

A Discourse on
Socialism
in Nepal





A Discourse on
Socialism in Nepal



Editor

Khagendra Prasai

CRITICAL DISCOURSE NEPAL



CRITICAL DISCOURSE NEPAL

“This publication is sponsored by the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung with funds of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development of the Federal Republic of Germany. This publication or parts of it can be used by others for free as long as they provide a proper reference to the original publication”.

“The content of the publication is the sole responsibility of the FCD Nepal, in general and respective authors, in particular and does not necessarily reflect a position of RLS.”

Published by:

Foundation for Critical Discourse Nepal

Thapathali, Kathmandu

www.discoursenepal.com

© FCD Nepal, 2019

Editor : Khagendra Prasai

Language : Loknath Sangraula, Nirab Gyawali,
Bam Dev Adhikari

Cover/Page setting : Anil Shrestha

ISBN No: 978-9937-0721-1-3

Dedicated to all socialist activists

Foundation for

CRITICAL DISCOURSE NEPAL



The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is one of the six major political foundations in the Federal Republic of Germany, tasked primarily with conducting political education both at home and abroad. The foundation is closely linked to Die Linke, the

German Left Party.

Since its founding in 1990, the foundation's work has adhered to the legacy of its namesake, German socialist leader Rosa Luxemburg, and seeks to represent democratic socialism with an unwavering internationalist focus. The foundation is committed to a radical perspective emphasizing public awareness, enlightenment and social critique. It stands in the tradition of the workers' and women's movements, as well as anti-fascism and anti-racism.

CRITICAL DISCOURSE NEPAL



The Foundation for Critical Discourse Nepal (FCD Nepal) is an institution dedicated to work for the academic-political enlightenment of the left students, leaders, cadres, activists, authors, etc. through the discourse on multitudes of subject matters related to emancipatory theory and praxis of the past, present and future.

The FCD Nepal is committed to creating and expanding the critically informed and educated political intellectuals necessary for the improvement and consolidation of the genuine left forces or for **leftizing the left** in Nepal.

The FCD Nepal believes that a sizable portion of constantly self-educating and self enlightening left citizenry (leaders and cadres) constitutes a necessary condition to drive and sustain an emancipatory project. Therefore, the mission of this institution is to contribute to emancipatory project by creating, sustaining and sharpening the informed and critical-minded left intellectuals, leaders, cadres and supporters.

Generally, The FCD Nepal has high regard for all philosophical traditions which emphasize the importance of reason and enlightenment in securing human freedom. Specifically, we consider Marx more inspiring and practically oriented evident in his statement concerning the relation of philosophy and emancipation.

Acknowledgement

The Foundation for Critical Discourse Nepal (FCD Nepal) believes that this book is a small yet important endeavor intended to contribute to Nepal's socialist movement, in both theory and praxis. The FCD Nepal firmly believes that such book as aimed at engaging left leaders, cadres, intellectuals and activists in critical discourse related to macro and micro aspects pertaining to feasibility and challenge of socialism in Nepal should be constitutive of the movement itself.

The FCD Nepal extends its heartfelt thanks to all those without whose contributions in different capacities this book might not have seen the light of day. The FCD Nepal is deeply grateful to and cannot thank enough Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (RLS) whose support not only made the publication possible but also added to our spirit and enthusiasm to work for the cause we hold so dear.

Finally, we would like to acknowledge with gratitude the support made by Surendra Pandey, Saroj Dhital, Deepak Prakash Bhatta, Khagendra Prasai, Vijay Poudel, Yubaraj Sangraula, Ram Karki and Yubaraj Gyawali by way of authoring their respective chapters. Similarly, our sincere appreciations go to Lok Nath Sangraula and Nirab Gyawali for the hard work they put in for successfully completing the meticulous, painstaking translation of Nepali to English; and Bamdev Adhikari for taking on a daunting task of editing and proofreading.

FCD Nepal

Contents

1. Feasibility of Socialism in Nepal	11-60
Feasibility of Socialism in Nepal	13
Surendra Pandey	
Orientation towards Socialism: Education and Health	31
Dr. Saroj Dhital	
International Agencies and Prospect of Socialism	49
Dr. Dipak Prakash Bhatta	
2. The World System and China: Prospects of Socialism in Nepal	61-117
The World System and China: Implication for and Prospect of Socialism in Nepal	63
Dr. Khagendra Prasai	
Nepalese Path to Socialism	85
Dr. Vijay Kumar Paudel	
Some Characteristics of Chinese Socialism and Prospect of Socialism in Nepal	93
Dr. Yubaraj Sangroula	
3. Building Socialism: Organizational Question	118-152
Organization and Communist Party Organization	121
Ram Karki	
Goals of Socialism and the Question of Party Organization	141
Yubaraj Gyawali	



Dr. Chaitanya Mishra
Chairing the Panel Discussion



Dr. Khagendra Prasai
Introducing the Topic



Adv. Karuna Parajuli
Initiating the Program

Critical Discourses on Contemporary Issues in Nepal, 2019

Panel Discussion on

Feasibility of Socialism in Nepal

नेपालमा समाजवादको सम्भाव्यता

Organized by



CRITICAL DISCOURSE NEPAL

23rd Kartik, 2076
(9th November, 2019)
Baneshwor, Kathmandu

In association with



ROSA
LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG
SOUTH ASIA

Papers

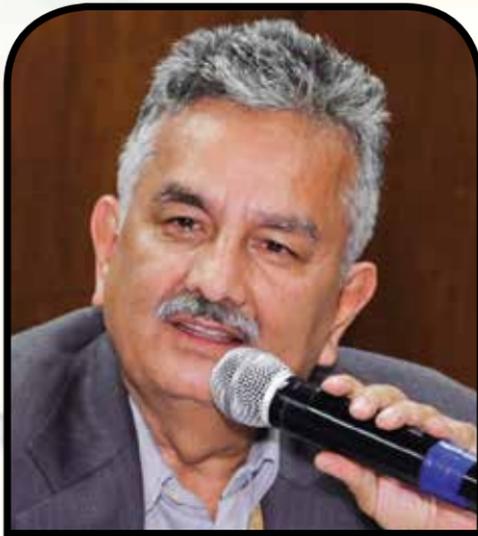
1. Feasibility of Socialism in Nepal
Surenbra Pandey
2. Orientation towards Socialism: Education and Health
Dr. Saroj Dhital
3. International Agencies and Prospect of Socialism in Nepal
Dr. Dipak Prakash Bhatta



Ghanashyam Bhusal
Commentating on Papers



Feasibility of Socialism in Nepal



Surendra Pandey
Member of Parliament
Standing Committee Member



With the countless sacrifices of the people and parties, the federal, democratic, republic was established in Nepal in 2008. The Constitution promulgated thereafter has stated that now Nepal would be a socialism-oriented State. Socialism is not a new term for Nepali tongues. And, that socialism has already been established in many countries including Russia and China is nothing new to Nepali people. However, the question of applying it in the Nepali context is new, both theoretically and practically. It is, therefore, necessary to understand socialism in the context of Nepal.

Theoretically socialism means a specific historical condition of economic development, which is developed from capitalism. Without sufficient development of capitalism, socialism is not possible to be established. In essence, developing forces of production, ensuring collective ownership over means of production and changing relations of production are the hallmarks of socialism. Socialism demands *from each according to his ability, to each according to his work*. Surplus savings is distributed to the working classes and the entire society rather than certain individuals and groups.

While serving up the logic that capitalism is followed by socialism, it will not be otherwise to discuss a little about the development of capitalism in the world.

The present political phase in Nepal is characterized by capitalist democracy. This capitalist democratic revolution is far democratic and forward-looking. In England, the conflict between the king and baron (elite class) peaked, for the arbitrary realization of taxes by the former. This finally resulted in the issuance of the 1215 Magna Carta. Even after that, confrontations between the king, and the capitalists and church increased, forcing the king to restore the parliament

and maintain parliamentary supremacy. France saw the birth of a republic as a result of confrontations between the king and the capitalist class. The US attained independence by vehemently raising its voice against colonialism. Thus, old western democracy attained parliamentary democracy, republic and liberation from colonialism, enabling them to exercise their right to vote in accordance with democratic practices. However, this right was, not equal to all. Feudal lords and capitalists ranked the uppermost layer of society and the voting right was provided accordingly. In Russia, one feudal lord equaled three capitalists or five farmers, or fifteen workers. This means, putting it mathematically, one feudal lord = three capitalists = five farmers = fifteen workers. Each of the categories represented one vote. The Blacks did not enjoy black suffrage right till 1870, whereas the American women, even though White, did not have the right to vote till 1920. In Switzerland, the women acquired the right to vote only in 1971. However, all the Nepali people enjoyed the right to suffrage according to *one person, one vote* principle at the very beginning. Election to the President and Vice-President under this new Constitution promulgated after the republic was declared in the country was so made as to have the representation of different sexes or communities. So is the provision with the Speaker and Deputy-Speaker of the House of Representatives. Federal and provincial parliaments must have a 33 percent representation of women. We have forty percent of women's representation in local governments. Similarly, the provisions of different commissions, fundamental rights, inclusive representation of indigenous peoples in forty percent of the seats in federal and State parliaments have also been enshrined in the Constitution, among others. Likewise, 45 percent reservation in government jobs and education, and the equal right to all to profess their religions have also been guaranteed. In this

sense, Nepal's democracy is way ahead than the capitalist democratic system known as a federal democratic republic after the end of feudal system. The capitalist democratic system is a continuation of capitalist system or a developed form thereof.

Concluding that the role played by the capitalists in the old capitalist revolution has changed in the latter period. Since the 1940s, Mao Tse Tung spoke of the need for the communists or proletariat class to spearhead the capitalist democratic revolution. This analysis was based on the immediate situation of China. His conclusion that the capitalist democratic revolution should be led only by the communists was in fact not in sync with reality. With the capitalist system gradually taking on a global character, it expanded its market and weakened feudalism. Many countries of the world saw the fall of the feudal system without the communists being at the helm. This is proved by a wave of capitalist development that has taken place in many countries.

The 1949 Chinese New Democratic Revolution implemented both the capitalist democratic revolution and socialist revolution at the same time. That revolution was different from that of Nepal. The Communist Party of China had effected the radical change there, whereas the 2062/63 BS (2006/63 BS) revolution of Nepal gave the old capitalist revolution a full shape and expanded it.

Establishing socialism in Nepal in the model of china is simply not possible because police and army here are not under the sole control of the communists, and both communists and non-communists have their presence in civil administration, court, constitutional bodies and governments of different levels. The constitution, laws, policies, etc. are not in a position to be changed as wished

by any one particular party. So, only by undertaking activities in the interests of people, gaining their confidence, effecting radical reforms in society, framing necessary laws and building required structures we can get into socialism. This requires going among the people during elections with a clear-cut people-centric, ideological and political perspective, creation of a corresponding organization, training classes for party workers, transparency, and commitment with accountability. More importantly, this initiative should not be taken as a one-off event and it is necessary to win elections every time. Some communist groups and individuals, being unable to maintain patience required to wait for things to actually happen through this path, have committed a blunder of resorting to a short-cut path of armed struggle. This practice has already been proved wrong by the international experiences and struggles of the past years. If we think about a socialism-oriented state enshrined in the constitution without keeping these facts in mind, we will be limited to the possibility of attaining social democracy rather than socialism.

In Nepal's politics, class and class struggle is a matter of important discussions. How can we ensure a classless society by ensuring class interests through elections and radical reforms, and reducing inequalities between the classes as mentioned above? With the experiences of Russia and China, Deng Xiaoping put forth the idea of "The fundamental thing today should be struggles for production and not class struggle." On the contrary, even after eliminating the forces except for the communists in the wake of the 1949 revolution, Mao Tse Tung continued to claim that class struggle still existed in the Chinese society. What Deng said above was primarily aimed at clarifying what was unclear about politics. Expressing the view that

class struggle cannot be considered as a fundamental thing in society where class does not exist, Deng laid stress on the increase of production.

In today's Nepal, we need to focus our whole attention on production. Political struggle is manifesting itself in the form of class struggle. At present, we are not in a position to say for sure that the rightists and reactionaries do not pose any threat to the socialist movement. Neither can we accord less priority to the struggle for production, nor can we do so to class struggle for the sake of production. Laying stress primarily on production now, the need of the day is to fight against the rightist revivalists, the corrupt bureaucracy, crony capitalists, those favoring regionalism, casteist and power-brokers, further cementing the party's base among the people by winning them over. This is, in fact, a matter of particularity demanding unique competition in the context of Nepal. Ignoring this, we can choose neither the pathway of armed rebellion nor the pathway of elections alone. What is important is to lay the foundation for people's livelihood and the national economy.

Which Pathway to Go?

Nepal is required to move ahead by drawing up strategies, plans and programs based on the country's obtaining situation, and drawing positive and negative lessons from the world's revolutions and counter-revolution. Our strategic aim is to found socialism and build a prosperous Nepal by developing national capital, for which the government should focus its attention on the national economy and national industry. Nepal should not think of moving ahead by being close to or far from this or that country. It should be able to reap economic benefits from the rising neighboring countries. All Nepalis wish that Nepal would prosper in the days ahead, the living standard of its people would improve,

and the situation of health, education, infrastructure and jobs would improve. For this, the parties, leaders and people must have a clear perspective. There is a need of hard work of all to implement that perspective. Their experiences show that ensuring economic and social changes is many times more difficult than bringing about political changes. We should, however, have patience and perseverance to wait for the changes to take place and courage to overcome the challenges, for which the state power should have an able leadership backed by people's support. We see big dreams but want that no obstructions, protest or harms would take place.

Before Lee Kuan Yew came to power in Singapore, the people there were very backward. Let's take a small example here – the people would pee and defecate openly, littering everywhere during those days. But Lee put a check to it and provided for penalty to those littering the places. This action of the government was opposed from every quarter. The westerners flayed Lee claiming this was tantamount to rights violations. But today Singapore has become the most beautiful, the cleanest, the most disciplined and civilized city inhabited by rich people in the world. The history of Singapore has taught a great lesson to us that there is a need of concerted efforts for positive changes.

Now the government, party and people appear as mutually exclusive entities in Nepal. But there is a need of strong unity between them for Nepal's prosperity. The old reactionary forces, particularly crony and bureaucratic forces, are active, overtly and covertly, not to let this unity happen by maintaining the status-quo, to destabilize and mess up the situation, to fulfill their vested interests by keeping people always in confusion, to unduly influence the government in one way or another, to make most advantages

in the name of making contributions to the parties in the electoral fray and get decisions made on the strength of money suitable to their interests. Such forces are at work offering different financial enticements to prepare their own men within the party, appointing own people in government, administration, security agencies, constitutional bodies, courts and trying to have an undue influence on provincial and local governments. Swayed by a petty financial interest, our representatives, party and leaders, too, may make wrong decisions. Being cautious and careful of this, we need to promote national industry, build large infrastructure and ensure communication of knowledge. To further intensify the crusade against corruption has become the need of the day. We need to create a situation wherein we could undertake more tasks in less time.

The forces in question, particularly after the 1990 changes, brought themselves closer to the Nepali Congress party at times, and to the communists at other times. They seem to be indulged in serving their vested interests by way of creating riotings, sit-ups or media campaigning through different groups and individuals. No matter which forces perpetrate such activities, it is ultimately the Nepali people who suffer. Being the communist party in power at the moment, the government must be careful, alert and serious against such things. We need to further strengthen our trust on the people.

What is to be Done for the Prosperity of Nepal?

Land Management: The arable land covers 27 percent of the total area of Nepal, divided into 15.5 million plots. These plots continue to be broken into smaller plots. The issue of land reforms – a handover from the Rana regime – is yet to be resolved. The land reforms effected by the Birta

Abolition Act 1959, the Petty States and Rulers Abolition Act 1961 and the 1964 land reforms changed the size of land ownership. In the wake of the multi-party system in 1990 (2046 BS), the latest arrangement made in 2053 BS decided that the upper ceiling of land allowed to be owned by a landowner is 10 bigha (1 bigha equals 0.40052356 acre) in Tarai for agriculture and 1 bigha for homestead or site of a house. Similarly, in the hilly region, the ceiling has been fixed at 75 ropanies (nearly 8 ropani to the acre) for the purpose of agriculture, and 5 ropani for homestead, whereas the ceiling has been fixed at 25 ropanis for agriculture and 5 ropanis for homestead in the Kathmandu valley. Due to the mindset of Nepali people to look at land as a major means of productivity, they feel that everyone should have an access to land. The issue of land reforms is usually raised based on this value. In this process, 12 Landless Peoples Commissions have been formed. The 12th commission failed to proceed with its task due to a lawsuit at a court. However, till the 11th Commission, a total of 46,600 bighas of land and three lakhs of ropanies were distributed to 153,100 households. Even at present, there is a huge number of people possessing the government land, wild-land and unregistered land mainly in Tarai, partly in the hilly region, the capital, hilly headquarters and market areas. They are making efforts to obtain ownership certificates of those lands. Similarly, the Constitution of Nepal 2015 provides for making land available to the landless Dalits. A law to this effect has already passed by the parliament.

If concrete steps fail to be taken now for the proper use and management of land, we won't be self-reliant on foodgrain. We cannot lay the foundation for industrialization while transforming agriculture into industry, and the government will not be able to provide land for infrastructure

development. But the present condition is such that the land is unlikely to be brought under the state ownership due to various factors including the government's capacity and people's mindset. If the present situation continues, we cannot increase the production capacity of land. On the other hand, the practice of disintegrating land only for the purpose of homestead and for making immediate gains has stood in the way of every development endeavor. In view of this scenario, laws governing land classification based on the use of it should be implemented with utmost urgency. According to the laws, the land-use planning classifying land into 11 areas including agriculture, industrial, residential and businesses need to be put into practice. The provision prohibiting the use of land for purposes other than those prescribed should be strictly observed. Agricultural land should be made tax-free. Energy, machines and machinery parts, and provisions of loans should be ensured for agriculture development and for promoting agriculture entrepreneurship. The concept of zoning should be moved on for the sake of farming in a designated area. New legal arrangements pertaining to cooperatives, contract, lease and company for plotting agricultural land should be made. Residential quarters should be guaranteed to landless people by doing away with the old practice of distributing land by disintegrating it.

In terms of other lands, tax should be imposed as per necessity. As regards residential land, the practice of disintegrating land into plots for residence should be completely discouraged by providing flats with facilities subjecting them to taxes. Similarly, a legal arrangement as per necessity is just as necessary for the right concerning transfer of ancestral property.

Management and Incentives for Industry, Businesses

and Economic Sector: At present, nearly 923,000 businesses have been registered in the country. Of this, small, medium and large scale industries and factories in operation number 6,670, with the number of workers standing at 714,570. Foreign investment in the industry sector alone stands at Rs 400 billion. There are 710 large and 693 medium scale tax-payers operating in the industry and service sector.

The total GDP of Nepal in fiscal year 2075/76 stands at Rs 340 billion. The industry sector contributes 8 percent to the overall GDP which shows that Nepal's industry sector is considerably backward. This can be attributed to youth unemployment, trade deficit and a lack of enough foreign currency. Emphasis should be laid on industrialization by putting a special focus on the industry sector for capital development in order to make the country self-reliant. Credits at concessional rates, surety of energy, the provision of manpower generation and training, stress on creating entrepreneurs of new generation, coordination of the industry sector with universities concerning researches into developing new technologies and necessary investment, creation of skilled manpower and legal provisions requiring the industry and business sector to be brought under the corporate system should be made. Native and foreign investors should be encouraged by putting in place required infrastructure. The government should provide land, increase investment in areas of large infrastructures such as energy, and make the tax policy transparent and business friendly.

