

# Mapping a Revolutionary Lexicon: Semantic Networks and the Ideological Architecture of People’s Multiparty Democracy in Nepal

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## ABSTRACT

This article explores the ideological architecture of People’s Multiparty Democracy (PMPD) as articulated by Madan Bhandari and institutionalized by the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist–Leninist). The study aims to examine how PMPD constructs a revolutionary framework that synthesizes Marxist principles with democratic pluralism, ethical leadership, and institutional accountability. It specifically highlights the ways that the PMPD’s conceptual discourse organizes and communicates a coherent vision of socialist transformation in Nepal. Using co-occurrence network analysis, implemented in RStudio and visualized through *igraph* and *ggraph*, the research maps the relational logic and semantic layering across Bhandari’s collected writings. Three core conceptual clusters emerge: (1) Party–Revolution–Leadership, (2) Democracy–Multiparty–System–People, and (3) Principle–Ideology–Unity. Together, they constitute a structured lexicon that articulates PMPD’s political imagination and strategic coherence. The study demonstrates how PMPD’s discourse mediates between foundational Marxist commitments and evolving democratic realities, presenting a model of ideological transformation rooted in the context of Nepal. By combining computational methods with critical discourse analysis, this article contributes to scholarship on indigenous Marxist formations and offers a methodological intervention for studying socialist theory in transitional societies.

## Introduction

In the aftermath of the Cold War and the dissolution of Soviet-style socialism, leftist movements around the world faced a state of ideological disarray. Some factions clung to doctrinal orthodoxy, while others moderated their revolutionary ambitions to align with liberal-democratic norms. However, in Nepal, a surprising and innovative intervention emerged: People’s Multiparty Democracy (PMPD), a political philosophy articulated by Madan Bhandari and institutionalized by the Communist Party of Nepal

(Unified Marxist–Leninist). Rather than signifying a tactical retreat or a hybrid compromise, PMPD proposed a radical reconfiguration of Marxist politics—recasting democratic pluralism not as a bourgeois concession, but as a revolutionary method. It posited that democracy, revolution, and party organization could be co-constitutive rather than mutually antagonistic.

This article investigates PMPD not merely as a political doctrine, but as a framework of discursive

architecture. Using filtered co-occurrence network analysis drawn from *People's Multiparty Democracy: Other Writings and Speeches, Vol. 1*, it illustrates the underlying conceptual grammar of the PMPD worldview. The resulting map of interconnected terms—such as party, people, democracy, revolution, system, ideology, and others—reveals the strategic proximities and semantic layering that structure this political vision. These terms are not simply frequent; they co-occur, thereby constructing meaning relationally. The co-occurrence network helps elucidate how PMPD generates clusters of ideological coherence—conceptual knots that form the basis for organizing revolutionary thought.

At the core of the network lie three closely interconnected terms: party, people, and democracy. These terms represent not merely as ideological keywords but as the triadic foundation of PMPD's political theory. They link to other clusters, including Party–Revolution–Leadership, Democracy–Multiparty–System–People, and Principle–Ideology–Unity, each illuminating distinct dimensions of Bhandari's thought. Through these clusters, PMPD reveals a model of governance that is revolutionary in its aims, democratic in its structure, and ideologically disciplined in its function.

The objective of this article is to analyze this discursive structure from both methodological and philosophical perspectives. By interpreting the co-occurrence network as a representation of epistemic relationships, the paper shows that PMPD is not merely a set of political positions, but a dynamic theory—an effort to reframe the discourse of socialism in response to the democratic and pluralistic challenges posed by Nepal's socio-political landscape. This analysis is especially timely given the historical context in which PMPD arose: a critical moment when global communism was in crisis. Nepal stood at the threshold of a democratic transition, and political innovation demanded new forms of ideological synthesis.

## Methodology

Co-occurrence network analysis is employed here as a mode of conceptual mapping—a method for tracing how ideological meaning in PMPD emerges not from isolated terms, but from structured relational patterns. By visualizing lexical proximities, the network reveals how key concepts such as democracy, people, and leadership are co-constructed within a discursive system. This approach makes visible the architecture of Bhandari's political imagination, treating language not as a neutral vehicle but as an active site of ideological formation. The resulting map is not merely descriptive but diagnostic: it delineates the structural logic through which PMPD articulates its democratic socialist vision.

