

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



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

# ***Election Manifesto***

**Constituent  
Assembly  
Election  
2013**

*Synopsis*

### *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, Party Central Committee member, the candidate for Bara Constituency 4 and the Central President of the Nepal Muslim Ittehad Organisation, succumbed to bullet injuries fired by a criminal gang on 4 October 2013. On the eve of the election, our party pays homage to comrade Alam and to 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. 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.

Constituent Assembly 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 Constituent Assembly (CA) and bring political stability in the country by

promulgating the constitution of Federal Democratic Republic through CA.

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 UML.

Therefore, for the success of Constituent Assembly, it has become essential to establish the leadership of CPN (UML), and we appeal the Nepalese people to give a clear majority to the party in the new CA.

## Looking back at the Four Years of CA

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1. **Aspirations and Lost Opportunity.** The CA was expected to build a framework to address the aspirations of toiling masses. But despite of four years of strenuous efforts, constitution could not be made. Important achievements were made but the same could not be institutionalised. The preliminary draft of constitution was prepared but the same could not be promulgated. This way the CA could not meet the aspirations of people.
2. **Contentious Issues and Efforts for Consensus.** An important consensus on constitution was built between three major parties on 15<sup>th</sup> May 2012. Federal structure was built with all provinces being multi-ethnic with equal rights of people of all nationalities, indigenous groups, religion, language and cultures. At the drop of a hat, UCPN (Maoists) backed off the consensus saying it did not make sense to them.

At such a critical juncture, in order to prevent a failure of CA and saving the country from a political stalemate, CPN (UML) made following propositions:

- Issuing the full text of constitution with federal system on the basis of consensus of 15<sup>th</sup> May 2012
- If not, issuing constitution on the basis of consensus so far made.
- If that is also not agreeable, the preamble of constitution to be promulgated and remaining subjects to be settled by parliament in due course so that accomplishments already made could be secured.
- Finally, if CA could not be continued, constitutional provision to be opened for fresh election by maintaining parliament for 3 months.

But UCPN (M) and Madheshi Front did not agree on any of the alternatives.

3. **Conscientious Efforts and valuable Achievements:** The historic decisions and important accords made in the four year period of CA could be enumerated as following:
- Establishment of Federal Democratic Republic by ending the monarchy.
  - Management of former Maoist militants was completed.
  - Expression of concern, interest and aspirations from all corners.
  - Path of violence is rejected and social change through democratic means reaffirmed.
  - The accords so far reached on constitution are similar to UML's election manifesto of 2007 as enumerated below:
    - To make fundamental rights broader by encompassing social-cultural-economic rights
    - Equal inheritance rights of women without any discrimination and right to safe motherhood and reproduction

- Make untouchability and discrimination a social crime punishable by law.
- Guaranteeing right of social justice to socially marginalised indigenous groups, Madheshi, sexual minorities, Muslim, disabled persons and peasants and workers.
- Ensuring rights of minorities and marginalised communities to participate in the policy-making matters related to them. They will have special representation in the state structure concerned with cultural heritage and indigenous skill, language, script, religion, land and natural resources.
- Building of socialism oriented independent economy.
- Equal citizenship with an end of gender discrimination on citizenship issue, requirement of citizenship by birth to be elected on major organs of the state.
- Zero tolerance against impunity by allowing retroactive legislation to punish serious crime against humanity, serious violation of human rights and war crimes.

- Federalism and devolution of power by guaranteeing a federal structure with three tiers of central, provincial and local authorities.
- A mixed electoral system will be adopted with a provision that political parties cannot be prohibited.
- Guarantee of an independent judiciary
- Constitutional commissions on National Finance, Natural Resources, Women, Dalit, Indigenous nationalities, disabled people, minorities, marginalised, and backward class, Madheshi, Muslim and workers and peasants.
- Equal honour to all the mother tongues of Nepal with status of national languages.
- Fundamental national interest being defined as sovereignty, national independence, democracy, proportional and inclusive participation, development and equality.