It is just important to develop the banking sector to augment investment in Nepal's different sectors. As demonstrated by the recent data, a total of 171 banks of the country have a deposit of Rs 340 billion, of which Rs 270 billion has already been invested. Though the annual demand

of loan from the banks by the private sector is over Rs 100 billion, they are not in a position to meet this demand. This also indicates that there is a dire need of foreign investment in Nepal.

Keeping in mind the need to stand up to the challenge of competition in the industry sector in view of the emerging economies of China and India, the two giant neighbors of Nepal, their industrial output and cost involved, Nepal should be able to identify the areas of relatively more advantageous such tourism, hydropower, herbs and IT with an eye on specialization on industrial products. Together with bringing in foreign investment, plans on the production of goods and knowledge transfer should be worked out. It is required for the government to be wholly concentrated on increasing jobs and forex reserves, and making it possible for national economy to grow and industrialization to take place. Also, the government should set up industrial zones and villages in different parts of the country and enhance its investment for industry and protection thereof. Only this can ensure industrialization and prepare the groundwork for socialism.

Investment in Education, Its Management and Building of Manpower: Education has now become the most important of all means of production. we can bridge the gaps between rich and poor and ensure the well-being of backward communities and classes through education. It is possible to increase production and job opportunities, and have an access to means of production, through free, quality and research-oriented education.

Today's education is very weak and disappointing. Only about 13 percent of the budgets of federal, provincial and

local level governments have been allocated for education. Now there are nearly 10 million students in the country. But the government has not been able to measure the percent of investments made by the guardians. A total of 63,200 students seeking to study abroad seem to have taken foreign currency equivalent to Rs 46 billion rupees with them in the fiscal year 2075/76 BS. Despite this, returns of education are not proportionate to the investments made. Every year government schools find themselves on the verge of closure for lack of students. To improve this state of education and ensure technical, vocational and quality education, both government and private schools are required to provide trainings, increase remunerations for teachers and increase investments in physical infrastructures. It is necessary to broaden the tax net, look for new resources, and provide for educational loans and scholarships for students. We should also make investment in education to make it creative and innovative. Education is not just for the sake of education; investments in education should be made in such a way that it will be in sync with national needs.

Health and People's Social Security: Making health services quality and easily accessible to all is a challenging task not only for the poor and underdeveloped countries like ours but also for developed countries. Many Nepalis are forced to lose their life due to poverty and lack of health facilities. Child and maternal mortality rates have not reduced as expected. Senior citizens have not been properly taken care of. The government has not been able to pay proper attention to increasing quality of health services and ensuring medical treatment through the proper management of social security tax. Health services are yet to be provided in remote areas including the local levels. Though the government has implemented the health insurance program

in some districts, its implementation is very poor. Insurance companies are yet to be made transparent and accountable. The government has not been able to raise public awareness adequately. Health insurance should be made mandatory and effective, and health services should be broadened. Hospitals equipped with proper technology and manpower should be opened at local levels to ensure the access of all citizens to health services. Similarly, the hospitals with expert services should be opened in every province. We also need to pay special attention to building hospitals of international standard.

Good Governance and Corruption Control: Good governance is a challenge in Nepal today. The practice of undertaking tasks based on orders, acquaintances and a good word put for someone is getting institutionalized. Guarantee of good governance is not possible without the rule of law. For this, it is necessary to bring about changes in tendencies prevalent in political, administrative and judicial fields including security agencies, parliament and constitutional bodies. Posts, money and influence count much for those who seek power and therefore it is necessary to change the value system that laws can be bent to suit one's interests. Stress should be laid on good governance while abiding by the rule of law. Not only should corruption be subjected to punishment, those who fail to carry out or delay their work should also be penalized. Digital transactions and undertaking works through the application of technology without the presence of the persons concerned in land revenue, transport, district administration and tax offices should be initiated by discouraging the circulations of paper currency.

Transport and Infrastructure Building: The condition

of roads, air transport network and railway network is weak in our country. There is still no road access in many parts of the country. Even the condition of the roads linking main cities and the capital is weak, let alone places with no infrastructures. Such problems as main entry and exit points choked with traffic jam, high risk of accidents, bad condition of roads, high fare, and old dilapidated vehicles remain unresolved. Nepal has now a total of some 3.54 million vehicles. Some 80 Nepali airplanes and helicopters are in operation both by the government and the private sector. The private sector has almost total dominance over operation of vehicles such as taxis, buses, minibuses, microbuses, airplanes, etc. in the area of public transport. Because of this, the people are reeling under such problems as exorbitantly high fares realized from them rather than providing them facilities, ignoring of services and other facilities, and operation of services by individuals or groups and organizations rather than following laws, rules and regulations. The government seems to be indifferent towards this situation. Besides, it has been unable to take concrete initiatives to eradicate corruption in the field of transport.

The transport sector calls for a serious discussion. There is also a need of debate over issues ranging from road construction to maintaining road discipline. To make transport services within the reach of all, easy, accessible, reliable and regular, we need to provide social security to the people by making investments in road infrastructure including metro rail in Kthmandu valley, east-west railway, waterways, tunnel and air transport network, thereby ensuring foundation for socialism.

Reforms and Transformation in Administration, Police and Judicial Sector: The timely execution of

government's undertakings is hardly possible without police, administration and the judicial sector being able, clean, active and responsible. After political revolutions, administrative, police and judicial sectors are transformed in keeping with the needs of revolution, for which, constitutional, legal and policy arrangements together with creation of organizational structures are made. Due to our failure to make them work in line with new realities in the changed context in our country, the government-declared programs and the timely and proper execution thereof are faced with obstacles. If these agencies fail to be operated as per political needs, our thoughts, values and programs will remain limited to papers only. So, the government should make these agencies accountable by providing them trainings and incentives including increment in their facilities. Those who fail to fulfill their responsibilities and who are corrupt and incapable should be subjected to punishment.

Summary:

The armed revolutions taking place in several countries including the Soviet Union and China established socialism and leadership of the communist party. Land, industry, health, education, transport, banking and financial sectors were brought under government control. Private property, trade, businesses and industry were prohibited. The road to the building of socialism is fraught with the challenges and obstacles of many kinds. As a result, the 70-year old socialist regimes of the Soviet Union and East Europe collapsed. The countries including China and Vietnam pursued a policy of 'learning by doing' in a way suitable to their own situation. In latter days, they have created national capital and made achievements in the building of socialism by opening up the private sector, and bringing in

foreign capital, technologies and skills. We have to decide a pathway of building socialism unique to our own realities by learning from these experiences. By following a policy of maintaining government and private ownership in such sectors as education, health, transport and industry and by providing with proper laws and tax systems, the foundation of socialism should be prepared. Investments should be increased for growth in production, capital formation, creating skilled manpower, education, research and innovations. Besides, industrialization should be allowed to take place by developing agro-based industries, increasing the use of machines and equipment and providing with other legal and economic arrangements required for growth of productivity by preventing land fragmentation. We must move from now on towards the emerging new economy shaped by the fourth industrial revolution. This will open up the door for national production. Based on the Nepali specificity, we must move on the road of socialism while distributing surplus benefits to the ordinary people.

References:

- a. Reports of the Ministries of the Government of Nepal
- b. Monthly Progress Reports of Nepal Rastra Bank
- c. Communist Manifesto
- d. Books on Deng Xiaoping
- e. Different Publications on Soviet Socialist Programs
- f. Different Publications on China's Socialist Programs
- g. AI Superpower: Kai Fu Lee
- h. History of Europe
- i. A People's History of the American Revolution by Ray Raphael
- j. Various Publications of the NCP

Orientation towards Socialism: Education and Health



Dr. Saroj Dhital

Professor of General Surgery, TU
Left Activist



In most dictionaries, socialism has been described as an economic system, which is characterized by (1) individual or corporate ownership on goods of exchange, (2) individual investment, and (3) production, value and distribution as determined by competition in free markets. Experts seem to have readily embraced this or similar definitions and hardly is there any argument regarding what is capitalism. Some people, however, consider capitalism synonymous with socialism and this, I think, may call for controversy. In fact, there could be political systems altogether different in countries with the capitalist economic system, which range from fascism to liberal democracy to social democracy. But, despite the differences in political system between these countries, it is these two words "private" and "market" that actually define the essence of capitalism.

however, there is not as much clarity in identifying what socialism is. Communists and social democrats are at loggerheads for a very long time claiming their own brand of socialism as "real socialism". There is not any all-accepted benchmark or standard to measure whether or not a particular society or country is socialist in real terms. Rather, the schisms brought about in the communist bloc have further increased the confusions regarding socialism. When China under the leadership of Deng Xiao Ping began to notice the power of market, leading itself to pursue the system, events unimagined in the past started to take place. At present, most of the Chinese people (not all) look more satisfied and happy than at any period of time in history; they look optimistic. With the unprecedented rise in prosperity of China, powers inimical to socialism including western capitalist countries have now started getting nervous and restless. Due to runaway success of China, the situation is

such that several traditional norms and values have faced a host of challenges. But, parallel to this, more confusions have crept in over understanding socialism itself. Now, some socialist countries have metamorphosed into a worshipper of free markets, while some have turned themselves into a completely opaque one-party dictatorship. Blind nationalism or chauvinism has displaced internationalism that forms an indivisible part of socialist thought in different places. And, different parties, institutions, groups, scholars and campaigners who are scattered across the globe and think themselves as true followers socialism seem to have been further and further pushed away from the bounds of state power (rajyasatta). Even in view of the concepts upheld by many of these countries, they seem to be getting away from the fundamental spirit of Marxism and getting more and more attracted towards a politics of sub-nationalism and identity.

However, in situation characterized by such specificity, communists have formed a very strong government in Nepal. The two competing parties which were hell-bent not only on heaping abuses but also demonizing each other not long ago got not only united but also succeeded in forming a strong government of a nearly two-thirds majority following parliamentary elections. Curiously enough, the main opposition party, though a little different, calls itself a socialist party. Of other small parties, several of them have retained the word "socialism" in their party's name itself, while many of them have incorporated features of socialism in election manifestos in one way or another.

What should be health and education like in this socialism-oriented, federal democratic republican state?

As there is no unanimous definition of socialism in

today's world and as the situation is marked by the ascent to power of communists as a result of combination of different factors during the course of different historic events, finding an answer to this question is not easy as thought. But we are comfortable enough to proceed with discussions to this effect by resorting to some points mentioned in the Constitution and by regarding it as a socialism with Nepali characteristics.

The present republican constitution of Nepal has enshrined both right to health and right to education as fundamental rights of citizens. And, this provision tends to be interpreted as an evidence that the state is heading towards socialism. So, let's move from this very point on.

Education

Though the definition of education has been different depending on country, time and context for thousands of years, this is broadly defined in two ways – in a mechanical way and a holistic way. Defined mechanically, education means (1) access to *gurukul*, school, etc., (2) practice to achieve skills, livelihood and expertise under the guidance or supervision of a person, and (3) access to information. Viewed in totality coming out of this mechanical thinking, education means a process of right learning from psychic, moral and aesthetic viewpoints through different types of pedagogies. In other words, education is an important vehicle in a journey towards making a complete man.

No matter which way we accept these two, there are two important stake holders directly involved in the process – one who learns (*sikne*) and one who teaches (*sikaune*). And, there are two other more important stakeholders indirectly involved in the process: state and society. The state always

tends to be decisive, and sets the goals, continuously trying to influence both students (shikshyarthi) and education providers (shikshyapradayak) in a way that it will be convenient to itself. It is only during the times of explosion of dissatisfaction through revolutions, revolts, movements, etc. that society chalks out goals and objectives of education. During such times of 'explosion', society appears not only as a powerhouse for change, it may also present itself as a mobilizer. In specific situations other than this, its role is limited to being a mere recipient. And, even in times of social and political upheavals, a new government on the heels of its formation takes itself into hands from society the responsibility of deciding on the goals and objectives of education. In times of peace, the state either contracts out the responsibility of providing education in keeping with its objectives to some other entity or takes unto itself, or forges partnership with some other 'contractor'.

These patterns can easily be identified if the history of education is looked at carefully.

But, what shall we do in the present context? Whether we accept or do not accept it, we are not in a state of leveraging the comfortability of making 'copy-paste' from the volumes of projects of any other country, or from pages of history. We don't have options to being objectively creative and rationally imaginative. In the present world, we are, on the one hand, flooded with a deluge of information and challenges, and on the other hand, we have ample opportunities. This, however, is not easy, either. It is not only because of our specific situations but also because of inconceivable changes taking place in the last few decades that today's needs cannot be addressed by limiting ourselves to the understanding of classical Marxism. As our efforts to

look for a new definition of socialism may have a tinge of audacity, we need to take the crutches of some points of our constitution.

What makes an ideal citizen as envisaged by our constitution? Undoubtedly, an ideal or model man in a socialism-oriented federal democratic republican country should, at least, be partial to social justice, inclusion and prosperity, besides being a follower and practitioner of democracy. Knowledge and skills required for building a prosperous society are not enough; he or she should be uncompromising when it comes to social justice, prepared to sacrifice things personal for the sake of larger public interests, have a sound hearing capacity, have a transparent life-style and possess a pro-life attitude. He or she should ever be ready to do away with the feeling of 'I'. They should be empathetic enough to think over the interests of others. Are cosmetic changes enough or is a massive shake-up necessary to overhaul our education system in order to prepare such citizens? What should be the role of the state in this process of transformation and in education thereafter? And, what are the challenges that we are faced with for the transformation?

In Mao-era China, people would say – education aims at preparing citizens who are 'red' as well as skillful. Had 'red' not been necessarily understood as being blind followers or repeating things mechanically and had it been understood as possessing right vision including morality, valor, love for nation and good conduct, initiatives taken in the field of education could have really been worth-emulating. As the country suffered a lack of clarity to this effect, these initiatives took on a different form because of different opportunistic, self-centric, ambitious power centers; anarchy

became widespread. Positive efforts undertaken during the latter period of the Cultural Revolution for education to find a rhythm got overshadowed. We could learn many things from that experience which could possibly suit our context. Some of the good initiatives that China took at that time are now getting materialized in countries including the western. In our context, that experience could be replicated as 'expertise with a social responsibility'. But what we have to understand is "social needs" goes beyond addressing the needs of human beings; it is high time to start caring for the entire Earth. Today, knowledge and skills alone are not enough; there is now a need of education aimed to prepare people who are capable of grappling with the challenges and uncertainties of any kind created by the rapidly changing world. However, the kind of discussions that had to take place keeping these things in mind has yet to take place. The role of state in education has already been talked about. The party, which claims to abide by the socialism-oriented constitution, is now in government. Bearing this reality in mind, the present government needs to be more serious in chalking out an educational policy. If right to education of Nepali people has really assumed the form of a fundamental right at all, it cannot be a commodity for exchange under any circumstances. But in the present circumstances, it is just as necessary to pay serious attention to the management, regulation and transformation of non-state actors, the private sector, non-government agencies and the cooperative sector active in the education sector, as in the health sector.

Once the objectives of education are clear, the main components of the educational policy will be – selection of students, teaching methodology and evaluation. Even after right to education has been made a part of fundamental rights,

what kind of students, in what number, for what purpose and for how long the students should be taken still remain to be decided. In terms of pedagogy, we have a host of modern teaching methodologies and direct or indirect experiences of evaluations. Besides, we can learn from others' experiences with our own original creativity. Due to lack of enough time, this is not possible to be discussed here in detail. Once we become clear about the character of the state, addressing questions around technical character should not be difficult at all.

Health

Health lies at the center of human life. The ultimate combination of success and failures achieved in every dimension of life is reflected in the state of health. Therefore, a sense of direction regarding people's health forms an indispensable component of a socialism-oriented state. How to understand human health and what kind of policies need to be drawn up while realizing the ever-changing character of society occupies a highly privileged place in good governance.

What is 'health' and how to understand it?

This question may, at first hearing, sound unnecessary and an act of meaningless academic discussion. However, this makes an important and basic question for working out health policies.

Whether to understand it as a purely medical concept and in the mechanical context of life science, or to understand it in the larger social context governs many aspects of health policies we pursue.

Health-related discussions tend to take place by regarding the definition of World Health Organization

(WHO) as authoritative. However, the WHO definition is fraught with a lack of clarity and vagueness of serious nature. The definition describes human health as a 'state' of complete physical, mental and social well-being. Here a question arises – what is called 'complete'? If looked at from this angle, there are chances that no single person may be found healthy in the world.

Rather than understanding human health as a static 'state' in a mechanical sense, it is necessary to look at this in the context of dynamic relationship of human beings with nature. Nature is eternal and every individual and it is constantly undergoing changes. There is an intimate relationship between these two dynamic entities. This relationship cannot be static without being dynamic. I think it will sound more rational if the capacity to make this dynamic relationship more harmonious, pleasant, result-oriented, meaningful and pro-life is understood as health.

If the health is understood this way, even the 'health' or 'right to health' of citizens who are suffering from the diseases that are described as 'incurable', or citizens with disabilities of any nature will begin to attain a different and significant dimension. This will bring to light the corresponding role the state and non-state actors need to play in providing good health services to people, freeing human health from the narrow, mechanical confines of biology and medical science.

Health Services

Providing or receiving services for attaining a healthful state can be described as health services. Strategies to be adopted for health services will be clear if the health-related concepts are clear. Sometimes the state may not be in a position to fully implement its health policies devised

in keeping with its own concepts; in that eventuality, conventional concepts, no matter how incomplete or faulty they may be, must be used as working definitions for practical ease. However, a sense of direction should be identified, for which the following questions need to be taken into account:

1. Whether or not health services should be allowed to remain as a commodity for exchange even as the constitution has guaranteed it as a fundamental right.
2. What should be the responsibility and role of the private sector, government, NGOs and the cooperative sector involved in health services in some way at a time when it is declared that health services should not be made a commodity for exchange?, and
3. Whether to understand health services as a technical work of doctors to repair, like a mechanic, patients when they go out of order, or to understand it as a noble work to provide help by a person or a group of persons based on knowledge, skills, capacity and facilities available to another person in difficulty.

Everyone knows that health service does not mean fixing a machine that has gone out of order; patients are not machines on the blink and doctors and other health personnel are not merely mechanics. But it is not easy to psychologically free ourselves from the mechanical thinking in understanding health that has developed over the past five or six centuries. Developing strategies from what kind of medical ethics government regulating bodies will determine to what types of doctors or health personnel are required for the country will be based on this conceptual clarity.

It is clear that a socialism-oriented, democratic,

republican philosophy is unlikely to treat health services as an inert matter or a mechanical device. Health services cannot be allowed to remain as a commodity for exchange. But a question arises – how to address the direct and aggressive impact of 'liberal' market economy which is growing more and more strong over health services?

Different Actors and Markets

At present, there are four different sectors operating in the health service sector; (1), a networking of government health services under the Ministry of Health. (2), non-for-profit organizations. (3), health cooperatives being newly established, and (4), profit-making private sector.

The state should make it clear that health services cannot be treated as a commodity for exchange. But in the present context characterized by the market economy which is growing stronger and stronger and the inability to make most of even the mixed economy Nepal has pursued, what kind of policies will be adopted towards non-state health service providers is not easy to decide.