The theoretical foundations rest on two complementary traditions. First, drawing on contributions from critical discourse analysis—particularly the work of [van Dijk \(1997\)](#) and [Wodak \(2009\)](#)—the author treats language as a structured, ideologically embedded medium. This perspective informs the analysis of co-occurrence networks, which are viewed as reflections of discursive power relations, where underlying ideological positions shape the relationships between terms in political texts.

Second, the study utilizes instruments and frameworks from the digital humanities. Based on the work of [Silge and Robinson \(2017\)](#), [Jockers \(2013\)](#), [Moretti \(2005\)](#), and [Düring et al. \(2014\)](#), it applies co-occurrence networks to uncover latent semantic structures not readily accessible through traditional close reading methods. These computational techniques enable scalable and systematic analysis of political language, revealing deeper conceptual alignments and oppositions within large text corpora.

The principal source for this analysis is *Madan Bhandari's People's Multiparty Democracy: Other Writings and Speeches, Vol. 1*, a curated collection of his key speeches, essays, and reflections. This corpus is well-suited for ideological mapping,

as it represents a canonical articulation of PMPD. Bhandari's texts are not spontaneous oratory but carefully constructed interventions aimed at providing ideological clarity, fostering organizational coherence, and offering strategic direction.

To prepare the corpus for analysis, a preprocessing protocol was implemented. First, the text was segmented into sentences and paragraphs to capture co-occurrences, facilitating comparisons between local semantic proximity and broader thematic structures. The text was then normalized by converting all tokens to lowercase and applying lemmatization to reduce inflected forms to their base forms, thereby achieving a unified representation. Additionally, a context-sensitive approach to stop word filtering was employed: high-frequency terms such as "development," "policy," and "country" were removed unless they formed coherent clusters with key ideological concepts. This ensured that the network emphasized relevant vocabulary rather than filler.

### **Network construction and filtering**

After preprocessing, the corpus was transformed into a term-pair matrix to track co-occurrences. Data processing was conducted using RStudio (version 2023.12.0+402) on a MacBook Pro (Mid-2018) with macOS. The texts were tokenized, lemmatized, and cleaned using the `tidytext` and `tm` packages. Co-occurrence matrices were created using sliding sentence and paragraph windows. Nodes with low frequency and weak ties were pruned at the 85<sup>th</sup> percentile tie-strength threshold to clarify significant ideological clusters. A multi-stage filtering process was used to isolate ideologically meaningful structures.

The initial network included all co-occurring term pairs. To reduce noise and highlight significant relationships, nodes that appeared only once or exhibited weak ties (based on a predetermined threshold) were removed. Additionally, semantic filtering was applied to retain only those terms that contributed to cohesive conceptual clusters within PMPD's ideological framework. The final network

was visualized using `igraph` (version 1.5.1) and `ggraph` (version 2.1.0), producing a comprehensive map of relational meaning. This method elucidates prioritized ideas and their discursive construction and strategic alignment, articulating a political grammar for democratic socialism.

To enhance the robustness of the findings, measures were implemented to ensure validity, reliability, and reflexivity. Sensitivity analyses using varying window sizes and thresholds confirmed that the identified core structures reflected persistent data patterns rather than artifacts of arbitrary parameters. The paper maintained memos throughout the analysis to ensure methodological reflexivity, documenting how Marxist and discourse-analytic frameworks influenced decisions regarding node retention, cluster interpretation, and corpus segmentation.

By emphasizing the researcher's role in shaping both data and meaning, the authors acknowledge the interpretive dimension of critical computational methods. Furthermore, the author recognizes the ethical implications of these methods, particularly in relation to translation and data reduction. Since the source material consists of translated Nepali texts, there is an inherent risk of semantic drift. Omitting specific terms or connections involves interpretive authority that influences the network's visibility. The paper adheres to ethical standards in the digital humanities, ensuring that such decisions remain transparent and justifiable.

The co-occurrence network is a visual artifact that necessitates hermeneutic engagement. It serves as conceptual cartography, illustrating how PMPD organizes its political imagination through interrelated concepts. Terms are understood within their relational contexts; for instance, "democracy" is significant not merely due to its frequency, but because of its proximity to terms such as "multiparty," "people," "system," and "constitution." This clustering reveals a conception of democracy that transcends liberal formalities, embodying a revolutionary process rooted in participatory ethos and structural transformation.

The network delineates three primary clusters as epistemic hubs within the discourse of PMPD: (i) Party–Revolution–Leadership, (ii) Democracy–Multiparty–System–People, and (iii) Principle–Ideology–Unity. These clusters constitute discursive architectures that engage with key political tensions—namely, the tension between authority and participation, the conflict between ideological purity and adaptability, and the dichotomy between unity and internal critique. They reinforce PMPD’s ideological vision while encapsulating its conceptual flexibility and strategic ambitions.