## Major Causes for the Failure of the CA

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- **Pre-election context, balance of power and its effect:** Right from the start, trends of egocentric tactics were seen with the tacit understanding between Maoists and Nepali Congress (NC). CA was started with consensus and was to be concluded with consensus, but it was filled with mistrust, suspicion and policy of negation right from the beginning.
- **Prolonged Peace Process and its Adverse Effect:** The peace process dragged on for four years because of Maoist trickery to take economic benefit out of combatants and cantonment operation and also to maintain fear in the society.
- **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.

- **Power-Centered Activities:** Formation of consensus and power sharing government was necessary to handle the transitional period effectively which did not happen.
- **Debate on Federalism and Identity:** CPN (UML) had taken a stand to honour the identities, devolution of power and democratisation up to local level. UCPN (Maoists) were advocating multi-nationality state based on single identity. NC was in favour of geographical division of federalism while Madhesis were for double nationalities.
- **Disregard of the Constituent Assembly:** The agenda of CA was 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.
- **Influence of external forces:** Some external forces crossed basic limits of diplomatic decorum and became part of controversies which adversely interfered in our internal affairs.

## CPN (UML)'s Commitment for the making of Constitution and its Roadmap

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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:
- Nature of the state to be Federal Democratic Republic
  - Progressive democracy with social justice and and socialism oriented economy.
  - Pluralism to be the Feature of Nepali State and Society and the Nepali people to be the source of state power.
  - Our Commitment- Human right as fundamental right and political freedom.
  - Social security- secularism and religious freedom.
  - Terai-Madhesh, mountains and Himal- untouchability-free Nepal.
  - Independent and autonomous constitutional bodies and independent judiciary.

- Inclusive democracy- federal republic with multi-identity
- Directly elected Primeminister and parliament elected president.
- All mother tongues of the nation to be national languages.
- Women's right on inheritance, maternal identity and special rights on reproduction and divorce.
- All Nepali citizens to be provided with citizenship without any hassle.

## **Vision of CPN (UML): Happy Nepalese and Equally Prosperous Nepal**

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CPN (UML) has presented various unforgettable programmes during the short-lived government in 1995 and thereafter in course of coalition governments of various equations, whereby UML gave its vision of socio-economic transformation. Following examples show CPN (UML)'s vision and its way of implementation:

- 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 Madhesis 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, through mid-hill highway, postal road in Madhesh, fast track road between Kathmandu and central Terai.
- 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 Upper 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.



## CPN (UML)'s Roadmap for Economic and Social Transformation

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The Party is committed to achieve following targets within next five years:

1. Elevate Nepal's status from its current state 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'" 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 all-weather 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 highway and the *bulaki* (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. 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 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.

## **CPN (UML)'s Short-term and Long-term Development Plan**

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### **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. State will allocate budget for subsidy, infrastructure development, insurance, price management and market monitoring in order to bring modernisation and commercialisation of agriculture. Cooperatives will be made

socially responsible and an inalienable part of distribution system so that the monopoly and profiteering by the middlemen is eliminated. Irrigation facility will be made available to at least three fourth of the agricultural land.

- **Foundation of Prosperity: Water Resource, Energy and Strong Infrastructure:** Electricity will be provided for free to the very poor class people and for agricultural use. It will be ensured that all natural resources fall under national ownership and its benefits are accrued to the local community. At least four river corridor roads connecting north-south border will be completed. The entire necessary infrastructure for the potential capitals of federal provinces will be built with immediate effect.
- **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. Development of tourist regions will be geared

to ensure the rights of local communities to the benefits accruing from tourism.

- **Human Resource for Economic Development:** 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. Special facility will be provided to labour intensive industries based on domestic 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. Special measures will be adopted for the security of people's

deposits. Loan facility will be provided to the low income people without any mortgage.