That's why, taking a firm stand and being clear that health service is not a commodity for exchange and this should primarily be a state's responsibility, the role of health service providers of the four different sectors in question should be clarified the recommendations for which are as follows:

- 1. What kind of role the government of a country has played in promoting health of people of that country is a measuring rod for getting to know the health situation there. So, the focus should be laid on the rapidly increasing state's role towards providing such services to the people at their door-steps.*
- 2. The characteristics of a non-governmental organizations*

are:- (1), they are different from other private companies or cooperatives as their all property will be finally owned by government. (2), due to flexibility they enjoy, they are free from the kind of inertia other government agencies may suffer from, and are able to prepare different models for health services. (3), the government may take these organizations, if duly monitored, as closest partners and use them as 'laboratories' for determining required policies. And, (4), these organizations, if not properly regulated or monitored, may turn into a vehicle to lobby for foreign agenda and a pretext for fulfilling vested interests.

3. Ideally, cooperatives are like bricks for creating an edifice of socialism. The essence of the concept of cooperatives lies in fully or partially making use of means and resources available to different strata of people for the sake of their own benefits and interests. Unfortunately, our understanding of it is not in sync with this concept. We have a misunderstanding that a company owned by a few rich people with the capacity to make huge investments is known as 'private ltd.' and a company owned by many people with low such capacity is known as 'cooperatives'. This sort of (mis) understanding has killed the very spirit of the concept of 'cooperatives'. Therefore, in view of this scenario, we need to launch a campaign enabling people to operate health cooperatives on their own, while at the same time, changing misconceptions or misunderstanding to this effect. The health cooperative movement should play the role of an important safeguard. They need to enhance their capacity to overcome crisis, if need be, even when the state is on the brink of collapse or during the period of emergency by making use of

whatever means and resources at their disposal. In such situation, the state should in every way possible facilitate to lift the cooperative movement.

- 4. The private sector by nature is for making profits. Given the world scenario today, the market economy grounded on private property and profit does not seem to come to an end anytime soon. One of the first strategies that the socialism-oriented political system need to pursue for achieving prosperity coupled with social justice and democracy is to rein in wanton, unregulated 'liberal' economy and replace it with a well-planned, balanced economy. For instance, if the country's health service is totally handed over to the private hands, it changes itself into a commodity for exchange. But if the same private sector is encouraged to get involved in such sectors as health tourism, it may remarkably contribute to improving the country's economy by bringing in foreign currency. Such initiatives may prevent foreign currency from flowing out by offering five-star hospital facilities to the fat cats who seek treatment in upscale, luxury hospitals abroad, after sneezing just a couple of times. The state should in every possible way extend its help if any company comes up with a plan to do so. Here we need to understand that there is nothing more than a health industry and does not constitute an integral part of the health service system. Thus they will be contributing to the country's economy and this will, maybe, indirectly, help in health research also. Maybe they would be involved in charitable works as well to some extent. But, it will be a blunder if they are taken as an integral part of the health system that plays a direct role in people's health.*

However, the private sector has a significant component in it, a community of semi-skilled health personnel. It is from these professionals most people have been receiving services. Had they not been in remote areas of the country, there would have been zero presence of health services. However, they have caused harms of various kinds from time to time due to a lack of proper oversight and regulation. So, it is urgently necessary for the government to regularly and properly monitor their profession and ensure people's right to health, while at the same time upgrading their capacity, since they are poor both in terms of skills and capital. It would do well if they are taken out of the fold of 'private sector' and managed under an improved cooperative policy. But this calls for a strong political commitment and managerial skills to correct these ills.

Flexibility in Health System

We are happy with some positive changes seen in the health index of Nepal for the past few years. This positive change, however, remains far from being felt in every nook and corner of the country. There are many reasons to it, one of them which is – lack of policies aimed at addressing local needs.

Activities undertaken by the state across the country need to have uniformity. But where to seek this 'uniformity'? Formulating health policies, however, is not like cutting a stencil and filling it with designs in the name of uniformity. Is it possible to provide health services to the people in a way machine-made goods are sold in all places regardless of their geographical, social, demographic and economic considerations? Is it possible or not to provide social justice this way? Uniformity in people's access to right to health can be ensured only if health services which are based on local

needs felt by local people are provided. Uniformity should be sought in this very access, not in chairs and tables.

At present, we are in the drive for creating a socialism-oriented new republic. If we understand democracy (loktantra) only on the basis of demographic size and density, we will not be paying due attention to potential problems arising therefrom. A large part of Nepal falls in the mountainous and hilly region. Population in this region is very sparse and places are not easily accessible. Difficulties people face in coming and going are inconceivable. Providing health services in these places means facing difficulties of many kinds. If we arithmetically calculate the amount to be invested in health services in the region, the investment turns out to be so high that the people in hilly and mountainous region will not be able to obtain health services at all. If someone suggests that "mobile bus health camps" be organized in these difficult areas, there will be nothing more ludicrous than this, whereas the same approach may be highly useful and effective in plain area or lowland. If the approaches to providing health services in different places of Tarai where flooding and fires wreak a heavy damage every year, and cold wind-swept high mountainous and hilly region are not uniquely designed, this will continue to give rise to problems rather than solving them. That's why, it is crucial to adopt a flexible health policy likely to fulfill needs as pointed by local realities. This is a great challenge for health policy formulators and there are no other ways except for taking on these challenges. Federalism should not be taken lightly or as a fashion or prescription. Necessities born out of different realities in different circumstances should be duly addressed.

Use of Science and Technology

No sooner do we talk of making use of new developments made in the field of science and technology for health services, a strange feeling of defeatism gets across the face of people – how can we afford to have it?

Science and technology in itself is impartial. If we look at history, we find that social justice and civilizations flourished with the development of science and technology. When a new technology is developed, all-powerful countries keep it to themselves in its early days, without making it public. So people have to wait for a long time before they become able to benefit from new technologies or medicines. This is what we see in every period in history. But the character of technology itself is such that it cannot be a prisoner of the affluent and all-powerful only and ultimately gets translated in the life of common people. Mobile phones in everybody's hands today is an example.

Now that republican democracy (loktantrik) has already been established, if we fail to invest in science and technology to increase people's access to health services, there will be no stupidity greater than this. The success of researches and studies undertaken by our universities is very low. The ministry responsible for science and technology is one of the weakest institutions. Sometimes even under-educated contractors tend to be appointed as the minister for science and technology.

We can never move ahead if such situation continues to hold sway. In the present context marked by the unprecedented growth of technology, we cannot afford to avoid being focused on how to use such technology in the best interests of people's health. We should work on what

type of technology is best suited for ensuring rural health services and this should not be dealt with in a mere ritualistic way. Besides, we may develop some technologies on our own, while for others, we may forge partnership with others. It is high time we became serious. Against such backdrop, it is crucial to establish innovation centers not only at the national level but also at the regional and local levels.

* * *



International Agencies and Prospect of Socialism



Dr. Dipak Prakash Bhatta

Member of Parliament

Central Committee Member

Nepal Communist Party



"Seventy years after Marx's death, one third of the human race lived under regimes ruled by communist parties which claimed to represent his ideas and realize his aspirations."

Eric Hobsbawn, How to Change the World: Marx and Marxism 1840-2011

Background:

The Mahabharat battles, Art of War of Sun Tzu and Chanakya policy which had tremendous impact on a majority of the people of the civilizations of the East, particularly in today's China and India are discussed from time to time. And, during this period, the history of Peloponnesian War by Thucydides in which the rising power had defeated the established power. That period was a period of city-states. Then followed the hundred-year war of Europe. Even after that, they fought many battles till the signing of the Peace Treaty of Westphalia 1648. Finally, they reached a consensus which set up the system of modern nation-state – the system which has been hitherto accepted well.

Capitalism evolved during this very period of a series of wars that were raged in Europe. Thereafter, the debate around making the political system people-oriented and egalitarian and operation thereof is still continuing. Another century after the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia, Britain became the hub of the Industrial Revolution which had a massive impact on every aspect of human life. India and China which had accounted for more than half of the world economy found slowly themselves on a downward slide. The United States became the first global economic power by knocking down the powerful economy of Britain which was leading the colonial economic system. The First, Second and Third Communist Internationals moved by the advocates of the

working masses from 1864 with a slogan of internationalism had influenced the world till the preliminary phase of the Cold War. But, in order to prevent the dissemination of socialist thought and state building, the League of Nations came into being through the Paris Peace Conference after the First World War as part of the effort to spread the worldwide influence of capitalism and as part of the US effort to lead the world order towards a certain direction. The developed form of capitalism orienting towards imperialism from colonialism utterly failed to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War. The incessant efforts to make useful industrial revolutions from the first to the fourth is a link in this series. During this very time, these two economies are making efforts to stage a comeback with a bang, with China already taking lead and India trailing.

If the debates surrounding development and prosperity are viewed from the Marxist and political perspectives, the development of capitalism and militarization of the state are found to have developed together. Though America succeeded in becoming the first economic power at the end of the 19th century was found to be making preparations during the first world war, it emerged on the scene of global race as the head of imperialism equipped with nuclear power and Bretton Woods institutions, making most of the Second World War, in order to materialize its intention of providing leadership to world order. The US moved ahead leading global capitalism or imperialism through such institutions as International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB).

Gramsci, who challenged the guided intellectual efforts in the world communist movement, concluded that capitalism proceeded with the task of establishing dominance

not only on the basis of ideological, political and economic aspects but also on the basis of violence. In the analysis of Chenoy, rivalry in the production of state-of-the-art military equipment and security-related items has its impact not only on political, social and economic spheres but also on wide-ranging matters from symbols and languages to social values, norms and cultures. This, by extension, means that securitization can have its impact on every aspect of society. It is simply because capitalism and war are like synonymous concepts. This is what an analysis of history shows.

Attempts were made to invite crisis during the era of colonialism and imperialism for establishing one's own dominance through different wars and Nepali society, too, faced the impact of big wars. The participation of a remarkable number of youths in the two world wars had had multi-dimensional impact on Nepali society. In the capitalist-imperialist world order that followed, as the attempts were made towards collective security with the dissemination of capital and technology during the Cold War, the understanding that police, quasi-military structure and other necessary security forces were the need of the state development. So, it looked like imperative for the state to exponentially increase the number of army by showing the bogey of the necessity of war and engage in rivalry in the production of weapons. To provide easy opportunities and impose wars to implement aggressive, neo-liberal and imperialist economic, security and foreign policies for the capitalist ruling class, wars were imposed giving rise to military-industrial complexities and alliances. As explained by neo-realists like Morgenthau, international order continued to remain anarchic.

In the following days, though the United States of America became the only superpower in the world based on its military, diplomatic and economic strength and on the basis of its access to science and technology, and information, the world is slowly moving towards becoming a multi-polar world through the unipolar world from the Cold War-era by polar world. The US mobilizes the United Nations to find a solution to international disputes keeping uppermost in mind one's national interest and to maintain its global influence as a superpower, and in case that fails to happen, it intervenes in other countries in the name of ensuring stability single-handedly or with the help of its allies. The concept of shared values upheld by the United Nations has become weak and ineffective. At present, the US-led NATO, its relations with Russia, China, Mexico, Iran, India and Pakistan and multi-national structures, and policies towards regional and sub-regional institutions have increased the possibility of creating a new power balance and developing a new relation.

In course of studying the gaps in terms of social, economic and political discriminations and unequal relations between the North and the South, widespread changes effected in the field of science and technology, and migrations for studies and employment including due to wars from developing to developed countries, have played a significant role in this. The question of building of socialism, and discussions, conclusions and decisions to that effect need to be undertaken in view of this extended context as new, complex and contradictory problems, along with these changes, have, sometimes simultaneously and sometimes differently, surfaced at national and global levels.

The western society which has reached the summit

of prosperity through exploitation in the age of colonial imperialism and by making most of the surplus value in an absolute way is trying to put checks on human migration by creating a Trump wall between the United States and Mexico, and a virtual wall among the countries of the European Union, exactly 30 years after the Berlin wall was demolished. Francis Fukuyama, seeing China's development, is scared of the building of socialism. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, he had handed over the responsibility of opening the doors of peace, prosperity and solutions of all problems of mankind to capitalist liberal democracy.

But, BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) serve as an answer to different questions raised by the Indo-Pacific Strategy (IPS) and development of other sub-regional structures. Similarly, complexities involving capitalism developed in China and the journey of socialism are very important. The challenges awaiting the Nepal Communist Party which is now in power will become more complicated. Trump's America First policy and Brexit makes it clear that the neo-realist international anarchy which upholds the national interests uppermost has been created from the perspective of international relations and at a time when the model of neo-liberalism and the building of politico-economic structures are holding sway.

In order to understand the present state and character of politico-economy of the new wave of globalization coupled with fierce competition in terms of the state-of-the-art technology, understanding of the political aspect of modern Nepal alone may not be enough. It is just as necessary to study other societies, development and non-development in

those societies, politico-economic structure and the impact it has on different societies in different times. Pushpa Lal in one of his propositions made during the establishment of the Communist party says: "It will be imperative for the working masses to fight against bigger than big democratic and republican capitalists and petty bourgeoisie for the sake of socialism. There is no room for any kind of doubt in this. The fight against monarchy or autocracy is a temporary or transient task of socialists and undermining it in any way will be equal to serving counter-revolution." Emphasizing collectivity, Pushpa Lal further says: "The system of finding solutions should be developed through the party committee."

Monarchy, Democracy, Panchayat, Revival of Democracy and Federal Democratic Republic

What happened to all types of government systems founded on the feudal system of production is clear to all of us, for their failure to resolve the differences plaguing their own system, adopt timely changes, reduce the access of crony capitalists to corruption and commission-seeking trend and make conscious efforts to break that networking. If we fail to take a proper economic and social direction, the history has taught lessons many times that the establishment of a political system or system of government, no matter how good it is, will have no meaning. It is, therefore, necessary to widen the circle of production with the involvement of students, teachers, farmers and workers, the change-making force of yesterday. For this, there is no alternative to planning and budgeting in the priority areas of industry, agriculture, transport and science and technology.

Journey of Socialism

Though capitalism faced different transitional phases

in its 500-year long history, the kind of structural crisis it is facing now never happened before. In this phase of social transformation, how to move ahead and what kind of conditions the international organizations and structures created are important. While talking about preparations for journey of socialism in Nepal, a precise analysis of the present world order and economic system is required. Many developing and under-developed countries like Nepal have already faced the consequences of the Structural Adjustment Program launched by such institutions as IMF and World Bank in the 80s of the 20th century. When we move ahead on a journey of socialism while institutionalizing the new changes, where does this global structure come to our rescue or where does it stand in the way? How can we cooperate in either of the eventuality? It is already past due drawing a clear line to this effect. In the present time marked by favorable national and international situations, employment to youths including social security to senior citizens, children and the disabled should take precedence over others. Whether we can save ourselves from another crisis depends on the choice of the road that we make.

On a journey to socialism, how can we cooperate and coordinate with the institutions and structures leading the world order and its financial aspect is a matter of paramount importance. Bourgeois thinkers have already started thinking on likely huge clashes or confrontations among the western civilization, China and India. The possibility of clashes as predicted by Huntington in the “Clash of Civilization” and other confrontations taking place in the name of Islamic State, the recent technology and trade war between the US and China stand as the recent cases in point. Fukuyama looks worried that there will be problems if others would try to

learn from the model of China's development as China has started dealing a blow to the present western liberal world order.

As crony capitalism does not focus on reproduction, employment generation and social security, the solution of contradictions standing in the way of socialism is an important question. In the interests of which class are budgets, policies and plans worked out is also an important question. Today's true socialists have no alternative to moving ahead by minimizing the influence and dominance of the capitalist class. So, the party is required to chalk out a clear program and policy on the existing form of class struggle. How can the crony capital be developed into a national capital? The program seeking to help the capitalist class will help the neo-liberal market economy. It is already proved that the investment summits organized with a view to disseminating the message that tax-free profits can be made, there are no legal hurdles for foreign investment and there is no problem in taking profits thus accrued to one's own country proved unlikely to bring into operation employment-oriented industries. Global capitalism is not prepared to overcome the crises.

International system, growing inter-dependence on it and the presence of Nepal in it have grown further with the re-emergence of China and India on the world stage. As the Nepal's international relations, foreign policy and export-import are India-centric, our overall politics and economy is also India-oriented. It is urgently necessary to put checks on production, reproduction, distribution, expansion and development of crony capitalism as it has widespread influence on all sections and strata of society – particularly in politics, industry, trade, bureaucracy, media and civil

society. The need of the day is, therefore, to diversify exports-imports, and production-oriented economy, while at the same time developing the self-reliant economy and fulfilling people's wish for prosperity.

Though, as compared to the past, there has been a marked change in looking at Nepal by others with its participation in international forums with high morale and a stable government in place, it is crucially necessary to develop our capacity to make most of BRI and IPS in order to make achievements in economy keeping in mind the giant economies of the two immediate neighbors with different civilizations and political systems. Besides, cooperation with Europe and Japan and Korea of East Asia and Southeast Asia which is now making headway is equally necessary.

There is a huge possibility of Nepal becoming the first laboratory of competitions between BRI and IPS because the US is not limited to doing what it says. It has brought the old assistance tied up with the MCC or Millennium Challenge Corporation under IPS framework, which was not mentioned before. It has put forth a condition requiring parliament to ratify the agreement. But China has already made its presence felt in the international forums, claiming that BRI is for equality, cooperation and partnership. But, how China gets encircled in its competition to become a global superpower and how it will come out of it will be a matter of far-reaching significance.

Conclusions

Therefore, in the journey of building scientific socialism, the first challenge would be to change unproductive capital to productive capital; secondly, crony capitalism does not create national capital; thirdly, directives served by the

institutions of world economic system may come in the way of our efforts. Another most important question is changing unproductive capital to productive national capital, making a way through the conditions laid by donor countries for aid, grant and loans. However, it will not be easy to come out of all forms of dependence on conditions.

References

- Hobsbawn, Eric, *Globalization, Democracy and Terrorism*, Abacus, London, 2007
- Chenoy, Anuradha, *Militarism and Women in South Asia, Kali for Women*, New Delhi, 2002
- <https://www.tni.org/en/businessbuildingwalls>, 5 November 2019.
- Pushpa Lal. *A Review of Nepal Communist Party's Revolutionary Struggle of 18 Years*.
- Beaud, Michel, *A History of Capitalism: 1500-2000*, Aakar Books, New Delhi, 2004.
- Fukuyama, F., *Political Order and Political Decay: From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy*, Profile Books, London, 2014.
- Mishra, C., "Development and Underdevelopment: A Preliminary Sociological Perspective," *Occasional Papers in Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol. 1., Central Department of Sociology and Anthropology, TU, Kathmandu, 1987.



Critical Discourses on Contemporary Issues in Nepal, 2019

Public Discourse on
World Order & China: Prospect of Socialism in Nepal
विश्व व्यवस्था र चीन: नेपालमा समाजवादको सम्भाव्यता

Organized by

CRITICAL DISCOURSE NEPAL

7th Mangsir, 2076
(23rd November, 2019)
Baneshwor, Kathmandu

In association with

ROSA
LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG
SOUTH ASIA

Papers

1. The World System and China: Implication for and Prospect of Socialism in Nepal
Dr. Khagendra Prasai
2. Nepalese Path to Socialism
Dr. Vijay Kumar Paudel
3. Some Characteristics of Chinese Socialism and Prospect of Socialism in Nepal
Dr. Yubaraj Sangroula



Dr. Pitambar Sharma
Chairing the Public Discourse



Er. Ashesh Ghimire
Introducing the topic



Hirendra Shahi
Initiating the Program

The World System and China: Implication for and Prospect of Socialism in Nepal



Dr. Khagendra Prasai

Associate Professor of Philosophy
Chairperson, FCD Nepal



Bamdev Gautam
Commentating on the Paper



Beduram Bhusal



Dev Gurung



Introduction

"Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past."¹ This is Marx's well-reasoned statement on men's freedom and its material limitation.