The filtered co-occurrence network exemplifies the logic of PMPD. Much like Bhandari’s aim of redefining socialism through a pluralist democratic lens, the network strikes a balance between semantic density and conceptual clarity. The filtering process, which removes weakly connected nodes, aligns with PMPD’s emphasis on doctrinal coherence over populist ambiguity.

This structural mirroring suggests that co-occurrence network analysis goes beyond description—it becomes a methodology for interpreting revolutions. The network acts as a cartographic representation of PMPD’s ideological strategy, demonstrating the interdependencies among concepts that shape a socialist vision rooted in pluralism, participation, and organization.

This study relies exclusively on Bhandari’s *People’s Multiparty Democracy: Other Writings and Speeches, Vol. 1*, thus narrowing its evidentiary base by excluding internal party debates, policy records, and external critiques. While co-occurrence analysis reveals thematic proximities, it cannot establish causality or identify rhetorical devices such as irony or negation. Treating words as discrete, measurable units risks oversimplifying the fluid, contested nature of political meaning. Moreover, unverified English translations of Nepali speeches carry the potential for semantic drift and loss of cultural nuance.

The study’s theoretical lens—discourse theory, network analysis, and Marxist political

philosophy—intentionally sidesteps behavioral political science, administrative models, and comparative electoral studies that might illuminate performance or policy outcomes. It prioritizes textual articulation over practical governance, focusing on PMPD’s ideological construction rather than the CPN (UML)’s legislative or campaign activities. Chronologically, the corpus is limited to the late twentieth century, capturing PMPD’s foundational phase while omitting later reinterpretations. These choices produce a tightly focused, text-centered portrait of PMPD, rendering the conclusions provisional and contingent on the methodological filters and historical frame examined.

## Results and Discussion

### The ideological core of PMPD: Party, people, and democracy

The political movement for PMPD centers on a triadic structure: the party, the people, and democracy. These terms serve as semantic anchors within a network that shapes the philosophical foundation of PMPD. Each concept carries distinct theoretical weight, revealing deeper significance through its interconnectedness. Together, they constitute a political lexicon for rethinking revolution, governance, and social transformation in post–Cold War, post-monarchical Nepal. This triadic model reconfigures the classical vanguard approach of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1848) into a more participatory and democratic revolutionary strategy.

#### *Party: The ethical vanguard*

Within classical Marxist discourse, the party is typically portrayed as the vanguard—the disciplined agent of historical necessity. PMPD reinterprets this notion by democratizing the concept of the vanguard. In the network, the term *party* is most densely associated with *revolution*, *leadership*, *ideology*, and *principle*, thereby illuminating its multifaceted roles as a moral force, an ideological guide, and an institution of organization and consent.

For Madan Bhandari, the party should not be viewed as a bureaucratic elite or as a remote electoral apparatus. Instead, it functions as the bearer of ideological clarity—a platform through which awareness is heightened, cadres are cultivated, and the public is mobilized. The co-occurrence of *leadership* and *principle* underscores the party’s ethical responsibility: it must not impose ideology from a position of authority but instead earn its leadership by embodying the values it promotes—discipline, service, and strategic clarity.

This framework arises from Nepal’s historical context. The failures of authoritarian centralism and the fragmentation among leftist factions have demonstrated that revolutionary potential, in the absence of organizational coherence, is insufficient. Consequently, PMPD reestablishes the party as a reflexive institution—rigorous in ideology, adaptable in strategy, and accountable to the populace. The network structure signals a shift from vertical command to relational leadership, positioning the party as the axis that links the people with democracy.