## b. Social Sector

- **Education-** Basic education will be made compulsory and higher secondary level education (up to grade 12) will be made free. Primary schools will be established in such a manner that guarantees an easy access to every school age child. Residential school system will be introduced at Himalayan and high mountain region with scarce population. Grading system will be adopted in education. Agriculture, forestry and technical universities will be standardised. Online and IT-based distance learning will be promoted.
- **Health:** Basic health services will be guaranteed as fundamental right of the people. Everyone will have access to free essential and primary health care. 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. 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.

- **Social Security:** 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 for the effective implementation of integrated social security system.
- **Problems of Landless and Homeless People:** Housing facility will be provided to five million people in a five year period. No citizen will be left homeless within ten years. The state will provide a housing facility to the families of the victims of natural disasters.
- **Sports:** A national sports authority will be formed. 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.

- **Building a New Culture:** 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.

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

- **Transparency, Governance and Culture of Information: Guarantee of Diversity in the Means of Communication:** Democracy with a complete press freedom will be strengthened. 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:** Easy service will be provided to the people. Administrative services will be made people oriented and efficient and it will be reorganised to suit the federal system.

People's awareness on corruption will be heightened and convicted corrupts will be socially ostracised.

- **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.
- **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. 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 and justice will be ensured to the victims.

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

- Inherent rights of Nepalese people over Nepal's natural resources will be fully secured. Sustainable conservation of biodiversity and ecosystem will be made effective. The *Chure* region, the green belt of Nepal will be protected.
- 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.
- 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-making bodies of the state.

- Minimum wages to every worker will be ensured, and at least 100 days of employment shall be guaranteed by the state. All kinds of labour exploitation will be ended by establishing a comprehensive labour inspection system.
- Foreign employment will be made secured, decent and skilful.
- Trainings and financial supports will be provided to workers for empowering them to be the masters of means of production.
- 300,000 new jobs will be created annually. “One Household: One Employment” programme will be implemented.

## f. Special Sector: Special Policy

- **Respect of Women, Enhancement of the Whole Society:** All children will have equal rights of inheritance and maternal lineage. At least 33 percent women representation will be ensured in all sectors of public life. Initiatives will be taken for 50 percent women representation in the local governments. 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.
- **Dignity for Dalits, Respect for Humanity:** The declaration of ‘untouchability-free country’ will be made meaningful in reality. 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.
- **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.
- **Geographically Marginalised Region:** Right to food and right to basic health care services will be ensured for the people in Karnali and other geographically marginalised regions.
- **Youth: Drivers of Transformation and Partners of Leadership:** By increasing enterprenurship, 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 system will be developed to introduce youths with pre-job work experiences. They will be integrated into society through volunteering programmes.

- **Disability: Opportunity, Not a Challenge:** Positive attitude is to be created towards disability. 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. Child labour will be abolished.
- **Rights of Minorities:** Religious and cultural rights of minority communities, including Muslims, and their cultural heritages will be preserved and protected. respect The rights of sexual and gender minorities and other sections of LGBT group and dignity of their lives will be ensured.

## 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.
- **Non-Residential Nepalese-** 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.
- **International Affairs-** 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 main pillars of the foreign policy.

- **Science and Technology-** All round development of modern technology will be encouraged to facilitate and comfort people's lives. Modern technology will be integrated into economic production endeavours.

### **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.

*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** - 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. 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. We take pride in the fact that due to our efforts, Federal Democratic Republic has now been established.

**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.

**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.

**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. It is well known to all that 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.

**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.

**CPN (UML) has vision for nation building and prosperous Nepal-** The 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 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.

**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. 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. 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.

*Let us institutionalise Federal Democratic Republic!*

*Let us build independent, prosperous and equity-oriented nation!*

With warm greetings,

**Central Committee**  
**Nepal Communist Party (UML)**  
October, 2013



**SUN**

Election Symbol of CPN (UML)



**CPN (UML)**

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