unemployment. We have already presented above a framework for industrialisation so that these youth are employed in productive sectors at home. Only this way new production relation will be established, rapid economic growth can take place and a strong economy can be built. These are our development policy accompanied

by correct political economic viewpoint. The neo-liberal way of leaving everything to the mercy of private sector and maintaining a nonchalant state apparatus cannot lead the country through development process. Similarly, mistaking every successful person as bloodsucking capitalist and feudalist and simply redistributing their wealth cannot bring prosperity in the society. This will only give birth to vagabond destitute. Only CPN (UML) has the correct approach to economic development and a dream for national prosperity. It also has the confidence and dynamism to execute this dream into reality.

### **CPN (UML) has taken a lead in promoting progressive nationalism**

We are going through a difficult period when Nepal's national integrity is at most fragile state in the history. In our opinion, conflict and prolonged transition period wearing out the state into fragile position, the sharp division between political forces and weak national unity, and dependence syndrome as a consequence of continued economic crisis have all resulted in such a condition. At the same time, some parties' attitude of raising provocative slogans of ultra-nationalism at some time and at others following a policy of national surrender have also played a role in weakening national integrity.

Nationalism is at the apostle of identifying, defending and promoting of national interests. Advocating nationalism outwardly while jeopardising national unity and ruining the framework of national economy and development is nothing but utter hypocrisy. Making seasonal changes and taking an opportunist policy on the issue of nationalism can lead to a dangerous result. Similarly making such pronouncements as the existence of internal colonialism after the end of external colonialism also put the national sovereignty into jeopardy. Our nationalism will be promoted only by defending national sovereignty, territorial integrity and national self-respect, by adopting foreign policy based on mutual interest and non-interference, by maintaining close relations with neighbouring countries with an understanding and addressing each others' sensitivity and concerns, and by cultivating economic relations based on mutual interests.

CPN(UML) intends to follow a balanced foreign policy and firmly defend and promote nationalism by remaining guided by the principle of progressive nationalism propounded by people's leader late Madan Bhandari during his lifetime. It shows that only CPN (UML) has the correct policy of promoting nationalism.

*CPN(UML) intends to follow a balanced foreign policy and firmly defend and promote nationalism by remaining guided by the principle of progressive nationalism propounded by people's leader late Madan Bhandari during his lifetime. It shows that only CPN (UML) has the correct policy of promoting nationalism.*



*Respected General public,*

For the able management of current transition period and to lead the change process with sustainable peace and stability, the country needs correct principle and balanced leadership. The contemporary Nepali politics has already proved that political extremism cannot give a solution rather it only heaps up problems. Shedding blood but not healing wound, aggravating destruction but inability to reconstruct, these are the hallmarks of ultra-left extremism and it has posed a threat to the country. Unfortunately, those forces that used to terrorise the society through violence yesterday are today bent on inflicting the society with its ethnic-regional-cultural extremism. But this problem cannot be resolved by following a politics of status quo. Such status quoism only helps in further harbouring extremism. Therefore the balanced and correct leadership sought by nation today can be offered only by CPN (UML).

We have come to you today with a determination to take the country towards correct orientation amidst multiple challenges. Your vote will be rightly used for the finalising of federal democratic republican constitution, able management of transitional period and building of a new and prosperous Nepal. Therefore we cordially appeal to you all to play a decisive role in the building of New Nepal by casting your valuable votes to our party and our candidates bearing the sign of Sun.

With warm greetings,

**Central Committee  
Communist Party of Nepal (UML)**

October, 2013

# Slogans

**UML' Vision and Appropriate Policy**  
**UML's Leadership for Strong Nepal with Prosperity!**

Let us Institutionalise Federal Democratic Republic  
Let us Build Independent, Prosperous and Equitable Nation

UML's Campaign for Inclusive Democracy,  
Strong Republic and Federalism with Multi-Identity

Identity has Five Bases, Capability has Four  
Keeping PMPD in the Centre Makes a Total Score

Federalism with Multi-Identity  
Social Harmony and National Unity

Plurality and Social Diversity  
Distinct Features of National Unity

Our Original Identity-"State-Nation"  
Restructured State & New Constitution

Full-fledged democracy with Social Justice  
Economic orientation- the socialist!

Education, Health and Employment for All  
Base for Equity, Happiness & Prosperous Nepal

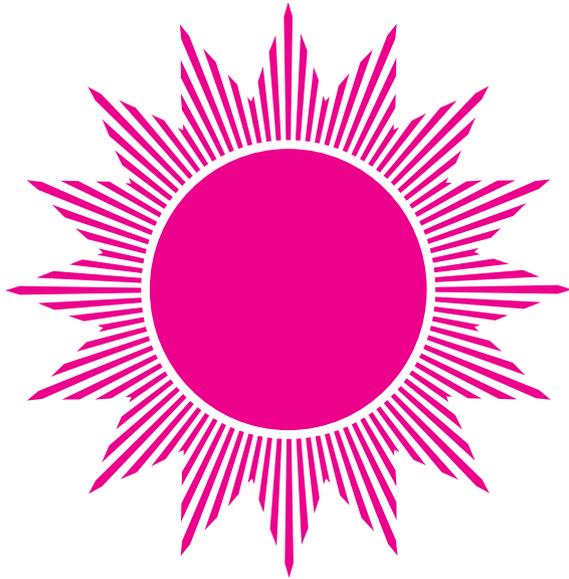
Let's Make Men, Women and All the Rest Equal  
Untouchability Free, Let's Build New Nepal

Transformation: By Building Workers Power  
Socialism: By Dignifying Work & Labour

No Backtrack from Consensus; it's UML  
No Bowing down before Immoral Tricks; its UML

Himalayas, Hills and Madhes-Tarai  
Illiteracy, Poverty and Backwardness - Bye! Bye!!

UML's Campaign for Sustainable Peace and Prosperity  
And National Pride, Independence, Freedom and Unity



**SUN**  
**Election Symbol of CPN (UML)**



**CPN (UML)**  
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