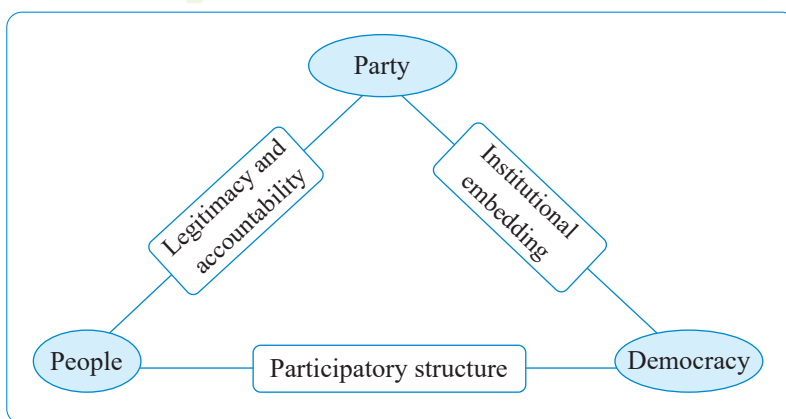


Figure 1: Conceptual network structure of party-people democracy in PMPD

**People: Agents of change, not subjects of ideology**

The second node of the triad, identified as *people*, occupies a structurally and philosophically distinct position. In contrast to much of traditional Marxist literature, which often characterizes “the people” as a homogeneous revolutionary subject, the PMPD framework presents the people as pluralistic, participatory, and politically agentic. In the co-occurrence network, the term *people* is associated with *movement*, *system*, *struggle*, and *democracy*, signifying a conception of the people as co-authors of revolution rather than passive beneficiaries. This marks one of PMPD’s most notable innovations: it asserts that revolutionary legitimacy must be popular rather than merely theoretical. Bhandari’s repeated insistence that Marxism should reside “in the hearts of the people” is mirrored in the

network’s semantic architecture. The populace is not merely invoked for rhetorical effect; they are embedded in every conceptual cluster that defines PMPD’s political landscape.

The relationship between individuals and systems holds significant importance. PMPD does not fetishize spontaneity nor romanticize mass uprisings. Instead, it views the populace as architects of democratic systems—active participants in policy formation, elections, governance, and reform. This delineation marks one of the clearest departures of PMPD from Maoist or Stalinist paradigms. The masses are not treated as raw material to be shaped by the party; they constitute the sovereign foundation upon which the revolutionary project must be built.

### ***Democracy: Revolutionary terrain, not liberal concession***

The third node, *democracy*, is arguably the most contested and conceptually redefined element within the PMPD framework. In the co-occurrence network, *democracy* is intricately connected to *multiparty systems*, *constitutions*, and *pluralism*. These connections signify a major philosophical departure from the classical Marxist suspicion of electoral politics and liberal institutions. For PMPD, democracy is not an afterthought of revolution; it is its primary terrain.

What renders Bhandari's deployment of democracy revolutionary is his reorientation of agency and legitimacy. In PMPD, democracy is not merely a procedural shell or a mechanism for capitalist stability; rather, it serves as a platform for ideological contest, class engagement, and systemic reform. The integration of multiparty governance and constitutional structure into its conceptual framework indicates that democracy, as envisioned in PMPD, is to be institutionalized, enduring, and pluralistic. It is not a temporary tactic but a strategic method of socialist transformation.

The tension between democracy and revolution is addressed not by subordinating one to the other, but by integrating them. Within the PMPD network, both concepts orbit around the party and the people, reflecting a dialectical synthesis in which democracy grounds revolution in public consent, while revolution deepens democracy in the pursuit of justice and equality.

The significance of this triad lies not merely in the weight attributed to each term but in their interdependent relationships. *Party*, *people*, and *democracy* engage in a continuous dialogue—both structurally within the co-occurrence network and ideologically within the writings of PMPD. Each term serves to mediate the others:

- The party gains legitimacy only when it is of and for the people.
- The people are not empowered without democratic systems.

- Democracy becomes hollow without a revolutionary organization.

This triadic structure functions as the dialectical engine of PMPD, harmonizing revolutionary intent with democratic methodology, ideological clarity with institutional participation. In contrast to models that treat party discipline, mass mobilization, and democratic openness as mutually exclusive, PMPD reconfigures these elements as mutually reinforcing. The co-occurrence network elucidates this synthesis, offering a map of a political theory that is internally coherent, historically grounded, and fundamentally democratic.

### **Semantic clusters of PMPD: Discursive architectures**

While the triad of *party*, *people*, and *democracy* forms the ideological core of PMPD, the discourse's deeper structure and strategic clarity emerge through the following three major semantic clusters:

- *Party–Revolution–Leadership*
- *Democracy–Multiparty–System–People*
- *Principle–Ideology–Unity*

These function as discursive nodes where meaning coalesces and ideological priorities are structured. Far from being mere thematic groupings, they represent semantic architectures through which PMPD articulates a political grammar that synthesizes revolutionary theory with democratic participation.