Concerning the basis of epochal transformation of society, Marx lays down the following principle:

No social order ever perishes before all productive forces for which there is room in it have developed; and new, higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society itself. Therefore, mankind always set itself only such task as it can solve; since looking at the matter more closely, it will always be found that the task itself arises only when the material conditions for its solution already exist or at least in the process of formation.²

Historical materialists firmly believe that these statements are universally true. Therefore, for historical materialists in Nepal, there is a historical call to ponder the following questions: Is there no more room for the further development of the world capitalist system and Nepal's capitalism? Has the material condition for socialism in Nepal matured in the womb of existent global and national capitalism?

-
- 1 Marx, Karl. 1869. "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" in *Marx Engels Selected Works*. Progress Publishers: Moscow; 96
 - 2 Marx, Karl. 1859. "Preface to a Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy" in *Marx Engels Selected Works*. Progress Publishers: Moscow; 182

If successful construction of socialism depends on the existence of suitable material condition and not on our wish, are circumstances we have been transmitted to and we encounter now such that we can embark on socialist construction now or sometime soon?

Generally, this paper aims at engaging with these questions theoretically, and for this purpose, consists of four sections. Section 2 deals with the nature and direction of the contemporary world system and its implication for socialist movement in Nepal. Section 3 discusses China's international project BRI and how it will affect Nepal's future trajectory of development. Section 4 touches upon some vitally important aspects related to socialist project in Nepal—which, unfortunately, have been sidelined.

Nature and Direction of Contemporary World System: Implication for Nepal

To furnish our understanding of nature and direction of contemporary world system, it is advisable that we discuss some important analyses. Contrary to the popularized understanding, Immanuel Wallerstein claims that globalization as a characterization of current world phenomena is a "misleading concept" since what is described as globalization has been happening for 500 years. What is new, for him, is that the world is entering an 'age of transition.'³ The transition, in Wallerstein's view, is not merely that of a few backward countries, but that of the entire capitalist world into "something else", which, far from being inevitable, is extremely uncertain.⁴

3 Wallerstein, Immanuel. 2000. "Globalization or the Age of Transition?: A Long-Term View of the Trajectory of the World System", *International Sociology*, Vol. 15 No. 2: 251

4 *Ibid.* 252

Wallerstein claims that from the late 1960s, the world economy entered into its "long period of stagnation" the crucial measure of which consists of considerable drop of profit from production spheres which has series of consequences: shift of capital investment from productive sphere to financial sphere; significant increase in the unemployment; and significant shift of loci of production from higher-wage areas to lower-wage areas.⁵ He also argues that the present stagnation or crisis is different from the past crises. In the contemporary capitalist system, three "structural pressures" or "secular trends" related to wage level, material inputs and taxation are rendering endless accumulation of capital—the primary motor of capitalist system—unfeasible and; consequently, a structural crisis is on its way.⁶

But, what kind of political action is possible and desirable in the transition transpiring due to the structural crisis? What role can political actions play? What is the scope of the effectiveness of their roles? Wallerstein argues that due to uncertainty and unpredictability of outcome of the crisis, even the slightest political actions will have great consequences.⁷ The outcome, as it is uncertain, is open to human intervention and creativity.⁸ "The outcome of the political struggle will be in part the result of who is able to mobilize whom, but it will also be in large part the degree to which who is able to analyze better what is going on, and what are the real historical alternatives with which we are collectively faced. This is to say, it is a moment at which

5 Ibid. 255

6 Ibid. 260

7 Ibid. 267

8 Ibid.

we need to unify knowledge, imagination and praxis."⁹ The prescription, thus, is that the material condition for revolution is ripening, and we should ready ourselves for the task.

Geovanni Arrighi describes the second half of the twentieth century as the "economic renaissance of East Asia" which embodies the social and economic empowerment of the peoples of the non-Western world.¹⁰ Arrighi appreciates China's post-90 development as momentous: "... China has increasingly replaced the United States as the main driving force of commercial and economic expansion in East Asia and beyond."¹¹ Furthermore "... China has played a leading role both in rerouting the Southern surplus to Southern destination and in providing neighboring and distant Southern countries with attractive alternative to the trade, investment, and assistance of Northern countries and financial institutions."¹²

What is so optimistic about the rise of East Asia and the relative decline of the West? Arrighi's optimism is predicated on an unprecedented possibility of an equalized world system: "... the failure of the Project for a New American Century and the success of Chinese economic development, taken jointly, have made the realization of Smith's vision of a world-market society based on greater equality among the world's civilization more likely than it was in the almost two and a half centuries since the publication of *The Wealth of Nations*."¹³ In short, creating a commonwealth of nation

9 Ibid.

10 Arrighi, Giovanni. 2007. *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty First Century*. London: Verso 1

11 Ibid. 8

12 Ibid. 382

13 Ibid. 8

is becoming a greater possibility. However, as Arrighi warns, there is a possibility the West attempting to restore its domination—which can culminate in the escalation of violence and endless global chaos.¹⁴

There is not just the great side of China's growth. The "economic miracles" of China, as Arrighi points out, has a serious, problematic side, namely, "the widening cleavage between those who have been in a position to appropriate the benefits of rapid economic growth and those who had to bear its cost."¹⁵ The cleavage loudly calls for "a major reorientation ... towards a more balanced development between rural and urban areas, between regions, and between economy and society."¹⁶

How does reorientation of Chinese economy bear on other economies? Arrighi believes that the outcome of reorientation is "crucially important" for the future not only of China but also of the world.¹⁷ Reorientation, as Arrighi envisions, should aim at reviving "China's tradition of self-centric development, accumulation *without* dispossession, mobilization of human resources rather than non-human resources, government with mass participation ..." which, if successful, is likely to enable China to be in a position to contribute decisively to "the emergence of a commonwealth to civilization truly respectful of cultural differences."¹⁸ But, the failure of reorientation may result in social and political chaos in China which will facilitate Northern attempt to restore declining dominance or will escalate

14 Ibid. 10

15 Ibid. 389

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

violence.¹⁹ In a nutshell, China's reorientation has serious implications for the future of the world.

Leo Panitch and Sam Gindin, however, do not see that the center of capitalism is shifting from the USA to China. They take great pains to demonstrate that all the elements of globalization were implicated both in the "US economy's centrality in global capitalism and in the successful integration into it of the huge and fast-growing Chinese economy."²⁰ In their view, China's determination to go capitalist coincided with "a new stage in the informal American empire's drive to realize fully global capitalism."²¹ This means that China's integration into global capitalism has not changed the latter's structure but contributed to its full realization. They, therefore, argue that the contention that China's entry into the global capitalist order marks its fundamental re-orientation comes from the failure to grasp the centrality of the American empire to capitalist globalization.²² Panitch and Gindin go further: "To this point, far from displacing the American empire, China rather seems to be duplicating Japan's supplemental role ... to sustain the US's primary place in global capitalism."²³

In order for the re-orientation to occur, i.e. for China to be the center of global system, a lot has to change in the Chinese economy. "It would require deeper and much more liberalized financial markets within China which would entail dismantling the capital control ..." Furthermore, it would also require "a major reorientation of Chinese

19 Ibid. 389

20 Panitch, Leo and Gindin, Sam. 2013. *The Making of Global Capitalism: The Political Economy of American Empire*. London: Verso: 19

21 Ibid. 19

22 Ibid. 19

23 Ibid. 336

pattern of investment and production away from export towards domestic consumption", which, however, would have "incalculable implications for the social relations that have sustained China's rapid growth and global integration."²⁴ Namely, it would have to confront the resistance of powerful vested interests among Chinese capitalists and regional officials.²⁵ In addition, boosting domestic consumption would entail welfare provisions, increase in wage and redistribution of income—which, in turn, would happen only through a substantial shift of power to the working class.²⁶ This, Panitch and Gindin argue, while certainly possible in the long run, would meet resistance that would go well beyond just those firms involved in exploiting low wages.²⁷ In a nutshell, in their view, immediate re-orientation of Chinese economy is unlikely, or at least, a formidable task..

Sean Starrs considers the narrative of 'Asian Century' and Western decline misleading as it is based on a great exaggeration of the fading of the US as the world's leading power.²⁸ His analysis is predicated on the idea that national power cannot be equated with national accounts—GDB above all because there are no nationally discrete political economies in the world we live in.²⁹ Instead, national power must be measured in terms of the ownership of industries and business, and therefore, focus should be laid on the study of transnational corporations in order to get the

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid. 336-7

27 Ibid. 337

28 Stars, Sean. 2014. "Chimera of Global Convergence" in the *New Left Review*, 87: 81

29 Ibid.

sense of where economic power is really concentrated.³⁰ Starrs demonstrates that "while an increasing share of global manufacturing takes place in the PRC, much of this production is controlled, directly or indirectly by outside interests."³¹ It means that the national account of China does not represent its real economic power.

Starrs is not optimistic about the possibility of China benefitting even if the Chinese economy is reoriented from export to domestic consumption. Given the presence and ownership of the US companies in the sector of goods and services of domestic consumption, "... many American firms are in a strong position to benefit if China does succeed in redirecting its growth model towards domestic consumption."³² However, China, for Starrs is the only country that can be described as a serious contender to join the capitalist world with its progress across a whole range of industries ...³³ Starrs, however, concludes that as China still faces "significant challenges", "the leading role of US capital in the global economy ... is likely to endure for some time to come."³⁴

Ho-fung Hung demonstrates "the deepening dependence of China and East Asia on the consumer markets of the global North as the source of their growth and on US financial vehicles as the store of values for their savings."³⁵ He adds: "... so far China has not freed itself from the servitude of providing America with cheap credit and low-

30 Ibid. 82 & 90

31 Ibid. 82

32 Ibid. 91

33 Ibid. 96

34 Ibid.

35 Hung, Ho-fung. 2009. "America's Head Servant: The PRC's Dilemma in the Global Crisis" the New Left Review 60.; 6

cost imports. Worse, the intensity of the PRC's export-led and private-consumption-repressing growth model has made its market and financial dependence on the US even greater than that of its predecessors."³⁶ Hung demonstrates how China has adopted anti-rural and pro-urban economic policies which, he argues, is "the source of China's prolonged 'limitless' supply of labour, and thus of the wage stagnation that has characterized its economic miracles."³⁷ He goes further to show that the East (comprising the South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan and China) in the recent East-US relationship can be described as "a team of servants with China at the head, leading the others in providing cheap exports to the US and using its hard-earned savings to finance American purchases of those exports."³⁸

Hung, however, sees China's long term possibility of ending dependence and creating autonomous economic order in Asia for which it has to transform its export-orientated growth model into one driven by domestic consumption.³⁹ Such a transformation entails "moving resources and policy preferences away from the coastal cities to the rural hinterland."⁴⁰ This, however, Hung warns, is "a daunting task" as it has to confront the adamant resistance from the vested interest groups comprising officials and entrepreneurs from the coastal provinces which is decisively powerful in shaping and implementing policies domestically and has also established "a symbiotic relation" with the American ruling class.⁴¹ But Hung contends that only such a re-orientation

36 Ibid. 9

37 Ibid. 14

38 Ibid. 16

39 Ibid. 6

40 Ibid. 24

41 Ibid.

can end China's dependence on the US and also benefit other South Asian manufacturing economies.⁴² He concludes that without re-orientation, recentring of global economy from West to East and from North to South remains a little more than "a wishful thinking."⁴³

On the other hand, official analysts and authors of the US empire have expressed their concern over the rise of China in the recent decades. Samuel Huntington describes the current global balance of power as characterized by overwhelming dominance of the West which will persist throughout the twenty-first century.⁴⁴ Huntington, however, notes that due to "gradual, inexorable, and fundamental changes" that are undergoing in the balances of power among civilizations, "the power of the West relative to other civilizations will continue to decline."⁴⁵ With the gradual erosion on the primacy of the West, much of the power is shifting to Asian civilizations, with "China gradually emerging as the society most likely to challenge the West for global influence."⁴⁶ Neo-Conservatives are worried about the rise of China which they posit as a threat to liberal global order.⁴⁷ Similarly, the rise of China is propagandized as "China Threat"—a threat to regional and international stability, as well as to American interest and security.⁴⁸

42 Ibid. 25

43 Ibid

44 Huntington, Samuel P. 1996. *The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of World Order*. New Delhi: Penguin Books: 82

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid. 82-3

47 See Friedberg, Aron, "The Authoritarian Challenge: China, Russia and the Threat to the International Liberal Order" The Sasakawa Peace Foundation.

48 See Yee Herbert and Storey, Ian. 2002. "Introduction" in Yee Herbert and Storey, Ian (eds.) *The China Threat: Perceptions, Myth and Reality*. London:Routledge Curzon

A review of these divergent perspectives indisputably points to the fact that China is rising globally and will be one of the influential actors sooner or later. Undoubtedly, the future course of Nepal's development bears on the nature, direction and development of the world system in which China is an emerging power. We can foresee a few possibilities in this regard.

If the world system continues to remain capitalist with China as its center, it will be more favorable for the growth and development of capitalism in Nepal—which—can have either of the two trajectories; (1), the present form of non-productive capitalism will be continued or further deepened making Nepal, basically, a marketplace for the consumption of goods and commodities from manufacturing centers, and a supplier of labourer in the world labour market. (2), Nepal can be a favored nation of China in view of the former's strategic importance for the latter—more or less like South Korea, Taiwan and Japan which were favored by the US during the Cold War. In this case, China's role and assistance will be more favorable for the development of characteristically capitalist productive forces in Nepal. It must, therefore, be noted that if the world system continues to be aggressively capitalist, Nepal's journey of socialism will be an extremely difficult, or even impossible task. It can reasonably be extrapolated from the difficulties confronted and compromises made by nations in the last few decades which attempted to embark on the journey of socialism.

If the present capitalist world system begins to transform into a socialist system with China as the center or the most influential actor, socialism will have a best chance in Nepal. It should, however, be noted that this is not an immediate possibility, if at all.

If the present world system takes on the trajectory of continuous rise of China and the relative decline of the West without creating a world hegemon there is a possibility it will end up with a regionally more equalized world as envisioned by Adam Smith. But, such global equalization will also have a decided impact on domestic policies of Nepal, or any nation, for that matter: it will be conducive to the creation of more equal or egalitarian economy and society in Nepal. However, the trajectory of the rise of China and relative decline of the West can be headed to a condition of prolonged war, violence and chaos resulting from powerful nations' attempts of maintaining and asserting influence the precipitated outcome of which is hard to predict. There is no reason to anticipate that war will give rise to a qualitatively new social order. It is plausible to believe that it can recreate the old system with new actor or actors at center stage as consequence of the victory and defeat in war.

There is little doubt that the direction of emerging China will inform Nepal's trajectory of development. It is, therefore, important to understand the present nature of Chinese economy and the direction it is aspiring to head to.

China, at present, is characteristically in a state of capitalism—capitalism with Chinese characteristics. China has entered global capitalist system not in defiance of but in accordance with its rules. The recent trajectory of China's growth is based on the logic of capitalism, and more precisely, of the contemporary global capitalism. Moreover, an analysis of Chinese political economy predicated on the ownership and distribution of wealth strongly attests to its capitalist nature.⁴⁹ Similarly, regional and rural-urban inequality as well as inequality in individuals' income and

49 See Picketty, Yang and Zucman. 2016. "Capital Accumulation, Private Property and Rising Inequality in China 1978-2015"

property constitute incontestable evidence of the same. China's development of the past few decades has been described as "unstable, unbalanced, uncoordinated, and unsustainable" even in the formal and official expression of the CPC's leaders and documents. In his formal speech delivered at the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Xi Jinping has acknowledged, among others, that China's development is "unbalanced and inadequate"; "the quality and the effect of development are not what they should be"; "poverty alleviation remains a formidable task"; "there are still large disparities in development between rural and urban areas, between regions, and in income distributions, ..."⁵⁰ The principal contradiction of Chinese society, as Xi points, is "between inadequate development and people's ever-growing needs for a better life."⁵¹ It stands to reason that a society with these problems cannot be considered socialist.

Understandably, Xi does not posit China as a socialist country, instead, argues that "it is still and will long remain in the primary stage of socialism..."⁵² However, the actually existing "primary stage" with the above-mentioned characteristics can be remotely socialist, no matter what qualification is prefixed.

Xi draws up a two-stage development plan for the construction of socialism. The first stage spans from 2020-2035 the goals of which include, among others, creating a moderately prosperous society; increasing the size of middle

50 Xi Jinping. 2017. "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era": 8

51 Ibid. 9-10

52 Ibid. 10

class considerably; and significantly reducing disparities in urban-rural development, in development between regions, and in living standards. The second stage spans fifteen from 2035 to 2050 and aims, among others, at making China "a great modern socialist country in every dimension" at achieving "common prosperity for everyone", and completing modernization.⁵³

Regardless of whether China will be headed to socialism, how relations of production and system of ownership are shaped and reshaped will bear on socialist movement of those countries which will be economically intimately connected to China. How relations of production are transformed and which class the Communist Party of China sides with, in turn, depend on the growth of working class, its consciousness, organization and the nature and direction of its struggle. Successful movement can have either of the two possible consequences. First, if goals of successful movement happen to include an increase in wage and benefits, individual consumerism, etc., China will be transformed into a welfare state—which can have corresponding message for and effect on Nepal. Second, if the working class and the Communist Party of China set collective ownership and control of production and distribution as the principal goal of socialism and accomplish it successfully, China will become a socialist society in the Marxist sense of the term. We cannot predict which trajectory China will hold on to. It should, however, be noted that as long as the present way of accumulation and reproduction of capital has room for its development and as long as bourgeois class continues to have a decisive role in it, China's possibility of socialist transformation will be formidable and arguably an impossible task.

53 Ibid. 24-25

China's International Project and Nepal

As an emerging global power, China has an enormous international project: the BRI. Important questions we need to deliberate are: how do Nepal's development and the BRI relate with each other? will the BRI be conducive to our socialist transformation? Is the BRI a new imperial project of China?

Certainly, the BRI is an ambitious, herculean global project. Compared with principles, intentions and methods of old colonialism and the US hegemony, BRI appears incomparably friendly and humane. Colonialists used to posit themselves as civilized and superior, and other countries they intended to colonize as uncivilized, inferior, pretending that they were in a mission to civilize--for which they extensively and routinely employed force and violence as principal methods. The Project for New American Century, initiated after the mid of 1990, has explicit intention of establishing global leadership of the American interest through the exercise of military and economic power. The American desire to be the global hegemon is evident in a statement by Obama that America should write the rule of global trade. When it comes to relating with other civilizations, China, in sharp opposition to much propagandized "the class of civilization" thesis, wants to replace estrangement with exchange, clashes with learning and a sense of superiority with coexistence—which, it believes, will boost mutual understanding, mutual respect and mutual trust among different countries.⁵⁴ Xi Jinping clarifies: "We are ready to share practices of development with other countries, but we have no intention to interfere in other countries' internal affair, export our own social system or model of

54 Xi Jinping. 2017. "Work Together to Build the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road"

development, or impose our own will on others. In pursuing the Belt and Road Initiative, we do not resort to outdated geopolitical maneuvering. What we hope to achieve is a new model of win-win cooperation. We have no intention to form a small group detrimental to stability. What we hope to create is a big family of harmonious co-existence."⁵⁵

But, critiques of the BRI and China indicate the possibility of Chinese domination through conditions attached to projects under the BRI. It is too early to make a definitive assessment on this, but what is fairly consoling is that so far we have not heard of China's attempt to undermine partner countries' sovereignty and to engage in regime change. How China will behave with other countries through the BRI is certainly not predictable. However, viewed from the perspective of historical materialism, how China's relation with other countries will transpire is informed by how class structuration and the corresponding class struggle unfold in China and where the Communist Party of China stands in the process. In the future, the BRI will be shaped and enforced depending on who prevails in the process of class struggle. If socialist forces prevail, the BRI will be favorable for socialist construction in Nepal. But if capitalist forces gain upper hand for shorter or longer period, China's foreign relations and the BRI will fundamentally be shaped in line with the interest of capitalist class such that the principal objective of the Chinese foreign policy will consist of maximum appropriation from other countries including Nepal. But there is a possibility that Nepal can be treated differently. If China considers Nepal uniquely important strategically, then Nepal will receive unique favor which can be cashed in to transform itself into an industrial capitalist nation.