### ***Organizing power and purpose: Party–revolution–leadership***

This cluster serves as the organizational engine of PMPD. It addresses a fundamental inquiry of Marxist praxis: How does power attain a revolutionary character? Within the filtered co-occurrence network, these three terms form a high-density zone, indicating their close semantic relationship. The *party* is positioned as the institutional embodiment of revolutionary consciousness; *revolution* provides the strategic horizon; and *leadership* ensures continuity, direction, and ethical grounding.

In PMPD, the party is not solely an electoral instrument; it is the ideological vanguard, responsible for educating the populace, organizing cadres, and integrating theoretical insight with material conditions. Its association with *revolution* suggests that it is not fundamentally reformist, but committed to a comprehensive transformation of social and economic relations. However, the trajectory toward that transformation is no longer insurrectionary in the conventional Leninist sense. For Bhandari, revolution is rearticulated as a process of democratization, not as a singular act of rupture.

The third node—*leadership*—is closely linked to *cadres*, *organization*, and *principle*. It encapsulates PMPD's conviction that leadership transcends charisma or positional authority; it is a disciplinary and ideological process. Leaders must be intellectually capable, morally accountable, and deeply rooted in the struggles of the people. Leadership, moreover, is inherently collective—prioritizing organizational culture over individual dominance. This depersonalized model stands in stark contrast to both Stalinist cultism and the liberal personalization of politics.

Practically, this cluster addresses historical traumas within the Nepali communist movement, including factionalism, ideological rigidity, and authoritarian drift. PMPD conceptualizes leadership not as command, but as ideological service—grounded in internal debate, democratic centralism, and cadre development. The co-occurrence map embodies this ethic: revolution without leadership results in chaos; leadership without principle leads to opportunism. Only the party can hold these contradictions in disciplined tension.

### ***The architecture of participation: Democracy–multiparty–system–people***

This cluster is the most conceptually groundbreaking. It responds to the central political question of the post-Soviet era: Can socialism and democracy coexist? PMPD's emphatic answer is yes—but only through a strategic reconfiguration of both.

The co-occurrence of *democracy*, *multiparty*, *system*, and *people* reveals a layered political design. First, *democracy* is not an end-state but a means of socialist transition. Unlike many revolutionary traditions that dismiss democracy as a bourgeois distraction, PMPD sees it as a terrain of class struggle—a space where socialist forces can engage, persuade, and govern.

The term *multiparty* is pivotal. It marks a radical break with one-party orthodoxy. Bhandari does not fear political competition; he welcomes it as a way to deepen ideological engagement and legitimize revolutionary leadership. In this view, democracy must include pluralism—not only of parties, but also of ideologies, cultures, and identities. This pluralism is strategic, not relativist. It ensures that the party remains responsive, grounded, and accountable.

The inclusion of *system* signals an institutional orientation. PMPD does not settle for democratic slogans—it insists on systems: electoral processes, constitutional governance, independent bodies, and legal frameworks. Revolution must be institutionalized to endure beyond immediate struggle.

Finally, the persistent link to *people* reinforces PMPD's grounding in popular sovereignty. The people are not merely invoked rhetorically; they are structurally embedded. They co-construct the system, shape its legitimacy, and participate directly in its development. This cluster addresses a core theoretical dilemma: how to preserve revolutionary intent without reproducing authoritarian form. PMPD's solution is to radicalize democratic practice—to treat democracy not as the antithesis of socialism, but as its necessary form of articulation in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### ***Doctrinal integrity and epistemic unity: Principle–ideology–unity***

This third cluster reveals the movement's internal metabolism—how it processes ideas, engages in debates, and maintains coherence. While the first cluster organizes power and the second constructs

participatory architecture, this cluster safeguards doctrinal integrity and philosophical depth. PMPD upholds ideological clarity, echoing Marx's (1875) critique of ambiguous socialist formulations by insisting on principled coherence grounded in theoretical specificity.

The term *principle* signals PMPD's prioritization of political integrity over expedience. While adapting to democratic realities, it maintains non-negotiable commitments: anti-feudalism, anti-imperialism, class struggle, and justice. *Ideology*, closely linked to *principle*, reflects PMPD's view that Marxism must be applied dialectically—not dogmatically—as a living framework that evolves rather than dissolves.

In this context, *unity* transcends organizational convenience. It represents a dialectical unity forged through principled debate, tested in political struggle, and rooted in shared ideological values. In Nepal's leftist tradition—characterized by factionalism and ideological divisions—PMPD advocates for principled unity: one grounded in clear purpose and collective accountability.