55 Ibid.

However, a reasoned hope of socialism can be pinned on the potential of process that can unfold in China and capitalist centers. If working class in China is empowered and the dominant capitalist economies continue to decline coupled with a huge discontentment of working class and its corresponding organization and empowerment, the prospect of socialism will be significantly bettered. However, capitalism will pave the way for socialism only when all possibilities of resolving social contradictions arising from capitalist relations of production are exhausted. Capitalism will continue to survive by transforming itself as long as there will be room for further accumulation and development of capital. It is not pessimistic to hold the view that capitalism will not necessarily collapse any time soon and pave the way for socialism. This means, it is not certain whether our historical task consists of socialist construction. Marx tells us that we should set ourselves for the task only when material conditions for it already exist or are in the process of formation. However, some have cautiously suggested that as capitalism has fully globalized now, there is little room left for its further development.

Principal Conditions and Corresponding Tasks of Socialism in Nepal

In addition to the nature, direction and dynamism of the world system and China, there are other conditions on which building of socialism in Nepal decisively depends. One, building of socialism in Nepal entails transforming the currently dominant non-productive capital into productive capital as a part of the development of productive forces. However, this is a formidable task. At present, non-productive capital is reproducing itself, expanding and developing rapidly. Viewed from the perspective of historical

materialism, possibility for such transformation opens up only when such non-productive capital is pregnant with crisis and incapable of reproducing itself. Attempts to transform it before the condition is adequately ripe will have to confront the power of the non-productive capital which has held its sway on political, administrative, legal, etc. institutions. So long as the non-productive capital is in the condition of reproducing itself, it is likely to prevail. Therefore, one of the principal tasks of our socialist movement consists in understanding the size, development, power, dynamism, national-international nexus of the non-productive, law and direction of its crisis; and in working out method and direction of its transformation into productive capital.

The second condition consists in the existence, size and consciousness of class or classes which will see its immediate and distant interests in socialism. Idealism, high moral ground or the enlightened desire of leaders or party alone do not bring about socialism. The desire for socialism without the presence of class or classes and corresponding material condition is utopian, not scientific. Even if we conceive ensuring universal access to some welfare provisions as the starting point of socialism, a necessary condition of its success consists of the role, power and economic capability of state and public sectors—which, in turn, depends on the effective presence, role and intervention of class or classes which believe in and see its interests realized in the public or socialized sectors and stands. Therefore, the second task consists in class analysis—an analysis of the existence, constitution and development of classes in Nepal.

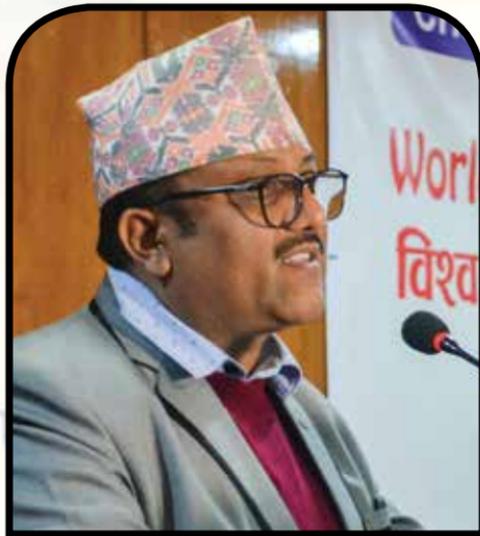
References

Arrighi, Giovanni. 2007. *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty First Century*. London: Verso

- Friedberg, Aron L. "The Authoritarian Challenge: China, Russia and the Threat to the International Liberal Order" The Sasakawa Peace Foundation.
- Hopkins and Wallerstein (eds) 1996. *The Age of Transition: Trajectory of the World System, 1945-2020*. London: Zed Books
- Hung, Ho-fung. 2009. "America's Head Servant: The PRC's Dilemma in the Global Crisis" the New Left Review 60.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1996. *The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of World Order*. New Delhi: Penguin Books: 82
- Marx, Karl. 1859. "Preface to a Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy" in *Marx Engels Selected Works*. Progress Publishers: Moscow; 96
- Marx, Karl. 1869. "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" in *Marx-Engels Selected Works*. Progress Publishers: Moscow; 96
- Panitch, Leo and Gindin, Sam. 2013. *The Making of Global Capitalism: The Political Economy of American Empire*. London: Verso
- Picketty, Yang and Zucman. 2016. "Capital Accumulation, Private Property and Rising Inequality in China 1978-2015"
- Stars Sean. 2014. "Chimera of Global Convergence" in the New Left Review, 87: 81
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 2000. "Globalization or the Age of Transition?: A Long-Term View of the Trajectory of the World System", *International Sociology*, Vol. 15 No. 2: 267
- Xi Jinping. 2017. "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era"
- Xi Jinping. 2017. "Work Together to Build the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road"
- Yee Herbert and Storey, Ian. 2002. "Introduction" in Yee Herbert and Storey, Ian (eds.) *The China Threat: Perceptions, Myth and Reality*. London: RoutledgeCurzon



Nepalese Path to Socialism



Dr. Vijay Kumar Paudel

Marxist Economist
Central Committee Member
Nepal Communist Party



Brief Introduction to the Working Paper

As mentioned in the headline, scholar and critic Dr Khagendra Prasai has, in this working paper, critically

- a. Political economy of contemporary world order and the future thereof.
- b. Political economy of contemporary China, its impact on world stage and politico-economic future of China itself.
- c. The impact the role of China's political economy is going to have on the socialist movement of Nepal in the contemporary world.

At the end of his working paper, Dr Prasai has, in a few words, talked in references on the road of building socialism in Nepal. This may be regarded as the fourth subject covered by the working paper. But the presenter has apparently given a smattering of attention to this fourth subject which is in fact extremely important.

Analysis of the Working Paper Contemporary World Order

Leaders, scholars, writers, and analysts of every time have made attempts to define the world order of the time they are living in and to size up the future thereof. Given the written literature, we may have to go back to the observations or statements made by Krishna, the chief hero of the great epic *Mahabharat*. Whatever write-ups of that time, researches undertaken in different periods and their conclusions are available to us, they all have explained the world of their time in their own unique way and have sized up the future accordingly. Karl Marx, the most formidable philosopher of modern times, and his followers V. I. Lenin and Mao including other Communist leaders, others ranging

from Eduard Bernstein who called himself social democrat to western socialists, and all of their opponents of the capitalist bloc have made different observations and explanations.

In Nepal, leader of the Nepali Congress BP Koirala, iconic personalities of the Nepali Communist movement Pushpa Lal to Madan Bhandari and the leaders who are now in Communist leadership all have made their attempts at defining the contemporary world and its future in their own way. And, many others including Francis Fukuyama, who, enthused by the collapse of the Soviet Union, declared in his book *The End of History and the Last Man* the end of history by claiming that capitalism is the ultimate truth and no new history will ever be written, have not given up making observations about the future of the world order.

All leaders, scholars or authors write critique of the past in their own way, explain the present and size up the future. Even religious *gurus* following certain paths do so in their own way. No system, thought or theory can exist without doing so.

Presenter of the working paper Dr Prasai is a scholar of Marxism. Marxists of all times and places ponder the following questions and are found to have deeply engaged in exploring answers to them. He has also made some attempts at it. The questions needing reflections are – What is the present world order? How do we name it by applying the Marxist method? What will be the politico-economic future of the world like? What is the crisis facing capitalism? Is capitalism capable of overcoming the crisis? Will capitalism die a natural death? etc..

Those who cannot express their views in writing in an extended form, they are just leaders, technically. They are

unlikely to drive the future. One must take in mind – being a writer is a necessary condition for being a competent communist.

There is a profound problem plaguing the socialist movement even till this day. And, that is – the amount of time and energy the forceful leaders and scholars of this movement have spent in hair-splitting analysis of the capitalist-imperialist system, they have relatively written remarkably less about the barriers to attaining socialism, timely explanation of the road to socialism, and systemic problems within socialism and solutions thereof. Seeds of problems of the socialist movement sprout right at this point. It is easy to shower abuses on others and point out their shortcomings but to dig a new path oneself is really difficult. Rather, Joseph Stalin who has been made controversial even among the communists and labeled as a dictator by the capitalists wrote a few things on socialism.

Systemic problems exist everywhere. But the crux of the problem is – does the system concerned have the ability to identify those shortcomings? In spite of all shortcomings, the socialist bloc has the practice of reviewing them. Socialism is, therefore, said to have possessed the strength to rectify itself from within. Lenin described the contemporary world as capitalist-imperialist. There were many who enthusiastically censured the explanation by Lenin that the rule of financial capital over industrial capital is what characterizes the political economy of the world today, but their criticisms are devoid of any theoretical profundity.

Dr Prasai has presented the conclusions of Immanuel Wallerstein with importance in the context of defining the present world. His conclusion that the age of global

capitalism today finds itself in a transitional phase and there is a structural crisis within capitalism does not contradict the conclusion of Lenin, rather reinforces it. Today's age is the age of revolt and struggles by the working class against the exploitation and suppression of global capitalism. Lenin's this conclusion continues to hold water even today. It is natural that there are multiple dimensions of the contradictions between imperialism and the global working class.

It has already been proved that the entire humankind will have to pay a price in struggle against imperialism. The global capitalism will not be defeated by a small blow. This can be likened to a cancer patient who neither dies at once nor can be healthy enough to do any work. However, the working class and the entire humankind will emerge victorious in the end. This is what the future will look like.

China's Contemporary Role and Future of the World

Many intense ideological struggles appear to have taken place between those favoring socialism and the capitalist world system in China. From this, we can draw a conclusion that China is oriented towards socialism. But there are many stages even in the run up to being pro-socialist. It will be a correct observation to say that China is passing through a long, arduous phase of national capital formation. In an attempt to leap-frog in collectivization while passing through the phase of national capital formation, the Soviet Union led by Stalin committed a mistake of sorts the consequences of which surfaced after some seven decades. China committed similar mistakes under the leadership of Mao Tse Tung the efforts for whose correction were made after a review of Cultural Revolution. While passing through a long phase of national capital formation, there is always a risk of deviating from the socialist path, and of the capitalist trend getting

dominant. And, this looks natural also. This is a matter of general economic principle. It looks like China today is grappling with that challenge.

China is now facing problems typically born out of capitalism as identified by Marx. The one and only ground of hope is the self-evaluation of Chinese leadership. China will make strides on the journey of modern socialism only if the Chinese leadership ruthlessly translates its self-evaluation into practice, and this will add a new dimension to the global labor movement. In case this doesn't happen, China will see capitalism restored as was done in Russia with the fall of the Soviet Union.

China, Nepal and Socialism

Dr Prasai has written at length about the impact on Nepal's socialist movement of the role played by China on world stage. I think it would have been better if the analysis had also included the role of another neighboring country India.

The socialist drive of Nepal will receive a positive impact if China moves ahead on a socialist path otherwise it will have a negative impact. We can safely say this is like a self-evident fact in the context of Nepal, given its geo-political reality. In the present context, China's BRI will definitely have a positive impact on Nepal because it is imperative for Nepal to go through the phase of capital formation

Road to Nepali Socialism

Forces of production develop with the development of tools (technology also) by human society to meet their own needs. The human society of a country or locale learn from means of production and forces of production developed by the human society of another country or locale. Though

this process is complicated, exchange of learning between two societies is mutually reinforcing. In this process, Nepal has constitutionally pursued a three-pillar economic policy – (1) public, (2) cooperatives and (3) private.

In today's world, public or government investment occupies a major share in economy. Therefore, the role of this sector needs to be strengthened in Nepal also. The cooperative sector acts as a bridge between the public sector and the private sector. In a democracy, national capital cannot be formed without development of the private sector. History is a testimony to this fact. But the world's communists including some of Nepal who speak of the need to build national capital for building socialism seem to be ignorant of the historic role of the private sector and its strengths. Getting updates only on problems created by the private sector and turning a blind eye to its strengths stands as the biggest barrier of all to capital formation.

There are many big contradictions regarding the private sector in the context of Nepal. The trend of preventing the institutionalized development of the private sector but taking monetary benefits by maintaining undue relationship with this sector has taken roots. This type of trend is otherwise known as crony-capitalist trend. It will be easier for Nepal to chart a course of socialism by deeply realizing the fact that crony capitalism allows no sectors other than commission-mongering to flourish.

Some Characteristics of Chinese Socialism and Prospect of Socialism in Nepal



Dr. Yubaraj Sangroula
Professor of Law
Former Attorney General



Prior to embarking on discussions on whether the future of socialism is bright or fraught with challenges, it will not be otherwise to touch upon two perspectives concerning socialism or two socialist systems. As per the Marxist principle, socialism is a system that takes the place of capitalism¹. In other words, socialism puts in place a progressive system of governance by replacing capitalism in the course of development. However, despite extreme development of capitalism in America and the whole of Europe including England with overwhelming presence of trade unions, socialist forces failed to ascend to power in those countries. But despite being agrarian societies, Italy and Finland, also of Europe, saw the socialist parties rise to power through elections. This is why, in the run up to establishing socialism or a socialist state in Russia, two schools of thoughts took on a shape. First, socialist revolution is, as told by Marx, possible in Russia only if capitalism is allowed to flourish. Second, V. Bervi-Flerovski in his famed book *The Situation of the Working Class in Russia* (1869) spoke of the need to first develop capitalism under socialist system by capturing state power with the help of Russian peasants. This book was highly appreciated by Marx. Flerovski said in the book: “We cannot move ahead without establishing socialism including with the cooperation of farmers in order to remove the discriminations existing in capitalism.” Failure of the Soviet Union to pay due attention to this principle hastened the collapse of the communist system there after a hundred years.

1 Donald Sassoon, ‘Socialism in the 20th Century, A Historical Reflection, The Globalization and Governance Project’, Hokkaido University Working Paper Series. East Asia, Europe, USA Progressive Scholars Forum 2003, p. 11-15, Oct. 2003

The above-mentioned principle entails some significant norms:

1. Capitalist system, whether in basic or advanced phase of development, is discriminatory. Though it provides for some reformatory measures for workers operating in industrial establishments, it shies away from effecting similar changes in the life of workers of unorganized sectors and groups of farmers.
2. Without first coalescing the forces of ordinary farmers, members of the general public and workers actively involved in unorganized sectors, the socialist system anchored to the force of industrial workers alone is unlikely to stand up to the challenge posed by reactionary forces. This is proved by the collapse of socialist systems in Russia and East European countries.
3. The Communist State power based on the coalesced strength of farmers, ordinary people, progressive intellectuals, artisans and workers working in unorganized sectors only can ensure development of socialism. And, it is only industrialization led by a socialist system that is capable enough of leading society along the path of socialism. This is the path adopted by today's China, which has played a crucial role in capital formation on a massive scale, industrialization, modernization of industries and creation of an egalitarian society. This kind of socialism is otherwise known as evolutionary socialism. This approach of socialism or evolutionary socialism aims at building a socialist society. However, its immediate aim is to industrialize and modernize society which, in turn, contributes to capital formation by removing the gaps in terms of

income or earnings existing in the society, thereby making prosperous the life of those who are facing deprivation. This is the reason why such socialism is called capital-building socialism also and this will ultimately pave the way for communism.

Different from this, the socialism called “socialism” which is now under discussion including in several European countries and America aims to manage just capitalism rather than transforming capitalism into a full-blown socialist system, building a refined scientific socialist society and attaining communism. Such socialism is, therefore, described as “pseudo” socialism also².

This discussion demonstrates the fact that goals and strategies embraced by Chinese socialism stand in sync with the Marxist strategy. Though China has adopted ‘Socialism with Chinese Characteristics’, it has played a decisive role in capital formation, industrialization, modernization of industry, and promotion of demographic productivity as well as production in accordance with the Marxist strategy³. By framing laws within the Chinese socialist structures, the state has relaxed its hold on open market competition to be regulated and private sector participation. This means the market system functions with the participation of government, private and public sectors within the framework of socialist economy⁴. However, the production system under the ownership of the State has a leading role to play

2 Donald Sassoon, *‘One Hundred Years of Socialism. The West European Left on the 20th Century’* London Fontana Paperbag Publication, 1997

3 Yubaraj Sangroula, *‘South Asia China Geo Economics’*, Lex Juris Publication, 2019, pp. 261-277

4 Ibid. Note No. 24

in such market management, which will orient the socialism aimed at capital formation towards the goal of attaining refined, scientific socialism.

The widespread successes achieved in such things as building of structures, social security, demographic productivity, promotion of modern scientific education and health, modernization of agriculture, lifting of a large chunk of population from poverty allowing them to live an improved livelihood, control of corruption, the commitment of the state Council to undertake all State activities in accordance with the country's constitution and laws, austere discipline of the party leadership shows that the Chinese brand of socialism is in accordance with Marxist perspective. This brand has been acknowledged even by Vietnam and Cuba, while North Korea, Cambodia and Laos also seem to be following the same path.

Another socialist brand to manage or regulate capitalism is known as social democracy. This brand of socialism believes that it can stay together with liberal democracy and pluralism, and the state can be run according to the principles of the rule of law. This socialism considers the Chinese brand of socialism autocratic socialism. However, this has, in fact, failed to address such problems as the gaps in terms of income or earnings widespread in Europe and America, violation of human rights of disadvantaged sections of society, racial discriminations, control over state income by a handful of elites, widespread corruption and dominance of a few elites in politics. Most of such problems have cropped up in England, the mother of democracy, despite the Labor Party holding reins of power for most of the time there⁵.

5 Michael D.T Canade and Naomi Geltz, *'From Marxism to Post Communism Socialist Desires and East European Rejection'*

Of the two brands of socialism, which one is Nepal seeking to follow? To this effect, unclarities noticed during the rule of the Communist Party have led to confusions. Though the communist parties of Nepal have held on to Marxism-Leninism as their guiding principles, the following ambiguities and problems remain intact:

1. The communist party organizations, particularly the CPN now running the state, run themselves under the leadership of leader(s) and not on the basis of democratic centralism or the principle of organizational or collective leadership. The party seems to have no role to play in the functioning of government, indicating that the government is not under party control.
2. Directives to be provided by the party to the government, methods of running administration by government, and policies to be adopted by the party or government in running state are devised or implemented not in keeping with the Marxist principle but at the whims of leaders in such a way that this is in conformity with their comfortability or ambition of success.
3. As discussed above, in the society characterized by preliminary capitalism where industrialization and capital formation have not fully developed, the communist party which would otherwise have to push ahead the wheels of industrialization and work out development policies by taking into account demographic productivity, and modernization and industrialization of agriculture by exercising state

- power with the help of ordinary farmers, workers of the unorganized sectors and progressive intellectuals is found to have given priority to the directives of donor agencies of capitalist countries and other institutions like World Bank.
4. Since anyone from any political party can join the communist party as they are not required to remain ideologically committed to Marxism-Leninism and since being a voter is enough for party membership, Marxist-Leninist ideological and organizational discipline seems to have got disrupted. Therefore, given the present situation, there is no clarity as to the party's objective – whether to establish socialism or to capture mere power.
 5. As party-affiliated members from top to bottom of the organization are actively working as members or employees of INGOs funded by donor agencies of capitalist countries or NGOs with the possibility of western capitalist countries having an undue influence in the party, the party seems to have turned a blind eye or to be showing no concern to the risk of ideological base and organizational discipline being deteriorated.

These and other problems have seriously affected the soldierlike spirit and purity of the communist party, both ideologically and organizationally. The influence of criminals and mafias on the party and encirclement of intellectuals and employees taking undue benefits exploiting their connection to the party is reportedly on a large scale. Such expressions are also heard to be made by the party's leaders. This has led to the chasing of honest and capable members dedicated to the party's principles from the circle. And, this cannot be ruled out, either.

We know from the discussions in question that Marxism is faced with two-pronged challenges in the context of building socialism. The first is associated with organizational discipline and a lack of ideological clarity which is fast disappearing in the party. Because of these problems, capturing leadership by hook or by crook using all kinds of stratagems and the tendency to hold on to leadership once in it through activities, no matter how un-Marxist they are, is widespread. This tendency seems to be taking roots on a wide scale in leftist parties who wish to build socialism by taking part in parliamentary system. Everyone is, needless to say, aware this is what led to the collapse of the leftist government in West Bengal. And, this tendency, which has stood in the way of fulfilling goals of socialism as a serious challenge, is growing in the Nepal Communist Party also. Similarly, the second challenge facing Marxism is the widespread frustration brought about by the collapse of socialist regimes in the Soviet Union and East Europe. Capitalist propagators or lobbyists have described this as the end of socialism or its usefulness⁶. There is no doubt that these two pose as serious challenges to building socialism. However, given the success China has achieved in building socialism by putting forth three principles given below, the frustration brought about by the collapse of socialist regimes in the Soviet Union and East Europe need not be taken that seriously. The three principles are as follows:

- a. People are recognized as the masters of the country. Therefore, the Communist party should look after their best interests.

6 Fuwa Tetsuzu (Central Committee Chair, Japanese Communist Party), *Capitalism and Socialism in the 21st Century*, Lecture at the 38th Akahata Festival Tokyo, Nov. 3, p. 202 in Japan Press Weekly

- b. Marxism and Leninism serve as the political guiding principles for running a state system and ensuring the best interests of people. So, the leadership and members of all levels of the party organization should leave no stones unturned to abide by Marxism and Leninism.
- c. Communist party is a machinery to lead people; this is not the master of people but a mere servant⁷.

The hunger for power, personality cult, ideological decay and attraction towards parliamentary manipulations seem to be gaining their foothold in a party like the Communist Party of Nepal which is believed to have possessed the strength for building socialism by attaining state power through competition within the framework of liberal democracy. Whether this will materialize the goal of leading society towards socialism has been called into question. In his book *Reconstructing Marxism: Essays in Explanation and the Theory of History*⁸, Marxist scholar Erik Olin Wright says: "Serious deviations have crept into issues involving class analysis, explanation of history and people's emancipation in the present-day leftist movement." In his views, while analyzing the leftist movement and organization dedicated to building socialism, clarity regarding class analysis and the possibility of people's emancipation should be analyzed⁹. Looked at from this standpoint, the Nepali Communist movement faces some serious challenges. Marxist analyst Michael Burawoy says that the Marxist political force need

7 Yubaraj Sangroula, 'South Asia China Geo Economics,' Lex Juris Publication, 2019, pp. 261-277

8 Eric Olin Wright, 'Reconstructing Marxism; Essays in Explanation and the Theory of History', London Verso Publication, 1993

9 New Left review, 2092, p. 15-35, 1993

to be analyzed and evaluated in view of its historicity and analytical clarity to know whether the politics employed to achieve success in the movement and find out a true course of movement is right or not.¹⁰ According to him, Marxism is a lively science and possesses immeasurable capability to address disparities created by capitalism.

We have already discussed the two brands of socialism above. As the so-called socialism put forth by social democracy basically remains limited to tax collection system of capitalist society, it will never be able to fulfill the progressive objectives of socialism. This is why the emergence of crony capitalism has put an end to the future of socialism as social democracy. Scientific socialism inspires a progressive transformation of society and moves towards building a classless society by developing different capacities of men and establishing collective rights over sources and means of production. The report of the 19 th General Convention of the Communist Party of China (CPC), laying bare this fact, says that the CPC aims at establishing a classless society by way of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and for this, there is a need for the communist leadership to be intellectually capable, remain uncompromisingly committed to discipline, regard Chinese people as masters of the country and remain free from corruption. The report speaks of the bright future of socialism and expresses confidence that it is socialism that will show the path of emancipation to the people world over. In light of this, the left movement of Nepal should make a deep soul-searching. For this, the CPN and the entire left movement of Nepal need to answer questions given below:

10 Michael Burawoy, *Marxism as Science: Historical Challenges and Theoretical Growth*, *American Sociological Review*, Vol.55 p. 775-93, 1990

- a. Have the CPN and Nepali leftist movement devised any socialist policies and programs for overall development of every Nepali?
- b. Has a socialist strategic plan been worked out for radical transformation?
- c. Though interpreters of the neo-liberal economy have produced data putting the number of poor people in Nepali society at 24 percent by distributing wealth of the rich to the poor in papers, an analysis of statistics shows that their number actually accounts for 70 percent. Has the party come up with a socialist blueprint for their emancipation?
- d. Has a socialist blueprint been prepared to bring people out of poverty and deprivation by providing them jobs and benefits of social labor?
- e. Has the party worked out a design of socialist program detailing land reforms, modernization of agriculture which constitutes the primary source of production, and scientification of agro-technology?

In fact, an analysis and evaluation of CPN and the entire left movement is to be desirably undertaken based on these very questions. Though no scientific research has been carried out in this regard, what the CPN and the entire left movement have achieved so far in terms of establishing socialism in Nepal need to be looked at through rose-colored glasses. As told by Marx, the working class should get organized for radical change and it should play the role of a main political force¹¹. However, the communist party and the entire left movement are not that successful in organizing Nepali labor force. A tendency of treating labor movement

11 See, P. Cockshott and D. Zachriah, Arguments for Socialism, 2012 Amazon ISBN B006S2LW6U

and force as a non-government organization funded by donor agencies rather than as a central force of the party is gaining ground within the organization.

Global capitalist order is continuously on the downward slide. As said in the “The Price of Inequality” (2012)¹² by Noble Prize winner Joseph Stiglitz, the 2008 economic recession was a crisis born out of the failure of American capitalism. According to him, the gap in terms of wealth or earnings has grown so wide in the States that the people there are increasingly finding themselves below the poverty line. One percent of the population controls 90 percent of the wealth in the US. This problem, he says, is not only economic but also political because Wall Street decides whether a presidential candidate will win or will not win elections. The unprecedented growth in production triggered by the policy of then President Roosevelt helped America weather out the 1930 economic recession. Foreign correspondent Christopher Hedge of *New York Times*, winner of Pulitzer Prize, says: “A small number of corrupt capitalists of the US kidnapped its strong economy founded by these very workers and pushed ordinary people into a vicious cycle of poverty. In a short period in the past, 41 million people in America happened to be homeless.”¹³ The economy of Europe, too, has taken the course of downward slide. Their economic growth rate has dropped to zero, meaning Europe is forced to cut back on expenditures. In other words, Europe is compelled to live on property looted from colonized countries in the past. This adequately proves that the system that is on the verge of

12 Joseph E. Stiglitz, *The Price of Inequality*, London: Penguin Books, 2012

13 See, Yubaraj Sangroula, *South Asia China Geo Economics*, Lex Juris Publication, 2019, pp. 37-38

collapse is not socialism but neo-liberal capitalism.

According to P. Cockshott and D Zachriah, history of Marxism began to be analyzed with the dawn of the 21st century and its shortcomings began to be rectified. During this time, capitalist and neo-liberal economist Dayak and Friedman gave birth to such leaders as Ronald Regan and foolish scholars like Francis Fukuyama in America and England. Fukuyama declared the end of history following the collapse of the Soviet Union and claimed that unbridled, open markets will put an end to global poverty. Along with this, colonialism and imperialism once again emerged in the US leadership. Exactly during this time, socialism proved its victory and then began a conscious reawakening that socialism is the humane system of the future. The two scholars mentioned above have said China, learning lessons from the failures of the Russian Communist Party, safeguarded socialism in a novel way. That's why, P.Cockshott and D Zachriah have noted that the Marxism of the 21st century has given rise to a new kind of political economy for building a new socialist model, while at the same time dealing a blow to the capitalism already in tatters and learning lessons therefrom.¹⁴

The Communist Party of Nepal and the Nepali left movement need to take a note of these realities. The party should learn lessons from the failures to effectively oppose the selling of dozens of state-owned enterprises at throw-away prices in the wake of 1990 following the implementation of neo-liberal economy and to raise voices against the handing over of state property to establishments like Hotel Hyatt. The party should also understand that the

14 Ibid. Note. No. 33

policy of its own government to submit public property to private enterprises will in no way help socialism.

In this context, it will be relevant to mention a statement of the Communist Party of Japan (CPJ). When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, the CPJ Central Committee, issuing a statement, expressed happiness at the fall of the Union, and said: “A great domineering, roguish force crumbled down, which had actually put up huge hindrances to social progress”¹⁵. This statement was prompted by the fact that the Soviet Union was no longer socialist. Capitalists were also enjoying the Union's demise and were claiming that from now on there would be no force to advocate social uplifting and there is no need to fear socialism or communism. Now capitalism will live for ever. They were publicizing this out of confusion that the Soviet Union was a leader of socialism.¹⁶ However, this statement of theirs did not last long.

Thereafter, the capitalist world got into one crisis after another and they started getting suspicious of their own existence. Then they did start off looking for Marx. BBC undertook a survey in September 1989 asking a question – who is the most famous thinker of all in the second millennium? The new millennium commenced in 2001. The survey came up with a voice that Karl Marx is the greatest thinker of all, followed by Albert Einstein, Isaac Newton and Charles Darwin. Interestingly, no economists of the capitalist bloc made entry into this list of personalities. The survey, therefore, establishes the fact that socialism is the future of world and capitalism stands on the verge of collapse. Similarly, David J. Rothkopf, in the *The Washington Post*,

15 Fuwa Tetsuzu Note No. 30

16 Ibid. Note. No. 30

wrote: “Long ago, some have already made preparations to create a new society by replacing capitalism.”¹⁷ He further writes – Another Marx may be walking in some corner of the world. Therefore, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, Marx has already emerged in some part and to say that capitalism is safe is wrong. That another Marx could be in a narrow lane of Buenos Aires whose economy is in a shambles or in Palestine or Indonesia. Similarly, the new Marx may appear in China, Nigeria or Russia, or in any part of the world, and that new Marx may offer a yet another new perspective. Rothkopf served as Deputy Under Secretary of Commerce in Bill Clinton administration. He is not a Marxist and has not made this expression out of his love for Marxism, either. This expression has come out of his deep feeling that the US-led distorted capitalism is falling soon. This clearly shows that the feasibility of socialism has not died down.

In August 1999, a visiting Professor. of Oxford University Noel Ferguson, in an article published in the *Financial Times* said today's capitalism is in such a period of time where even staunch supporters of capitalism also have got to listen to the bearded Cassandra. Cassandra is the goddess of doom or disaster in classical mythology.

The same Cassandra is Karl Marx in today's context. Ferguson further says – explanation of capitalism by Marx seems relevant even today. These details mentioned above make it clear that the US has remained a superpower just because of the fall of the Soviet Union. The US still considers itself the greatest champion of capitalism. But it has only invited one crisis after another and has posed itself as a

threat to the existence of capitalism. As already discussed above, today capital is concentrated in the hands of a few elites in the US. All these facts serve as a good response to those who cast doubts over the future of socialism.

The development of Chinese capital over the the past two decades and its presence in the international community has elevated itself to a level where it is described as a major pillar of global politics. The worldwide expansion of its trade and its increasing participation in international financial collaboration evinces that China is not a force to be ignored, both in global economy and politics. With the rise of President Donald Trump has emerged the rightist orthodoxy, say analysts. They have put forth an opinion that the US is looking for global supremacy. America has started treating the possibility of China furthering its economic collaboration with other countries and developing itself as a development partner through the One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative as a threat to its own conventional global dominance. The following perspectives figure up in international discussions to this effect:

1. The US policy will be oriented towards containing the rise of China and granting stability to US dominance in world order. The Indo-Pacific Strategy declared by America after 2017 will be employed to overcome the One Belt One Road initiative, with a risk of dividing the world once again.
2. The implementation of the Indo-Pacific Strategy will have an effect on the Pacific region, particularly South Asia. There is a glaring risk of the countries bordering China or having close relations with it like Nepal coming under the influence of America. Its first casualty will be left politics. The strategy basically aims at paralyzing nations through

infiltration, putting up barriers to the expansion of China and encircling it. There are mainly two aspects to it: (a) To create a political atmosphere conducive to the manipulation by itself of top influencing leaders of the left movement by casting a long shadow over them; (b) To finish off the influence or status of honest Marxist leaders and workers. This will be an extremely serious challenge the Nepali left movement may have to face in the course of building a socialist system. But the ruling CPN does not seem to be taking it in a correspondingly serious way.

3. Trade barriers with China will keep increasing in the future and the western world will make every attempt to corner China by rejecting all narratives put forth by it concerning world order, development and international relations.

Former president of the Japanese Communist Party Tetsuzo observes that the US is already hollowed-out, the capitalism it is carrying on its back is crisis-ridden and no one can stop the re-emergence of Marxism, adding, however, no one can turn a blind to the consequences caused by the falling of a giant tree. The perspective of the Chinese people that America is a representative of capitalism, and the US has a great significance as a center of world capitalism is slowly changing. Consequently, the Chinese think that America possesses no positive attitude towards Chinese socialism. The following arguments will make things more clear:

1. Though many countries in the world adopted capitalist, liberal system but very few of them could attain development and governance as desired. Even India failed to take advantages out of this system.
2. The progress in development and governance in most of the countries adopting liberal capitalist system is

not only disappointing but several countries have fallen prey to conflict and anarchy. Nepal itself stands as an example of this.

3. The economic and social development achieved by western countries does not really reflect the positive contribution of capitalism. It would rather represent a formidable edifice of colonial looting of the past.
4. Different kinds of problems noticed at the present prove that liberal capitalism is not a progressive system of governance.
5. The image of liberal capitalism is twisted, and its problems are complicated.
6. The capitalist system is on the downward slide. According to American journalist Christopher Hedge, capitalism suffers jevons paradox and is headed towards an apocalyptic end. American capitalism possesses no strength or enthusiasm or institutions to face head-on the kind of crisis it faced in 1930¹⁸. Making it clearer, the US Marxist economist David Harvey says: American capitalism is becoming the cause of the end of capitalism itself.

Against such backdrop, the future of world economy, as told by Tetsuzo, hinges on Marxist analysis and reinvigoration of socialism. China has been making most of the reform programs it launched in 1978 but the western world is indulged in self-satisfaction believing that the history has come to an end. What are the lessons the Nepali left movement has to learn from these recent developments? This is where we need to focus our attention on. Building of socialism-oriented political system as provided for in the constitution promulgated by the Constituent Assembly is not

18 Chris Hedges, '*Apocalyptic Capitalism*', Truthdig Newsletter, 04 February 2018, available at <https://www.truthdig.com/articles/apocalyptic-capitalism/page/1/>, accessed on 04/02/2018

taking place in accordance with the spirit of the constitution. The international perspective of the Nepali left movement led by the CPN lacks clarity and this is further substantiated by the facts given below:

In 2017, Nepal signed an agreement with China as to economic cooperation under One Belt One Road initiative. But the widely-known Indo-Pacific Strategy Report published by the Department of Defense on June 1, 2019 disclosed that Nepal has been considered a strategic partner and dialogues are underway with Nepal for creating a land force. Though a CPN Standing Committee meeting described socialism as its goal, there is no clarity regarding the programs to attain that goal.

Some facts-based possibilities of socialism against capitalism:

a. Model of Socialist Market Economy Projected by China: Tetsuzo¹⁹, in a critical article written after his long visit to China, said the base of socialism or communism is the scientific perspective projected by Marxism for social change. An edifice of socialism cannot be erected by spurning this perspective. Putting forth this perspective, Tetsuzo summarizes the historicity of Chinese revolution.

1. The Communist Party of China headed by Mao Tse Tung from 1950 to 1970 and the Chinese socialist system implemented the Great Leap Forward. This brought to the fore the movement for a shared life style.
2. However, the CPC through its General Convention changed the policy of running hurriedly for

19 Ibid. Note No.37, Section 3

social development after 1978. The 1978 General Convention passed a resolution noting that the immediate goal of the party is to achieve success in the primary phase of socialism. They need a hundred year to materialize this goal and only half of it has expired so far, catapulting it into the second largest global economic power.

3. To attain to this phase of socialism, the 1992 General Convention of the party forwarded the strategy of “attaining the goal of socialism through the socialist market economy”. In 1986, the Vietnam Communist Party put forth a strategy of Doi Moi (renovation) to transition Vietnam from a command economy to a socialist market economy. The capitalist bloc accused both of these countries of deviating from the path of socialism, but they were, in fact, aimed at redefining socialism in the changed context. Actually, these two strategies have firmly established the possibility of transforming socialism into a future system for human beings.

The points mentioned above inspire the Nepali left movement to build constructive perspectives and embrace socialism as an indispensable system for social development. But there is a wide chasm in the left movement here, with some parties turning towards crisis-ridden neo-liberal capitalist perspective and some others dreaming of ultra-leftism which was pursued during the cultural revolution of China. Both of these tendencies seemingly stand in the way of the leftist strategy meant for attaining the preliminary phase of socialism by way of social development. However, the model of economy adopted by both China and Vietnam has firmly established the feasibility of attaining the goal of socialist economy.

b. Market Economy and Perspectives of Lenin:

Though the socialist market economy is a topical issue of discussion, this issue figured up even after the establishment of the Soviet Union. To begin with, Lenin had rejected the idea of market economy. Though Lenin was a revolutionary socialist, he had no experience in building socialism. As a result, he had to walk through many tortuous routes. In the post-October revolution period, the main objective of Lenin was to apply state power in production and distribution of goods. This was somewhat similar to the war economy employed by Germany during the first World War. Lenin questioned himself if the capitalist countries could implement planned economy, why can't the socialist government do the same for the well-being of ordinary people? This thought was, in fact, near reality but when this strategy was put into effect, the Soviet economy got worse, prompting rationing of goods to be distributed. In other words, the Soviet economy and the market economy were not in a position to go along. So, Lenin stood in opposition of this system. But when the Soviet Union gradually got itself out of war or when "war communism" came to an end, it freed itself from external interference. Taking stock of the situation, Lenin realized the need of going for a socialist market economy and a policy to this effect was implemented in 1921. But this policy was opposed in a party meeting. One of the Central Committee members said: "Autocratic rulers had not taught us to do businesses during our incarceration." Lenin had to explain at length to dispel these suspicions, which are contained in a series called *Collected Works of Lenin*.