This cluster illustrates PMPD's philosophical elasticity. While anchored in Marxism–Leninism, it resists ossification and remains vigilant against both revisionism and doctrinal rigidity. Ideology is conceived as dynamic and contextually adaptive. In the co-occurrence network, this is reflected in the strong interrelations among *ideology*, *system*, *people*, *principle*, and *unity*—terms that together form the epistemic scaffolding of PMPD's democratic reinterpretation of Marxism.

### Synthesizing the clusters: A strategic lexicon

Together, these three clusters map onto three levels of revolutionary practice:

- **Cluster I:** Party–Revolution–Leadership  
— Organizational Vehicle
- **Cluster II:** Democracy–Multiparty–  
System–People—Institutional  
Architecture
- **Cluster III:** Principle–Ideology–Unity  
— Epistemic Foundation

Their interplay reflects a level of strategic coherence rarely seen in post–Cold War leftist projects. Rather than mimicking failed models or capitulating to neoliberal realism, PMPD constructs a new ideological formation—one that embeds revolutionary purpose within democratic form, balances popular participation with party discipline, and grounds flexibility in principled thought.

The co-occurrence network allows this architecture to be visualized. Each cluster functions as a semantic engine, generating meaning within the broader political system. This system is neither closed nor rigid—it is adaptive, dialectical, and future-oriented. Ultimately, these clusters are not merely interpretive tools; they serve as political blueprints. They demonstrate how language can be used not simply to reflect political reality, but to construct new worlds—ones that are just, participatory, and ideologically grounded.

Beyond clusters and frequency, the architecture of PMPD's discourse reveals a crucial strategic dimension: its semantic layering. The co-occurrence network demonstrates that terms are not only interconnected but functionally stratified—some anchor theory, others enable practice, and still others project future horizons. This semantic hierarchy reflects a political vision in which revolution is not an isolated event but a structured process that requires different kinds of language at various stages of ideological development. In short, PMPD's vocabulary can be divided into three primary layers:

### *Foundational terms: Ontological anchors of struggle*

At the base of the semantic hierarchy are foundational terms—the core philosophical commitments of PMPD. These include: i) Ideology, ii) Revolution, iii) class, and iv) Socialism. These terms function as epistemic anchors, defining the movement's worldview. They answer the question: *Why struggle at all?* In the co-occurrence network, these foundational terms display strong connectivity with one another and with the triadic



core (*party, people, democracy*), indicating that all higher-order claims in PMPD are built upon these convictions.

For example, *ideology* frequently co-occurs with *principle* and *unity*, signaling its role as the interpretive framework through which historical conditions are understood and political decisions evaluated. In PMPD, ideology is not a fixed doctrine; it is a living process, subject to dialectical refinement but never reduced to relativism.

Similarly, *revolution* appears alongside *change, movement, and leadership*, emphasizing that while PMPD embraces revolution, it reimagines it as a gradual, participatory transformation rooted in public legitimacy rather than armed seizure. These foundational terms constitute the moral and philosophical ground of the project; without them, the movement would lack coherence and direction.

#### ***Operational terms: Translating ideology into strategy***

If foundational terms provide purpose, operational terms deliver strategy. These include: i) Leadership, ii) Cadre, iii) Organization, iv) System, and v) Policy. These are the instruments of realization—the tools and practices that link principle to outcome. They answer the question: *How is change enacted?* In the network, these terms form high-density ties with *party, democracy, and people*, reflecting a strong emphasis on institutional and strategic preparedness.

For instance, *leadership* is consistently linked to *organization* and *principle*, suggesting that leadership in PMPD is not about charismatic dominance, but about ethical service and ideological stewardship. It is both practical and philosophical—requiring cadres to be organizers, educators, and moral exemplars.

The *cadre*, likewise, is not merely a party loyalist but an ideological organizer—someone who embodies, articulates, and activates the movement's core values. Cadres serve as transmission belts between theory and the people.

The term *system*, often associated with *multiparty, constitution, and people*, underscores PMPD's emphasis on institutional continuity. It reflects a deliberate rejection of revolutionary spontaneity in favor of long-term state-building, electoral participation, and constitutional legitimacy.

In this sense, operational terms serve as hinges between theory and practice, where revolutionary ideals are transformed into governance structures and legal instruments.

#### ***Aspirational terms: Projecting a transformative horizon***

PMPD's discourse also incorporates aspirational terms—concepts that articulate a vision of the desired future. These include: *Justice, Transformation, Equality, Dignity, Peace, and Prosperity*. These terms rarely occur in isolation. Instead, they appear as co-occurrences with both foundational and operational terms, suggesting a structure in which goals are consistently contextualized by ideological commitment and strategic method.

For instance, *transformation* often co-occurs with *revolution, system, and development*, indicating that PMPD's vision is not purely oppositional but constructive and forward-looking. *Justice*, similarly, appears alongside *people, constitution, and change*, signaling a conception of justice not as retribution, but as systemic redress—creating the conditions for equity, dignity, and inclusion.

Terms like *peace* and *prosperity*, traditionally framed as post-revolutionary outcomes, are reintegrated into PMPD's revolutionary vocabulary. Their proximity to *revolution* and *democracy* reflects PMPD's rejection of zero-sum binaries: peace is not the absence of struggle, but its ethical direction; prosperity is not a capitalist ideal, but a socialist mandate.

In this way, aspirational terms function as ideological compass points. They articulate a vision of the society to be built—one that is neither abstract nor utopian, but grounded in organized effort and systemic reform.

This semantic layering is not incidental—It reflects a disciplined political lexicon, carefully curated to strike a balance between coherence and flexibility. The filtered co-occurrence network reveals that vague or marginal terms were consciously excluded, both in Bhandari’s writings and in this analysis. Their absence is meaningful: what PMPD refuses to name (e.g., empty slogans, imported jargon, or overly technical terms) demonstrates its commitment to ideological clarity and public intelligibility.

This economy of language mirrors PMPD’s strategic ethos. Bhandari understood that language is not neutral—it constructs reality, organizes perception, and shapes political possibility. The decision to use *people* instead of *masses*, *democracy* instead of *dictatorship of the proletariat*, or *transformation* instead of *insurrection* signals a methodological reorientation of socialist discourse toward democratic, pluralist society.

Thus, semantic layering is more than rhetorical strategy; it constitutes a theory of revolutionary communication. It ensures that each word carries conceptual weight, connects across clusters, and contributes to the movement’s internal coherence and external resonance. PMPD’s co-occurrence network reveals how meaning is structured across layers of intention: foundational terms ground the project, operational terms enable its execution, and aspirational terms project its destination. Together, they form a revolutionary grammar—carefully crafted to make transformation both imaginable and achievable.

### **Dialogues with global socialist crises and local realities**

While the co-occurrence network reveals the internal architecture of PMPD, its true significance emerges in relation to two powerful historical forces: the global crisis of socialism after the Cold War and the localized demands of Nepali social transformation. PMPD is neither an abstract political theory nor a tactical compromise; it is a situated response to disillusionment with 20<sup>th</sup>-

century Marxist regimes and the insufficiencies of liberal democratic reform. It is a theory forged in dialectic—between collapse and construction, between ideological upheaval and practical necessity.

The global context in which PMPD arose is marked by the ideological and material disintegration of state socialism, especially in the USSR and Eastern Europe. As communist parties around the world fragmented or regressed into dogmatism, PMPD emerged as a bold attempt to preserve revolutionary ethos while rejecting authoritarian structures. Within this context, the co-occurrence of terms like *democracy*, *pluralism*, *constitution*, and *human rights* is telling. These were the very terms that many communist movements had previously dismissed as bourgeois illusions. PMPD reclaims them—not as concessions, but as new terrains for class struggle. In the filtered network, *democracy* is closely tied to *system* and *people*, indicating a model in which democratic institutions serve not as counterpoints to revolution, but as its contemporary infrastructure.

This strategic repositioning allows PMPD to retain ideological clarity while broadening its political relevance. The disintegration of orthodox socialism is acknowledged, internalized, and reimagined as a moment of renewal. PMPD is thus not a compromise but an innovation—a reconceptualization of Marxism as a dynamic methodology rather than a fixed doctrine.

Despite its global awareness, PMPD remains firmly rooted in Nepal’s socio-political landscape. The co-occurrence network frequently links *individuals*, *movements*, *villages*, and *systems* with *parties* and *democratic principles*. This reflects Bhandari’s insistence that revolution must emerge from local conditions, not be imposed through external frameworks. His engagement with local communities produced UML programs like “Let’s Develop Our Village Ourselves” and *Senior Citizen Allowances*. This philosophy captures PMPD’s conviction that socialism must be not

only nationally focused but also deeply embedded in local implementation.

Nepal's unique conditions—entrenched feudalism, caste hierarchies, rural underdevelopment, and ethnic diversity—demanded a model of socialism that could merge class struggle with democratic pluralism. PMPD's emphasis on *pluralism* and *system* speaks to Nepal's multiethnic, multilingual reality. Its notion of *unity* is not homogenizing but constructed through inclusion, debate, and institutional fairness.

Moreover, the term *peace*, often absent in classical Marxist discourse, is central in the PMPD network. Linked with *democracy* and *people*, it signals a redefinition of revolutionary ethics. In PMPD, peace is not deferred until after class victory—it is integral to the revolutionary process itself, essential for sustaining long-term transformation.

## Conclusion and Implications

The filtered co-occurrence network of PMPD not only reveals the frequency of political terms but also uncovers the ideological logic and strategic coherence of a political philosophy crafted for post-Cold War conditions. Through the relational proximity of key concepts—*party*, *people*, *democracy*, *revolution*, *system*, and *principle*—the network outlines a worldview that is radical in aspiration and democratic in method.

PMPD should not be understood merely as a party strategy or political experiment; it represents a theoretical innovation. Its co-occurrence network—characterized by conceptual discipline, semantic layering, and ideological richness—functions both as a reflection of its methodology and a foundation for its continued relevance.

PMPD introduces a transformative lexicon: a political vocabulary that fuses ideological clarity with institutional design and ethical purpose. The *party–people–democracy* triad is not just rhetorical—it serves as an epistemic engine, aligning leadership with participatory sovereignty. Core clusters—*Party–Revolution–*

*Leadership*, *Democracy–Multiparty–System–People*, and *Principle–Ideology–Unity*—serve distinct ideological functions: structuring power, institutionalizing struggle, and anchoring doctrine.

The semantic layering in PMPD—spanning categories like *ideology* and *class*, terms like *cadre*, *system*, and *leadership*, and aspirational concepts like *justice*, *peace*, and *transformation*—reveals a political grammar that turns crisis into coherence. This lexicon ensures that revolutions are not only emotionally resonant but strategically structured, discursively clear, and ethically grounded.

In contrast to the language of rupture in classical Marxism, PMPD employs a stratified vocabulary: *foundational terms* (e.g., ideology, revolution), *operational tools* (e.g., leadership, cadre, system), and *aspirational goals* (e.g., justice, transformation, peace). This hierarchy is not incidental—it constitutes a meticulously curated political grammar in which every term contributes to the articulation and realization of socialist transformation.

Unlike post-Marxist projects that gravitate toward depoliticized pluralism or technocratic reformism, PMPD maintains ideological firmness. Its synthesis of *revolution*, *principle*, and *unity* reflects a deep commitment to democratic socialist transformation. It avoids both the authoritarianism of traditional socialism and the atomism of neoliberal democracy, proposing instead a people-centered, historically grounded model of system-building Marxism. Drawing inspiration from Marx's key writings—*The Communist Manifesto* (1848), *The Eighteenth Brumaire* (1852), and *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (1875)—PMPD offers a revolutionary lexicon adapted to post-authoritarian, pluralist societies.

This lexicon has broader implications. In an era marked by ideological disorientation and the rise of authoritarian populism, PMPD offers an alternative: a methodology of revolutionary patience rooted in democratic pluralism, organizational rigor, and linguistic precision. It reminds us that political

language is not neutral; how we name our goals shapes both our political imagination and our capacity for action.

In this context, the co-occurrence network serves as a cartographic representation of PMPD's strategic discourse. In revolutionary theory, language is not peripheral—it is infrastructural. It builds the movements and institutions that define political realities. PMPD is not a static legacy but a living, evolving theory—shaped by struggle, sharpened by contradiction, and responsive to the imperatives of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

This analysis opens space for further inquiry into the viability of democratic socialist models. Future research might examine how PMPD's ideological structure and discursive design compare to analogous movements such as *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS) in Bolivia, the *United Socialist Party of Venezuela* (PSUV), or post-communist left parties in Eastern Europe and Africa's hybrid socialist-democratic projects.

In Nepal, comparative analysis could focus on the *Nepali Congress*, whose democratic socialist discourse often appears pragmatically diluted, or the *Maoist* movement, whose revolutionary language sharply contrasts with PMPD's pluralism. Applying co-occurrence analysis to their political lexicons could illuminate whether their ideologies exhibit coherent discursive architecture or internal contradictions. Expanding this research to multilingual corpora—especially Nepali and local dialects—would deepen the semantic mapping of Nepal's political imagination. Longitudinal analysis of leadership transitions and electoral cycles could further clarify how ideologies evolve. Ultimately, PMPD provides a replicable and transparent model for analyzing the mediation of language in revolutionary politics within post-conflict democracies.

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