Putting himself on ground reality, Lenin, in the midst of resistance, then came up with the New Economic Policy

as a way of socialist strategy. It was, in practice, called competitive capitalism or market economy. In fact, the market economy put forth by China and Vietnam finds its origins in the New Economic Policy pursued by Lenin. Therefore, those who describe Chinese socialist struggle as revisionism are simply mechanical men who have fallen victims to a smattering of knowledge. Lenin's journey along market economy was obstructed in 1923, with himself being put out of political arena. He passed away the following year. In 1929, five years after his death, the New Economic Policy was dismissed. Then followed a peasants uprising, which ultimately became a ground for China's Cultural Revolution. Khrushchev dismissed the Stalin's strategy of building socialism, pursuing a policy of class coordination. The growth of Chinese economy proved that both Stalin and Khrushchev were wrong and Lenin was right. That this development of economy means development of socialism is proved by the points given below:

- a. Participation of ordinary people in the development of socialist market economy has been ensured. It lays emphasis on productivity of every individual and mass production. This means people's soldier like production system forms the mainstay of socialist market economy.
- b. The socialist market economy has two-pronged strategies: (1) It can be pursued for capital formation, and (2) such capital can be used to meet the objectives of social development.

If we look at history, market economy appears to have taken the course of capitalism. But it may also build the route of socialism through capital formation. That is why, as told by Lenin, this firmly establishes the fact that building

of socialism presupposes development of capitalism. The Communist Party of China has understood this well, and has, therefore, brought private production system under public production system. The socialist market economy can take on the form of socialism only when it is brought under the control of Communist party. Both of China and Vietnam enjoy active leadership of the communist party.

Conclusion:

In today's world, it is not socialism but capitalism which is facing crisis. Due to dominance of limited crony capitalists who seek to mobilize the economy and want to take into their hands state capital, the present capitalism has been transformed into crisis-ridden crony capitalism. Therefore, this capitalism cannot fulfill the goals of social justice and social development. The present capitalism known as crony capitalism serves only capitalists by excluding the state. This is outside state control and is inspired by distorted consumerism. It has made media captive of advertisement and vitiated businesses. Socialism is the only alternative to capitalism.

Alexander Nove²⁰, professor. of Glasgow University, says the term 'socialism' arouses a powerful feeling of enthusiasm and inspiration in us and also stands in opposition to injustice and wickedness. Socialism is the road to a just society of the future. Therefore, there is no need for anyone to get jittered by socialism.

1. Socialism is a means to challenge capitalism.
2. According to Joan and Chamberlain²¹, unfair

20 Alexander Nove, *Economics of Feasible Socialism*, London Harper Collins Publishers, 1991

21 Ibid. Note No. 42

competitions have deepened further and bigger corporate bodies exercise control over governments.

3. Prof. Carlyle Sivers ask: Is it necessary for us to become like US? Do we want homeless children to live a street life? Do we want organized mafias? Do we want to quit Karl Marx and stand with Donald Trump²²?
4. Charles Taylor writes: Societies destroy themselves when they violate the conditions of legitimacy which they themselves tend to posit and inculcate²³.
5. Karl Marx writes in *Das Capital* (Volume 3): With the eradication of capitalism, price determination in socially organized production system becomes a principal or central issue and it takes stock of all kinds of activities by maintaining coordination between labor time and social distribution of labor.
6. David Murray in his *Radical Philosophy* writes that success of socialism hinges on the programs which will be able to explain to the working class what their future would look like in a socialist system.

The statements mentioned above clarifies the science of socialism, thoughts and social justice. Therefore, no force carrying values, thoughts and science other than these can be leftist. All this calls for debates over values and norms of socialism.

22 Boston Globe, March-20, 1990

23 Ibid. Note No. 42



Er. Ashesh Ghimire
Introducing the topic



Hirendra Shahi
Initiating the Program

Critical Discourses on Contemporary Issues in Nepal, 2019

Public Discourse on

Building Socialism: Organizational Question
(समाजवाद निर्माण: संगठनात्मक सवाल)

Organized by

CRITICAL DISCOURSE NEPAL

21st Mangsir, 2076
(7th December, 2019)
Pathibhara Cine Plaza
Birtamode, Jhapa

In association with

ROSA LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG
SOUTH ASIA

Papers

1. Organization and Communist Party Organization

Ram Karki

2. Goals of Socialism and the Question of Party Organization

Yubaraj Gyawali



Organization and Communist Party Organization



Ram Karki

Member of Parliament
Central Committee Member
Nepal Communist Party



Grievances are heard everywhere among the workers of old generations involved in the Nepali communist movement that the kind of soldierlike, selfless, cognate and camaraderie feeling we enjoyed during the 1970s and 1980s is no longer available in the party, organization and organizational relation these days. On the other hand, a stratum of leaders and workers of our age are found singing songs of weltschmerz reminiscing the warmth and sisterly relations subsisting among party workers during the 1990s, longing for a taut and smart organization of those days. We have gathered here to discuss the organization and party organization standing between two realities – the reality involving a large chunk of party leadership which is engaged in the herculean task of causing the socialist lotus flower to bloom by getting down to the very bottom of parliamentary mud, and a small reality involving a section of workers of the same movement seeking for a soldierlike organization and an environment saturated with camaraderie feeling. So, here we briefly discuss the organization in general and move towards communist organization. I think it will be reasonable to focus on the Nepali communist movement upon presenting my reflections, albeit in a superficial way, on party-related discussions, debates and theories developed in the international communist movement since the communist movement is an international movement. Engels has saved himself from making any predictions even on family organization, let alone organizations

Organization

When there is a need of collective force in struggle against nature during the times of crisis, human beings will naturally realize the need of a group. How much does the intuitive feeling account for the realization of such

collective initiative in creatures other than human beings? And, how much does consciousness account for? The job of identifying this distinction is better to be left to experts concerned. Politically thinking, 'let's do it' should be the first slogan resonated for the sake of collectivity. Lewis Morgan, Bacophane, etc. have undertaken significant researches into organizations based on sanguine relationships. Scientific explanations regarding how families were developed from the primitive society to the capitalist society can be found in books including the *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* by Friedrich Engels. The strength of Marxism lies in learning from materialism, experiences and struggles. That's why, it saves itself from making any predictions. Engels has kept himself from making any predictions regarding any family organizations, let alone organizations in long transitional society in the wake of the socialist revolutions. Engels has stopped short of predicting the form marriage would take on in the future, though monogamy (dyadic relationship) seems good for the present. The non-Marxist attempt to present the state as an independent institution independent of class by falsifying the Marxist concept that the state is an outcome of class struggles. The incessant efforts to glorify the market by presenting it as distinct and more powerful than the state represent an intellectual link against the working class.

Party Organization

Let's now enter straight into the communist party organization. As with regard to other components of socialism, Karl Marx and his close friend Engels have not succinctly discussed the party organization. Marx and Engels have handed over the responsibility of moving ahead by getting better of difficulties and obstacles that may come

in the way of international movement to the future Marxists. Notwithstanding this, those after Marx and Engels and those before us have put forth their understandings and views on party and party organizations. Mao, a successor of Marx, drawing essence from Marxism says, "Concrete analysis of concrete conditions is Marxism." Further, Mao has described this as essence and living soul of Marxism. While thinking over this, the concepts of those ranging from Marx, Engels, Kautsky, Plekhanov, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and Gramsci to contemporary Marxists who presented their views on party should be objectively and duly analyzed. Only then could we decide on whether or not their concepts were in sync with Marxism. This rule naturally applies to Marx himself too. Viewed from this angle, works and expressions of Marx demonstrate his tendency of spontaneism and determinism. Marxism is silent and has voidness over many questions. The true Marxists should accept this reality and get united to eliminate it.

Marx and Engels on Party Organization

Several Marxist reviewers have pointed out that excessive optimism for economic determinism and evolutionism are the weaknesses of Marx and Marxism. Some of them have commented that dialectics of science as understood by Marx and his views on revolution have appeared as determinism. In the initial years, both Marx and Engels seem to have converged on an understanding that homogenous party rather than heterogeneous party becomes more successful in its objectives. It is also Marx and Engels who considered Paris Commune as an ideal form of the proletariat dictatorship. Antonio Gramsci, a well-qualified, competent successor of Marx, further developed the aspect of Marxism which considered Paris Commune consisting Prudhonists (in minority), Blanquistes (in majority)

and middle-class representatives as an ideal form of the proletariat dictatorship. We will discuss more about this later, and for now we better return to Marx itself.

Possibly the state of workers' movement in Germany at that time should be similar to that of present Nepal. During that time, Marx does himself away with the organization for a certain period of time. In a letter to his friend D. Wolfe, Marx after some years, "What I am confident and believe in is that the theoretical hard work that I did for the working class turned out to be more useful than the work I did for the organization." Understanding this mindset of individual Marx, let's move to Marxism.

During the time of Marx, even Germany had a huge number of farmers. They were taking part in rebellions with terrific bravery one after another. When the condition of Germany which was considered to be most developed in the immediate world was such, naturally the number of farmers and rebellions taking place in rest of the countries of Europe was very staggering. But we can learn from his letters to his father that Marx who was making a comprehensive study of capitalism, upon understanding the proletariat class, was as delighted as Marconi who had invented the radio and as Newton who had discovered the laws of gravitation. Noting that the farmers cannot, because of the character of production they are involved in, become organized the way the proletariat, who have nothing to lose because of their class condition, get organized, Marx claimed that it is the proletariat class which would build an ideal society. Marxism disclosed that all other classes subsisting between the proletariat class and capitalist class, which are inimical to each other, would finally get polarized into either of the classes. Also, Marx and Engels accepted of having different trends and strata, even within the proletariat class for

different reasons. A lively example of this is found in a letter of Engels to Sorge around 1890. He says in the letter, "The biggest party in the empire cannot remain in the existence unless every shade of opinion is allowed complete freedom of expression." Notwithstanding all this, the question of organization, for Marxists, is directly related to the class. So, the communist party is directly related with the proletariat class.

Leninist Organizational Theory

Lenin has explained and analyzed the development of Marxism in a most organized way of all. Everyone from the contemporaries of Lenin such as Rosa Luxemburg, Trotsky and Liebknecht to brilliant Marxists of later period such as Antonio Gramsci, Pannekoek, George Lucas, etc., to modern Marxist thinkers seems to be jockeying to position themselves on the right or left side of Lenin.

Prior to studying the Leninist theory of organization, it is imperative to understand the circumstances and context leading to the development of the theory. The Russia of that time was a backwater. Industries and factories were established only in a few cities. In Russia reeling under the jackboot of autocratic Czar regime, labor movements, as compared to those in Europe at that time, were in infancy. Further, the Russian labor movement would look dwarf as compared to the labor movement of Germany. The population of Russia roughly stood at 150 million in 1917, of which the number of laborers is estimated to have stood at some 10 million, including in both organized and unorganized sectors. In view of the number of laborers and the state of factories and industries, Russia obviously was a backwater as compared to Europe. In countries including Germany, parliament and parliamentarianism had come of age, while

Russia was still under Czar rule. The people were deprived of the rights to speech and assembly. Capitalist parliament was a far-off thing.

Notwithstanding all this, the Russian labor movement was leaving others standing. In the initial years of the 20th century, economic and political strikes took place in Russia, nearly double that of Germany. Against this backdrop, Lenin and other Russian Social Democratic movement leaders faced a challenge of forming a revolutionary party in course of the movement. The global communist movement found itself on the defensive in the final years of the 19th century. The seeds of rightist revisionism were sowed by Karl Kautsky during this period. Spontaneism which says that the natural consequences of capitalism would be socialism was dominant everywhere. The trend of romanticizing terrorist actions by the brave fighters of the petty bourgeoisie class was dominant in Russia. In course of the fighting against this trend, Lenin had his theoretical teeth sharpened.

The debate on whether socialist awareness arises from within the labor movement itself or is imposed from outside would naturally play a significant role in deciding what the party organization would look like. The works of Marx speak at length about what kind of economic demands would be within the labor movement and what kind of political demands would be there. However, the fundamental question at that time was – how would the party organization that would lead the labor movement by combining political and economic struggles look like? Around this time, Lenin's "What is to be Done?" got published. The crux or substance of Lenin's theory of organization has been explained in this very book. In the book, he has truly followed his own statement that "extreme pressure should be applied from

the opposite side to straighten a warped rod of iron." He further says: "The consciousness of the working masses cannot be genuine class-consciousness, unless the workers learn, from concrete, and above all from topical, political facts and events to observe every other social class in all the manifestations of its intellectual, ethical, and political life; unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of all aspects of the life and activity of all classes, strata, and groups of the populations."

Those claiming themselves to be disciples and followers of Marx were many but the number of his true successors is very few, of which, Lenin is one of the most brilliant. Firstly, he does not consider Marx as complete and sees possibilities of boundless development depending on time and circumstances. Further, Lenin has dared to revise (in Nepali, *samsodhan* – a word which is not well accepted in the Marxist parlance) some of the propositions of Marx outright. He has also done the task of making Marxism, which was limited to western Europe, relevant for the third world.

It was Lenin who made Marxism relevant for the third world by taking it out of the fold of Western Europe. Prior to him, efforts were being made to knowingly or unknowingly push farmers towards the capitalist camp. Ensuring the role of farmers, Lenin defined their role in helping to accumulate the force of the proletariat class. Its seeds can be found in the works of Marx and Engels, though. Marx and Engels have spoken of the need for the proletariat class to mobilize the middle strata of the population. Among the Marxists who were confidently waiting for capitalism to inevitably transform itself into socialism just as the saying goes "ripe fruit falls by itself", Marx's contribution to the development

of the theory that the capitalist state should be dismantled by force to replace it with a socialist society stands incomparable. It may be recalled here that Rosa Luxemburg, a ferocious Marxist intellectual of Lenin's time, had already expressed through her writings that failing to make a conscious and strong intervention, capitalism transforms itself in to a barbaric regime.

On the whole, Lenin made efforts to develop one aspect of the revolution. That's why, it is impossible to study his theory of organization in isolation. Lenin has put forth a consistent explanation speaking of the need of a proletariat dictatorship through armed revolution and the need of avanguard party of the proletariat as a means therefor. So, we need to take hearts to develop this entire system as part of the need to develop Leninism. This understanding of Lenin who is often accused of being revolutionist and excessive centralist is hardly discussed. "Under conditions of political freedom our party will be built entirely on the elective principle. Under the autocracy, this is impracticable for the collective thousands of workers that make of the party," he says.

Tinkering with or making little changes to the discrete components or any one particular aspect of that is an act of impossibility. History is a testimony to the fact that most of the parties making such efforts have fallen victims to parochialism or ceased to exist or become hostile. Theoretical discussions over the Lenin's theory of organization had taken place even during Lenin's time. Of them, criticism of Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg are noteworthy, and, therefore worth paying attention to. Trotsky's opinions regarding different theoretical and political questions including organization are far from being consistent. However, Rosa's differences with Lenin lay the foundation for an alternative system. The

greatest contribution of Lenin lies in the fact that he provided a politico-organizational dimension to the Marxist theory and philosophy during his time. After Lenin, attempts have been made to emulate Lenin in the context of power and socialist system by separating his views on party in different countries of the world. On the other hand, there are a great deal of parties which, pretending to hold Lenin's views on party very fast, ignore other aspects of the system developed by Lenin. The communist parties of Nepal probably fall in the second category. The future of both of these parties is doomed to failure. Lenin may be subjected to criticism and it is necessary as well. But history is a witness many a time that the flag of Lenin's criticism is lifted up when there is a need of pretext for doing away with revolutionary politics. The development of a system alternative to that of overall system of Lenin is possible only after reading and understanding well Marx and Lenin, and by standing on the foundation thereof. The practice of ignoring Lenin for chanting empty slogans of Marxist theories and philosophy by doing away with revolutionary politics should not be accepted.

It was Lenin himself who first got a sense of ill-results arising out of the theory, especially the theory of organization, developed by the Russian communists, especially the communist party led by Lenin-Trotsky. It was Lenin who first saw that the state power which was actually to be under the oversight of workers and farmers was slipping away from their hand, getting into a mesh of bureaucracy. His two letters penned before his death reflect the pangs of a helpless revolutionary. In the course of putting restrictions on other parties in the 10th Congress, Lenin, first and Trotsky later came to know of the horrendous consequences of the monolithic mindset of prohibiting different trends within their party. Lenin did not survive to suffer final consequences

resulting from the act of prohibiting the elements of political plurality within the revolutionary process and people's democracy (janabad) which was flourishing between 1918 and 1923. But we are paying the prices thereof even today. It is necessary for the successors of Lenin to seriously think over relations between the autonomy of self-organization of the proletariat class and activities of the vanguard party.

Rosa Luxemburg

A brilliant name that emerged on the world stage of socialist movement shouldering the Marxist responsibility of waging a relentless ideological crusade against the perspective and belief of bowing down to any power is Rosa Luxemburg. Ms Rosa who waged a crusade against the parasitic trend of depending on the brilliance of leadership without knowledge that was deeply affecting the communist movement not only limited herself to exposing the anti-Marxist scholarship of Karl Kautsky and Bernstein but also waged a theoretical and ideological debate against Lenin who was himself engaged in developing Leninism. Just like Marx, she had a full faith on the organic power of the proletariat and possessed shortcomings and weaknesses. Rosa brought even Lenin to his senses by lashing out at him (Lenin) who happened to support the non-Marxist proposition of Karl Kautsky that "the proletariat class is not the catalyst of science; it is rather bourgeois intellectuals. "Suspecting that Lenin's theory of the centralism would prepare nothing more than a strait-jacket, Rosa says: "Nothing will more surely enslave a young labor movement to an intellectual elite hungry for power than this bureaucratic strait-jacket, which will immobilize the movement and turn it into an automaton manipulated by a central committee."

Several have accused Rosa of being a follower of

spontaneism for her unlimited trust on the proletariat and the struggle it launches. In her ideological debate on organization against Lenin, she says: "The errors committed by a truly revolutionary movement are infinitely more fruitful than the infallibility of the cleverest central committee." A complete reading of the same writing of Rosa on organization shows that the accusation of spontaneism against her cannot be justified. Rosa says in her writing that in view of the structure of capitalism and the the necessity of fighting against it, a Communist organization, by nature itself, calls for centralism. Nevertheless, in an effective way, Rosa has theoretically refuted the simple formulation of Lenin that it is enough to place the head of Jacobins on the body of the proletariat. Until Gorbachev lifted the curtain of reforms in 1989 in Russia, the Leninist party was in existence for most of the people in the world and socialist power was in control of Russia. Rosa who had serious differences with Lenin even at that time was an unfortunate revolutionary of the anti-communist bloc for most communists in the world. Following collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, there was almost a consensus among serious Marxist researchers that the Leninist party no longer existed in the Soviet Union after the demise of Lenin. Only after this did Rosa return with a bang. Experiences have proved right her saying that socialism without political freedom dies of suffocation. Her statement that socialism cannot be obtained with fighting by a handful of clever persons; the entire class being a bar of steel must engage in it.

Marxist Revolutionary Alternatives

Antonio Gramsci

Antonio Gramsci, an Italian by birth who spent his life in a whirlpool of struggle, has clearly portrayed such

weaknesses as determinism in his writings. Gramsci has further developed dialectics found in Marx, Rosa and Lenin more sharply. The theory of Dual Perspective developed by him distinguishes between national and international contradictions and may become a tool to fight for proletariat internationalism. He has maintained a logical as well as critical approach towards the theory of spontaneism, a form of struggle waged by the proletariat. According to Gramsci, a conscious leadership is evidently present in such struggles. The only difference is – such struggles have the participation of subaltern leaders instead of the leaders who have already made their names. Rejecting outright the previous notion that there are two aspects of "ruler and ruled" when it comes to the question of leadership building, Gramsci is of the opinion that moving ahead with the objective of removing this distinction will be in tandem with Marxism. Contrary to the Marxist tradition of taking into account political, military and economic aspects in class struggle, he has put forth the innovative idea that it is only with the intellectual and cultural hegemony that rule of the exploited will remain long-lasting and only this could lead to a classless society. As per this concept, Gramsci has put forth an idea of prioritizing by the communist party, from start to finish, the task of creating a battalion of organic intellectuals in favor of the proletariat. The communist system of considering a team of special leaders or leaders as indispensable and letting them stay in power even when they are physically or mentally too weak to discharge their duties is not useful to society. This is not in line with Marxism, either. Gramsci has freshened up and built on this concept. Fresh in the sense that long ago, Lenin had put forth the view that "every cook can govern".

We can also draw as much lessons as we can from the failed revolution launched by Mao Tse Tung during

the second half of his life with a view to preventing the revival of capitalism within the party, and continuing with the revolution. This apart, CLR James, Mansur Hikmet, etc. have also presented their views on organization and organizational theories. There may still be things to learn as reference from several organizations claiming to be wholly embracing Leninism.

Question of Party Reorganization in Our Context

When we look at our party and party life today, the drudgery with everyday life of our workers is evidently clear. The communist movement which is to be made lively with debates, discussions and struggles is now characterized by neutrality, weltenschmerz and dispassion. In the situation where whims, wisdom, mercy and anger are taking precedence over the over-all party life, it is natural that party workers are losing their self-confidence and creativity. Such party will in no way be able to summon up the courage required to lead a revolution or to fight against counter-revolution.

Ms. Rosa, an extraordinary revolutionary who is credited with having an extremely sharp talent after Marx, says: "Capitalist parliament is a machine for incubating opportunism". She further says: "The party acts like a dam to save the class movement from being degenerated into a bourgeois parliament. The dam needs to be destroyed to defeat this campaign of the party. For this, they will dissolve the class-conscious and active strata of the proletariat, and change them into a flock of shapeless voters." This lesson should be a departure point for discussion in the present context of Nepal.

What old Bolshevik leader Shlyapnikov with a mix of some gravity and satire says in a letter to Lenin needs to be taken into account: "I congratulate you, comrade Lenin, for

exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat in the name of a proletariat that doesn't exist". This comment made by a Bolshevik leader at a time when the factories and industries had closed in the course of revolution and war in Russia with relatively few industrial workers, and in the immediate situation marked by less number of class-conscious workers as many of them had joined the party is worthy of contemplation.

No matter how old Marxism is and no matter how many fingers are pointed at ideologies of Marx, no other class, except for the proletariat, has emerged so far on the emancipation of which the emancipation of the entire society depends. This is why, a communist party should be created, based on the proletariat class. No matter how few is their number! We can rather think about developing a new concept – the concept of relative proletariat. It is already 70 years since the Communist Party of Nepal was established without counting the number of industrial workers. The crux of the matter is that the communist party should be a vanguard party of the proletariat.

People have begun to feel ashamed even to pronounce the word "vanguard" in places swept by post-modernism but it is the party that brings together exploited masses scattered across the country and that party should, at all costs, be more conscious, more organized, more vocal and more self-less. In the absence of such party, the working class gets divided in the name of caste, religion, gender, geography, etc. and such party will not be able to summon up the courage to replace the capitalist power. Antonio Gramsci has more succinctly and clearly presented the Marxist perspective that the proletariat class should address the demands and feelings of all exploited masses.

It is because of the change in class of the party that the struggles of sisterly organizations of workers, farmers, students and women have not taken place for a long time. Moreover, not only has the class of leaders changed, their class is marked by depravity. Some day the exploited sections within the party may, in collusion with the elements outside the party, rise up against the party itself, putting forth their genuine demands. In the communist movement of Nepal which is neck-deep in parliamentary politics, the line dividing workers and voters is being erased in a stage-managed way. In other words, attempts are being made to change the communist cadres which would otherwise have to perform as a vanguard of the international proletariat class into shapeless voters, or into voting agents, at most. This anti-communist deviation should be put to rest and the cadres provided with revolutionary political role. It is necessary to correct the misunderstanding of taking parliamentary activities as the only activity of the party. While organizing this as a part of the overall movement, a large chunk of the party should be tasked with undertaking revolutionary activities.

The sudden collapse of the the Soviet Communist Party can be, as predicted by Rosa Luxemburg, attributed primarily to the death of socialism due to asphyxiation in the absence of political freedom. After the party kidnapped the Soviet power or plural political machinery of the farmers, workers, soldiers, etc., the party changed itself into a bureaucratic machinery, and this hastened total ruination. It is necessary to establish a dialectical relationship between the goal or party and the movement or class. The party must be based on the class but the strategic goals and programs to be decided by the party should not be limited to the immediate thought and situation. The party should play the role of a vanguard party

to leap into the world of freedom from the role of necessity.

Philosophically speaking the goal of the communists is to leap from the world of necessity to the world of freedom. Here, the word leap has not been used without purpose. This word has been used instead of crawling, striding or walking. So, if we are truly honest to Marxism, human emancipation and the world of freedom, we need to free ourselves from the delusion that the parliamentary system will grow more stronger and stronger to be ultimately transformed into a socialist system. The action of shifting from Tony Blair-brand politics which considers capitalist markets as the source of prosperity following the dissolution of the Soviet Union to Jeremy Corbyn should be finished in one year, at most. We should free ourselves from the metaphysics of waging an armed struggle in one period of time and taking as ultimate truth the parliamentary elections in another period of time.

Open pluralistic inquisitive culture and people's democracy (*janabad*) should be made the basis of socialism. As Rosa said, *janabad* cannot be sacrificed at the altar of socialism. In our context, the appeal to the people to involve in the desiccated communist party characterized by intolerant ideological discussions trying to talk them into believing that they would be able to exercise *janabad* once they are into socialism will not work anymore. The Communist Party of Cuba may be an example of a worth-emulating system which gets vital fluid from the people for its sustenance.

We have been adopting the Stalin-era system of controlling people's organizations in the name of providing them political leadership and this should be stopped without delay. The party should be limited to providing ideological leadership to other ground-level organizations or other community organizations constituted for the sake of land,

water and forest. The theoretical consciousness of the party and spontaneous activities of the labor class should be taken as mutually reinforcing.

The political line demands a corresponding organization. By following the line of Nicolae Ceausescu, we cannot demand a Leninist organization. The task of chalking out a revolutionary mass-line will be developed parallel to the building of a revolutionary party. And, with the building of the revolutionary party, revolution will gain momentum. Intra-party struggle is the life of the party. The proletariat class is not itself a monolithic class; it contains different entities in it. The notion that the proletariat class consisting of different cultures, geography, religions, etc. contains different trends and they represent different ideological groups should be accepted in the party statute itself.

Lenin has expressed doubts that without the professional and conscious leadership initiated into socialism, the labor class cannot become a revolutionary force. Truly, without the leading role of a party, ample possibilities of movement will dissipate like vapor. On the other hand, Rosa's concern that once the party starts controlling the class, the soldier-like spirit and creative heart-beats of the working class will cease to exist. We must make efforts to further develop the theory of organic unity of the party and class developed by Antonio Gramsci who was deprived of an opportunity to put into practice his own theory due to difficult circumstances of that time.

Demand for discipline without ensuring participation in decision making is bureaucratic centralism. This is why, in today's Nepal, it is imperative to involve communities, intellectuals, professional organizations and civil society remaining outside the party and hundreds of thousands

of workers to discuss how to work out development strategies, and to reorganize education, health and agriculture sector.

Inequality is rampant in this parliamentary democracy. This democracy or neo-liberal democracy generates consumers instead of citizens, and shopping malls instead of communities as a result of which our cohesive society is changed into a mechanical society where two individuals become disconnected, where everyone will find their morale sapped and find himself or herself helpless. The party should be able to take this truth among the people and create a movement for building socialism.

CRITICAL DISCOURSE NEPAL



Goals of Socialism and the Question of Party Organization



Yubaraj Gyawali
Standing Committee Member
Nepal Communist Party



Today's Nepali society is based on different classes, castes, languages, religions and cultures. Ever since the end of autocratic Rana oligarchy and except for a 30-year Panchayat rule, the political system we have been practising is based on multiparty competition. Though sixteen years have now passed since the conclusion of the democratic revolution (*janabadi kranti*) in Nepal, class exploitation and widespread inequality, and other forms of discriminations based on caste, language, gender and cultures remain intact. Similarly, disparities among the people residing in different geographical locations are yet to be removed. Nepali society, thus, is trapped in the complexity of contradictions of different kinds. Of these different types of contradictions, contradictions of Nepali people with crony and bureaucratic capitalism stand out as a principal contradiction. This makes it clear that this contradiction stands in the way of progress of the Nepali people.

Though the proletariat make up for a tiny share of the country's total population, the number of people dependent on labor is excessively high in Nepal. Even now, Nepal's economy is in the grip of the capital earned through smuggling, corruption, commissions and all illegal transactions. How to free the Nepalese economy from such a dismal state is a pressing question of the day.

Though both the communist and the congress parties have jointly contributed to framing the present constitution of Nepal, the role of the communists has remained decisive. It is the communists who have played a crucial role in making significant achievements such as federal, democratic republic, inclusive and proportionate representation, secularism, gender and caste equality attained through the revolution. The main responsibility of ensuring timely changes and development has now fallen on the shoulders

of the communists, while at the same time protecting these important historic achievements. As required by the circumstances, the communists of Nepal, therefore, should decide on a journey to socialism by building on these very achievements. Thus, laying the groundwork for socialism vis-a-vis the particularity of Nepal and putting in place the socialist system essentially differs from elsewhere in the world. It is, therefore, automatically proved that application of Marxism in Nepal is based on its own unique characteristics.

Though the parliamentary electoral system and a corresponding form of governance has been decided in a specific situation of the people's democratic revolution, there is a need for moving ahead by formulating new laws and regulations and by amending various provisions of the constitution for the attainment of socialist goals. The fact that the constitution of Nepal has provided for moving ahead towards socialism, crucial achievements have been made in terms of fundamental rights and the communist party has formed governments at different levels from center to local clearly demonstrates that Nepal's politics is on the right course of socialism. However, the journey it has yet to complete is very long and is fraught with challenges.

Though the communist party is now in government, the main character of the old state machinery remains the same. Despite the fact that a party with a socialist and communist thought has reached the superstructure of Nepali society, economic structure and relations of productions are basically characterized by crony capitalism. And, this has in turn led to an intense contradiction between the leadership in power and crony capitalist economic structure. In such situation, how successfully the superstructure or government moves ahead on a journey of socialism largely hinges on to

what extent the government will be able to transform the infrastructure.

The present Nepali economy is based on private ownership. Though the cooperative institutions have developed well in the country over the years, they are yet to have any remarkable impact on the entire economy. State ownership is weak. So long as collective ownership is not established over means of production, success of socialism will remain a far-off thing. Class discriminations are on the rise; corruption is widespread; and the problems such as poverty, unemployment and dependency are yet to be removed. Ending of all these problems constitutes one of the most important aspects of socialism. Our goal is to build a just and egalitarian society in every sector.

"From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" is a socialist principle. More importantly, socialism accords high priority to human labor and skills. The present government and the communist party are required to play an important role in restoring to an upright position the system in which those who labor become poor and those who do not labor become rich. In the eyes of the present state, all are equal. Socialism will not be possible unless the system in which citizens become able to enjoy equal rights to health, education and place of residence is put in place. And also, they will be correspondingly required to fulfill their duties.

Enough productions and equal distributions thereof form important aspect of socialism but without enough development of forces of production, equal distribution remains a far-off thing. This, however, requires increase in production in every sector, building of all development infrastructures, utmost development of science and

technology, use of modern machines and machinery, optimum utilization of natural means and resources at disposal, development of national capital and proper use thereof, agricultural modernization, rapid development as well as expansion of trade and businesses and guarantee of various other things including health and education.

In order to materialize all these things, the most important and mandatory question is the development of able manpower. Of all the forces of production, human force is primary. It is humans who engage in developing state-of-the-art science and technology. The most innovative manpower of a society will transform the society and ensure optimum use of nature to the benefit of humankind. But, destruction of nature in the name of development will in no way ensure human welfare; this will rather be wise to make a judicious use of nature, while at the same time protecting it.

Socialism is a political system aimed at safeguarding the interests of individuals under collective interests, whereas capitalism serves itself as an individualistic system which thinks that once individual interests are taken care of, collective interests are automatically taken care of. The communist party should generate able, qualified and honest manpower dedicated to ensuring collective interests, and particularly the interests of the labor class in the present context. The party, in an integrated and unified form, is required to work out policies, plans and programs that are in sync with people's interests. It should mobilize its cadres from upper to lower echelons of the party organization to ensure the interests of the country and people after providing them necessary trainings. That manpower needs to be laced or equipped with the scientific Marxist ideology which is

dedicated to people's interests. The party, though small in number, should be capable enough of leading hundreds of thousands of people. The goal of getting to socialism may be possible only if we constantly remain committed to the great goal of socialism and communism. In light of the guiding principle of Marxism and in view of the relativity of time and circumstances, to constantly remain dynamic and active is a responsibility of that manpower.

The way the revolutions and changes have hitherto taken place as determined and managed by the party with a Marxist attitude, there is similarly a need for its party leaders and cadres to be responsible for the right functioning of the government and to be mobilized in keeping with the party's policy. Government should not be taken as a power parallel to the party; this just is one significant aspect of the party.

Socialism emerges into the light of day out of the womb of capitalism and capitalism will gradually die down with the application of different norms and values of socialism. This, however, tends to take a very long time. The Marxist organization will ultimately become the principal cause of the death of capitalism. That organization will put capitalism to rest through class struggles, struggle for production and application of science and technology as demanded by time and circumstances. In today's world, capitalism seems to be moving ahead by refining itself in view of the changed time and circumstances, making it easier to prolong its life. By understanding well the initiatives taken by capitalism to improve itself, the Marxist party should work out its policy and move ahead in its building and mobilization. An organization seeking to move ahead based on dogmatic thinking cannot make any progress. This is why, organizations should always be creative and dynamic.

Leaders and workers wishing to transform society need to first transform themselves. Those who fail to transform themselves are unlikely to transform the society. In the present context of the communist party forming a government, struggles for production have taken on a form of class struggle because without first building a self-reliant economy, the country cannot free itself from the clutches of crony capitalism. Besides, crony capitalism may create problems within the party itself by paying for several dishonest leaders and workers. So, the organization should pay serious attention to creating a manpower devoid of corrupt behavior and set the trend of reward and punishment.

Of the two methods of leading an organization, single leadership is exercised by the feudal and capitalist party, whereas truly democratic (*loktantrik*) and the communists should move ahead through the collective leadership, wisdom and efforts. There are many examples of the world's different communist parties facing long-term negative consequences when the organizations were headed by a single leadership. Such leadership in due course of time slipped into individualism and arbitrariness and ultimately converted itself into an autocracy. It is crucially important to pay serious attention to this aspect while running a party in today's twenty-first century.

A party organization or any sister organization for that matter should be legally made to operate itself on the basis of institutional decisions. The value system that 'policy and not the leader should take precedence' must be established. Similarly, the agenda requiring different party organizations to meet regularly for discussions on wide-ranging issues, pursue the process of purifying oneself through criticism and self-criticisms, review and evaluate the performance of

organizations of different levels and workers thereof, and chalk out future plans of actions should be introduced in the meetings. If meetings are not regularly held, organizations find themselves on the verge of collapse. Holding regular meetings of an organization is a bare minimum condition for its operation. The thinking that we can realize the goal of socialism just by relying on the rhetorical speeches of certain leaders looks extremely superficial and quixotic.

The system of taking decisions unanimously, if possible, and on the basis of majority, if not possible and requiring one and all to implement them should be put in place. It is just as necessary for the majority to pay attention to honoring minority if the decisions are taken on the basis of majority. Sometimes issues raised by minority may have a ring of truth. In course of putting them into practice, whether they are right or wrong will be proved. Sometimes the decisions taken previously may have to be dismissed. It will be a grave mistake if attempts are made to suppress dissenting voices within the party. Every official and member of the organization should be skillful to maintain a balance between theory and practice. Otherwise, differences subsisting between the two may snowball to the extent of hastening dissolution of the organization in the long run.

Individuals tasked with the responsibility of leading the country towards socialism and pushing it ahead once it is established must be the cream of society – good, qualified, honest, dedicated to people, and laced with Marxist perspective. Similarly, it is necessary for the people's representatives to have a certain degree of qualification and to meet prescribed standards. From the very initial days of making party members, attention is to be given to selecting people who have the potential to become social leaders. And,

they should be provided with proper guidance, education and trainings. Responsibility can be given to them based on their experience working in organization and among the people. Over time, they may qualify for more responsibilities. While selecting people for different levels of government, they should be selected on the basis of their qualification, qualities and ability. The same things should be taken into while tasking them with party responsibilities. Failing to do this, there will be a danger of kicking off a tradition of promoting party members based on their proximity or connections to their leaders. If attempts are made to set up such trend, this will ultimately not only cause harm to the organization but also to the people.

Just like doctors, lawyers, engineers, professors, skilled farmers, industrialists, business people, contractors, etc., require qualification or expertise for their professions, those heading organizations or responsible for mobilization thereof also require certain qualifications and qualities. The task of mobilizing hundreds of thousands of conscious masses is obviously more difficult than other work. It is simply because of the fact that knowledge and experience of the certain subjects concerned is enough for the professions and occupations like the ones we discussed, while those in party organizations are tasked with the responsibility of leading and mobilizing hundreds of thousands of politically conscious workers in the right direction. Individuals who are patient and dedicated, morally upright, clean of all, large-hearted and equipped with a high level of consciousness should be selected for building an advanced society like socialism. Backward and insular thinking will not be able to guide a socialist-communist organization.

Though we have a capitalist system in our country at

present, the reins of power are held by the communist party. Forming governments is the ultimate goal of the capitalist class and the party representing it. But the communists are to transform this system into a socialist one. Though significant political achievements have been made so far, the goal of the communists still remains far. For the communists, government is not a goal but an important means to transform the society.

Party organizational leadership should be created on the basis of democratic (*loktantrik*) processes. Such leadership is selected by honest and disciplined party members laced with Marxist perspective out of conventions of elected party representatives. Therefore, only qualified party members and representatives can build a qualified leadership with capacity to lead the entire party and the country. The party rank and file should be extremely vigilant to make it sure that no morally and financially corrupt person enters the organization. If the corrupt are allowed to have their say in the organization, it will cease to exist itself because of its own internal reasons.

The class which faces utmost suppression, exploitation and injustice and which provides labor most of all for the growth of production, that class needs socialism most. Once it becomes politically conscious, it becomes most honest and dedicated to socialism. This is why the labor class is recruited into the party organization with priority and the task of making them active in class struggle should be taken as a matter of importance. Some individuals of society become communists on an emotional basis, while others become out of necessity. Those who become communists out of necessity will easily acknowledge the Marxist, socialist and communist feelings.



Contents

- Feasibility of Socialism in Nepal
S Surendra Pandey
- Orientation towards Socialism: Education and Health
Dr. Saroj Dhital
- International Agencies and Prospect of Socialism
Dr. Dipak Prakash Bhatta
- The World System and China: Implication for and Prospect of Socialism in Nepal
Dr. Khagendra Prasai
- Nepalese Path to Socialism
Dr. Vijay Kumar Paudel
- Some Characteristics of Chinese Socialism and Prospect of Socialism in Nepal
Dr. Yubaraj Sangroula
- Organization and Communist Party Organization
Ram Karki
- Goals of Socialism and the Question of Party Organization
Yubaraj Gyawali

Published by:



CRITICAL DISCOURSE NEPAL

Foundation for Critical Discourse Nepal

Thapathali, Kathmandu

www.discoursenepal.com

in association with:

