



THE PROJECT LEFT MANIFESTO

Project Left घोषणापत्र

FIGHT AGAINST THE INHUMANITY

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PART 01

WHO WE ARE

A new political force for the people of Nepal.

WHO WE ARE

Project Left is a political organisation of the people of Nepal. Most of us are young. We grew up after the People's Movement of 2062–63. We were told that the republic, federalism and the new Constitution would change our lives. For most of us, they did not.

We are students and teachers. We are farmers and factory workers. We are unemployed graduates and small shopkeepers. We are the brothers, sisters, sons and daughters of those who had to go abroad to survive. We come from the mountains, the hills and the Tarai. We come from every province, every caste and ethnicity, every religion and every gender.

We did not come together because of one leader or one party. We came together because we share the same anger and the same hope. The anger is about a state that serves the powerful and forgets everyone else. The hope is that Nepal can be different, and that we can make it different ourselves.

Why we have formed Project Left

For decades, ordinary people in Nepal have risen up, won great victories and then watched those victories slip away. The same small group of leaders came back again and again. The promises written in the Constitution stayed on paper. Young people did the marching and sometimes the dying, but older leaders did the deciding.

We have formed Project Left so that this never happens again. We want an organisation that:

- **stays organised** after the protests end, instead of going home;
- **has clear principles** that anyone can read and check;
- **makes specific demands** with deadlines, not vague promises;
- **watches every government** and reports to the people on what it has and has not done;
- **behaves honestly and peacefully**, so that no one can use our name for violence or private gain.

Our five principles

Everything in this manifesto comes from five principles. They are the foundation of Project Left. Every demand we make can be traced back to at least one of them.

Principle	In one line
1. Inclusiveness	Nepal belongs equally to everyone, so everyone must have a real share of power.
2. Socialism	The wealth of Nepal must serve all its people, not a connected few.

Principle	In one line
3. Federalism and autonomy	Decisions should be made as close as possible to the people they affect.
4. Multiparty democracy	The people choose their leaders freely, and leaders must answer to the people.
5. Freedom of speech	Everyone may speak, organise, protest peacefully and know what the government is doing.

OUR SLOGAN: FIGHT AGAINST THE INHUMANITY

Our slogan is short, but every word matters. This is exactly what it means.

What we mean by "inhumanity"

By **inhumanity** we mean any system that treats people as if their lives do not matter. Inhumanity is not only a cruel act by one person. More often it is a system that keeps hurting people quietly, day after day, until everyone thinks it is normal.

Here are examples of the inhumanity we see in Nepal:

- A family sells its only land because it cannot pay a hospital bill.
- A young man leaves for the Gulf because there is no work at home, and comes back in a coffin.
- A school has no science teacher, while public money disappears into private pockets.
- A Dalit family is refused entry to a temple, a tap or a home.
- A woman is blamed, silenced or attacked, and no one is punished.
- A community loses its land, language and forests to decisions taken far away.
- The state shoots its own citizens for protesting, and no one is held responsible.

None of this is natural. None of it is fate. All of it is the result of decisions made by people with power. That means it can be changed.

What we mean by "fight"

When we say **fight**, we mean struggle. We mean organising, speaking the truth, protesting peacefully, voting, campaigning, and refusing to give up. We do **not** mean violence. We never attack people, homes, businesses or public property. Anyone who uses violence in our name is not one of us.

In Nepali

In Nepali our slogan is अमानवीयताविरुद्ध संघर्ष — a struggle against inhumanity.

HOW TO READ THIS MANIFESTO

This manifesto is written in plain language on purpose. Politics in Nepal is often hidden behind difficult words. We want every reader — a student, a farmer, a worker abroad, a grandmother — to understand exactly what we stand for.

The manifesto has ten parts:

- 1. Who we are** — this part.
- 2. The problems we face** — ten problems that shape the lives of young people and ordinary families.
- 3. Our five principles** — what each principle means, what we demand, and what it does not mean.
- 4. Our plan, area by area** — what our principles mean for jobs, schools, health, land, women, caste, Indigenous peoples, the environment and more.
- 5. Justice and a clean state** — our first demands, which cannot wait.
- 6. The road behind us** — the struggles we inherit and the lessons we have learnt.
- 7. How we behave** — the nine rules every member follows.
- 8. Answering our critics** — honest replies to the questions people ask us.
- 9. What you can do** — how to take part.
- 10. Words we use** — a simple explanation of every difficult word.

Where you see a word in **bold**, it usually has an exact meaning. You can find it in Part 10.



PART 02

THE PROBLEMS WE FACE

Ten problems that shape the lives of young people
and ordinary families.

THE PROBLEMS WE FACE

These are the problems young people and ordinary families live with every day. For each one we explain **what is happening, why it happens, who it hurts, and which of our principles answers it.** We name them clearly so that no government can say it did not know.

Problem 1: No work at home

What is happening. Every day, thousands of young Nepalis queue at manpower agencies and leave for the Gulf, Malaysia, India and beyond. Many villages now have few young men left. Some workers come back injured, cheated or in coffins.

Why it happens. Nepal's economy does not create enough decent jobs. Local industries have collapsed. Farming does not earn a fair living. Public investment often goes where it creates commissions for the powerful, not where it creates jobs for the people. The money that workers send home keeps the country running, so leaders have had little reason to change.

Who it hurts. Young people who must leave their families. Parents and children left behind. Women who carry the whole household alone. Workers abroad who face fraud, unsafe work and abuse.

Our answer. Principle 2, Socialism: work with dignity at home. See Part 4, "Work and the economy" and "Workers abroad".

Problem 2: Education that leads nowhere

What is happening. Many public schools have too few teachers, books or laboratories. Good private schools cost more than most families earn. Many students finish a degree and still cannot find a job. Universities are often closed or delayed by political fights.

Why it happens. Public schools have been neglected while private education has grown into a business. Universities are divided among political parties, so posts go to loyal people rather than able people. What students learn is often not linked to the work the country needs.

Who it hurts. Children of poor families, who get the weakest schools. Rural students, who must travel far or move to the city. Graduates, who spend years and money on degrees that lead nowhere.

Our answer. Principle 2, Socialism, and Principle 4, Multiparty democracy (free institutions from party control). See Part 4, "Education".

Problem 3: Healthcare people cannot afford

What is happening. Many health posts have no doctor and run out of medicines. Families travel for days to reach a hospital. Treatment costs push families into debt or force them to sell land.

Why it happens. Too little public money goes to health, and too much of what is spent is wasted or stolen. Private hospitals grow while public ones are left weak.

Who it hurts. Poor and rural families most of all. Women during pregnancy and childbirth. Older people and people with long-term illness. People injured at work or in protests.

Our answer. Principle 2, Socialism: free public healthcare. See Part 4, "Health".

Problem 4: Corruption everywhere

What is happening. People pay bribes for documents that should be free. Contracts go to friends and relatives of those in power. Corruption cases disappear, and officials who should be punished are promoted instead.

Why it happens. The people who should fight corruption are often appointed by those who benefit from it. The most harmful kind, **policy-level corruption**, is hardly covered by the law. This is when a decision is legal on paper but is made to benefit a few people — for example, changing a tax rule or a land rule to help one company.

Who it hurts. Everyone. Every rupee stolen is a rupee not spent on a school, a road or a hospital.

Our answer. Principle 4, Multiparty democracy (accountable leaders) and Principle 5, Freedom of speech (open government). See Part 5, "Clean the state".

Problem 5: The same old leaders, and no voice for the young

What is happening. The same handful of leaders have taken turns as Prime Minister for decades. Each time they promise change and each time little changes. Young people are welcome at rallies but not at the table where decisions are made.

Why it happens. Parties are run from the top. There are no limits on how long a person can hold power. Candidates are chosen by loyalty and money, not ability.

Who it hurts. Young people, whose future is decided without them. Honest members of political parties who never get a chance to lead. The whole country, which is stuck with old ideas.

Our answer. Principle 4, Multiparty democracy (term limits, clean parties) and Principle 1, Inclusiveness (a permanent youth voice).

Problem 6: Parties control everything

What is happening. Universities, the civil service, the police, the constitutional commissions and even the courts have been divided among political parties. Posts are handed out as rewards for loyalty.

Why it happens. Appointments are made by party leaders who bargain with each other. There are no strong, open rules that protect institutions from political control.

Who it hurts. Honest professionals without a party card. Citizens who need fair decisions from the courts, the police and public offices.

Our answer. Principle 4, Multiparty democracy (independent institutions). See Part 5, "Fix the civil service".

Problem 7: Protesters killed, and no one punished

What is happening. On Bhadra 23–25, 2082 (8–10 September 2025), young people across Nepal came out to demand that the state listen. The state answered with bullets. Many were killed and hundreds were injured. In the chaos that followed, criminal gangs and party cadres burnt and looted property.

Why it happens. In almost every movement in our history, the state has used force against its own people, and almost no one has been punished. Commissions are formed, reports are written and then hidden. This is called **impunity**.

Who it hurts. The families of those killed. The injured, many of whom still need treatment. Every citizen, because impunity tells the powerful that they can do anything.

Our answer. Principle 5, Freedom of speech (no force against peaceful protest). See Part 5, "Justice for Bhadra 23–25".

Problem 8: Many people shut out

What is happening. Women, Dalits, Indigenous nationalities (including Tharus), Madhesis, Muslims, people with extraordinary abilities, gender and sexual minorities, and people from poor and remote regions are still kept away from real power.

Why it happens. For most of our history, power has been held by a narrow group drawn from a few communities and a few places. The Constitution promises inclusion, but those in power have not let go.

Who it hurts. The communities who are excluded, and the nation as a whole. A state that leaves out large parts of its people can never be stable.

Our answer. Principle 1, Inclusiveness, and Principle 3, Federalism and autonomy.

Problem 9: Rights only on paper

What is happening. The Constitution promises the right to education, health, work, housing, food, social security and equality. For most Nepalis these rights exist only on paper.

Why it happens. Rights were written into the Constitution but never into the budget. No one is held responsible when a right is not delivered.

Who it hurts. The poor, the landless, the sick, the elderly and the unemployed — the very people the rights were written for.

Our answer. Principle 2, Socialism: basic needs are rights, and rights must be funded.

Problem 10: Attacks on free speech

What is happening. Governments that fear their citizens try to silence them. They block online platforms, arrest critics, threaten journalists and use force against peaceful protests.

Why it happens. Those in power want to avoid questions. Secrecy protects corruption.

Who it hurts. Young people most of all, because the online space is where we learn, work, organise and speak. Journalists. Anyone who dares to criticise the powerful.

Our answer. Principle 5, Freedom of speech.



PART 03

OUR FIVE PRINCIPLES

The foundation of everything we stand for.

OUR FIVE PRINCIPLES

Each principle is explained in the same way: **in one line, what it means, why it matters, what we demand, what it looks like in daily life, what it does not mean, questions people ask, and our own promise.** This way no one can twist our words.

PRINCIPLE 1: INCLUSIVENESS

Nepal belongs equally to everyone, so everyone must have a real share of power.

What it means

Every community should be represented in government, parliament, the civil service, the police, the army, the courts and every commission, **in proportion to its share of the population.** If a group makes up one-fifth of the people, it should hold about one-fifth of the seats.

The people in those seats must have **real authority** — the power to make decisions — not just a chair for the photograph. And they must answer to the communities they come from.

Why it matters

Nepal is a nation of more than a hundred castes and ethnicities, many languages, several religions and great regional differences. For most of our history, power was held by a narrow group. The movements of women, Dalits, Indigenous nationalities, Madhesis and Muslims won important promises in the Constitution. But the corridors of power are still narrow.

When people are shut out, they lose trust in the state. Lost trust leads to anger, and anger leads to instability. No government can be stable if large parts of the nation feel it was not made for them.

Who must be included

- Women
- Dalits
- Indigenous nationalities (Adivasi Janajati), including Tharus
- Madhesis
- Muslims
- Backward classes and minorities

- Marginalised communities
- People with extraordinary abilities
- Gender and sexual minorities
- Farmers and workers
- People from oppressed or backward regions
- Economically poor Khas Arya
- Young people up to the age of 35

What we demand

- 1. Full proportional representation.** Change the election system so that each group's share of seats in parliament matches its share of the population.
- 2. Inclusion in every appointed body.** Every cabinet, commission, task force and committee must reflect the people listed above.
- 3. A permanent youth voice.** Young people up to the age of 35 must sit on advisory committees to the Prime Minister and the cabinet, chosen openly by youth organisations themselves.
- 4. Inclusion in public jobs,** including senior posts in the civil service, police, army and courts — not only junior posts.
- 5. Public reporting.** Every public body must publish, each year, how many of its members and senior staff come from each group.
- 6. A national dialogue on inclusion,** open to every community, before any major change to the Constitution.

What it looks like in daily life

A Dalit woman from Karnali sits on the commission that decides how the next budget is spent. A young Tharu engineer leads the team that plans the roads in her district. A deaf student finds that his university has sign-language interpreters. A Muslim shopkeeper sees people like him in the provincial assembly. None of them is there as a decoration. Each has a real vote.

What it does not mean

- It does **not** mean token faces to fill a quota.
- It does **not** mean taking rights away from any group, including Khas Arya.
- It does **not** mean choosing people by identity alone. Ability and honesty still matter. Inclusion means ability is found in every community.

Questions people ask

"Won't inclusion lower standards?" No. Talent exists in every community. What lowers standards is choosing people by party loyalty and family connection — which is what happens now.

"Isn't this just dividing people by caste and ethnicity?" The division already exists. Inclusion is how we close it. A country is united when everyone feels it belongs to them.

Our own promise

Project Left's own committees will reflect Nepal's diversity. Where they do not, we will say so publicly and fix it.

PRINCIPLE 2: SOCIALISM

The wealth of Nepal must serve all its people, not a connected few.

What it means

Our Constitution already says Nepal is moving towards a socialism-oriented economy. For us, socialism is not a slogan borrowed from any party or foreign country. It is a practical promise with four parts:

- 1. Basic needs are rights.** Education, healthcare, housing, food and social security are guaranteed to everyone, not sold only to those who can pay.
- 2. Resources are shared fairly.** Land, water, forests, minerals and public money belong to the nation and must be shared fairly.
- 3. Work with dignity.** Every Nepali should be able to earn a decent living in Nepal, with fair wages, safe workplaces and the right to join a union.
- 4. No exploitation.** Poverty and exploitation are not natural. They are caused by policy, and policy can end them.

Why it matters

Political freedom means little to a family that cannot feed its children, treat its sick or keep its young people at home. Today, land sits idle or is held by speculators, local industries have collapsed, and public wealth is siphoned into private hands. This is not a free market. It is a rigged one.

What we demand

- 1. Free public education** from school to university, with enough trained teachers in every public school.

- 2. Free public healthcare**, with doctors and essential medicines at every health post and public hospital.
- 3. Jobs at home**, through public investment in farming, food processing, tourism, hydropower, technology, construction and care, and by reviving local industries.
- 4. Land for those who work it.** Carry out fair land reform and give secure homes to landless families, squatters and the urban poor.
- 5. Fair wages and safe work**, with the right to organise in unions and cooperatives.
- 6. Social security** for older people, people with extraordinary abilities, single women and those who cannot work.
- 7. Protection for migrant workers:** action against fraudulent recruiters, help when things go wrong abroad, and safe return home.
- 8. Return stolen public wealth.** Foundations and funds that parties built in their leaders' names with public land or money must be dissolved and returned to the nation.
- 9. A careful, honest state** that spends public money wisely and publishes every expense.

What it looks like in daily life

A farmer's daughter goes to a good public school and then to university without her parents taking a loan. A mother gives birth safely at her local health post, free of charge. A young welder finds a steady job at a factory in his own province, with a contract, a fair wage and a union. A landless family receives a secure title to the land they have farmed for generations.

What it does not mean

- It does **not** mean one-party rule. We are committed to multiparty democracy.
- It does **not** mean copying any foreign country.
- It does **not** mean taking away a family's home, its small plot of land or its small business.
- It does **not** mean the state running every shop. Small businesses and honest enterprise are welcome. What we oppose is monopoly, exploitation and corruption.

Questions people ask

"Will socialism scare away investment?" Investors fear corruption, instability and unpredictable rules far more than they fear a fair state. Healthy, educated workers and honest government are good for every honest business.

"How will we pay for free schools and hospitals?" By stopping theft, collecting taxes fairly from those who can pay, cutting waste and unnecessary spending, and spending the budget on time on what matters.

Our own promise

We will judge every government by what it does for the poorest Nepali. We judge budgets, not speeches.

PRINCIPLE 3: FEDERALISM AND AUTONOMY

Decisions should be made as close as possible to the people they affect.

What it means

Nepal has three levels of government:

- **Federal** — the national government in Kathmandu.
- **Provincial** — the seven provincial governments.
- **Local** — municipalities and rural municipalities, and the wards within them.

Federalism means each level has **real powers, real money and real responsibility**. Decisions about a village's school, road or health post should be made in that village, not in an office in Kathmandu.

Federalism also means **autonomous regions**. Where Indigenous nationalities (including Tharus) and other historically excluded communities live together in large numbers, they should be able to run their own affairs — their language, culture, land and local development — through autonomous regions inside the federal system. The Constitution of Nepal already allows special, protected and autonomous regions to be created. That promise has not been kept.

Why it matters

Federalism was won through long struggle by the Madhes, Indigenous and other movements, and by the People's Movement of 2062–63. It was meant to end centuries of rule from the centre. Yet provinces remain weak, and local governments are often short of money, staff and authority. Some now say federalism has failed. We disagree. **Federalism has not failed — it has not been allowed to succeed.** The answer is to complete it, not to reverse it.

What we demand

1. **Real power for provinces and local governments**, with clear duties and the staff to carry them out.
2. **Fair sharing of money**, so that resources follow responsibilities and poorer regions get what they need to catch up.
3. **Local control of local services**: schools, health posts, roads, water and farming support.

4. **Autonomous regions**, set up by federal law after open consultation with the communities concerned.
5. **Respect for local languages** in schools and local government, wherever communities ask for it.
6. **Fair representation** for people from oppressed and backward regions, so that where you are born no longer decides whether you have power.
7. **Accountability at every level**. Corruption must be investigated in federal, provincial and local government alike.

What it looks like in daily life

A ward office decides, with its residents, which road to repair first. A province runs its own hospitals with its own budget. In an autonomous region, children learn in their mother tongue in the early years, and the community decides how its forests are used.

What it does not mean

- It does **not** mean breaking Nepal apart. Autonomous regions are part of one united, federal Nepal.
- It does **not** mean one community ruling over another. Everyone living in an autonomous region keeps equal rights.
- It does **not** mean more offices and more spending for their own sake. It means power and money moving closer to people.

Questions people ask

"Isn't federalism too expensive?" Federalism is not expensive. Corruption and duplication are. The answer is clear powers and honest budgets, not taking power back to Kathmandu.

"Will autonomous regions divide the country?" No. People who feel respected and in control of their own lives are more loyal to the nation, not less.

Our own promise

We will organise in every province and every municipality, not only in Kathmandu. Our movement is national because it is local.

PRINCIPLE 4: MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY

The people choose their leaders freely, and leaders must answer to the people.

What it means

Power is won through free and fair elections. Anyone may form or join a party. The opposition is respected. Power changes hands peacefully. Parties are servants of the people, not owners of the state. They must be open about their money, democratic inside, and subject to the law like everyone else.

Why it matters

We rose against the failures of political parties, not against democracy. Our problem is not that Nepal has too much democracy, but that it has too little. A handful of ageing leaders have controlled the main parties for decades. Party finances are hidden. Candidates are chosen through patronage. Coalitions are made and broken for ministerial posts, not for the public good. **This is not democracy working. It is democracy captured.**

What we demand

1. **Term limits.** The Prime Minister, ministers and the head of state may serve no more than two terms of five years each.
2. **A directly elected head of state**, decided after a nationwide public discussion.
3. **An age range for parliament.** Study, based on evidence, whether members of the House of Representatives should be between 21 and 75 years old.
4. **Clean parties.** Every party must publish its income and spending each year and hold real, regular elections for its own leaders.
5. **Leaders declare their wealth.** All party leaders, ministers, former ministers, senior judges and senior officials must declare their assets and where they came from. The declarations must be checked and made public.
6. **Independent institutions.** Change how constitutional commissions and the Judicial Council are appointed, so that parties cannot control them.
7. **Full proportional representation** in elections (see Principle 1).

What it looks like in daily life

You can look up online how much money each party received and from whom. You can see what your minister owns and how it compares with last year. A Prime Minister leaves office after two terms, and a new generation of leaders steps forward. A judge is appointed for ability, not for loyalty.

What it does not mean

- We are against **bad parties**, not against democracy.
- We reject **one-party rule**, rule by a **strongman** or the **army**, and any **return to monarchy**.
- We do not ask anyone to leave their party. We ask every party to clean itself.

Questions people ask

"Aren't you just another party?" We are an organisation built on principles, with clear rules of behaviour. If our members enter elections, they will do so openly and will be held to the same standards we demand of others.

"Why limit terms? Experience matters." Experience matters, but decades of the same leaders have not saved Nepal. Term limits make room for new people and new ideas, and stop power from turning into ownership.

Our own promise

We will not become the thing we fought. Our members who enter politics will do so openly, under their own names, and will be held to the same standards we demand of others.

PRINCIPLE 5: FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Everyone has the right to speak, to organise, to protest peacefully and to know what the government is doing.

What it means

Freedom of speech includes the freedom to criticise those in power, to join together, to protest peacefully, and to receive information. **The right to speak and the right to know go together:** you cannot judge a government whose decisions are kept secret.

Why it matters

Our movement was born in conversation — on screens, in group chats, in classrooms and on the street. For young people, the online space is where we learn, work, organise and speak. Governments that fear their citizens try to silence them. Speech is the freedom from which every other freedom grows.

What we demand

- 1. No unfair bans.** No blocking of the press, peaceful gatherings or online platforms. Any rule must be lawful, necessary, proportionate and decided in the open.
- 2. No force against peaceful protest.** Find out why police have used unlawful force in every movement in our history, and change the law and the security forces so that it never happens again.
- 3. Open government.** Every government decision, action and expense must be published promptly online and through official channels.
- 4. A weekly press briefing,** where the government answers questions from journalists.

- 5. Protection for journalists** and for people who expose wrongdoing (whistle-blowers).
- 6. A safe complaints channel.** Citizens can report corruption directly to the CIAA, in confidence. Each complaint must be looked into within 30 days, with regular public updates.
- 7. Privacy.** The state must not spy on citizens' phones and messages without a court order.

What it looks like in daily life

A student posts a criticism of a minister and is not arrested. A journalist asks a hard question at the weekly briefing and gets an answer. A citizen looks up exactly how much was spent on the road outside her house, and who built it.

What it does not mean

- Free speech is **not** freedom to threaten, harass or spread hatred against people.
- It is **not** freedom to spread lies about a person or to share someone's private details to target them.
- We answer argument with argument, never with threats.

Questions people ask

"Isn't social media full of lies? Shouldn't it be controlled?" Lies should be answered with facts, and real crimes such as threats and fraud should be dealt with by law. But banning platforms punishes everyone to silence a few, and it always ends up being used against critics.

"Is social media real politics?" For our generation, the online space is a public square. A movement that changed a government in days is real politics. We will also be on the streets, in the wards and at the ballot box.

Our own promise

We will defend everyone's right to speak, including those who disagree with us.



PART 04

OUR PLAN, AREA BY AREA

What our principles mean for daily life.

OUR PLAN, AREA BY AREA

Principles are only useful if they change daily life. In this part we show what our five principles mean in ten areas. For each area we say **what is wrong**, **what we will do**, and **which principles guide us**.

These are the first steps of our programme. We will develop each area further with experts, workers and the communities affected, and publish every update.

1. WORK AND THE ECONOMY

What is wrong

Nepal does not create enough decent jobs. Young people leave because they must, not because they want to. Local industries have closed. Much of what we eat and use is imported. Public money is often spent on projects that create commissions rather than jobs.

What we will do

- 1. Make jobs the first test of every budget.** Every large public project must say how many jobs it will create, where, and for whom — and report whether it did.
- 2. Revive local industries,** starting with those that use Nepal's own resources: food processing, textiles, furniture, building materials and medicines.
- 3. Invest in sectors with a future:** hydropower, tourism, technology, creative industries, construction and care work.
- 4. Help small businesses start and grow:** simple registration, low-interest loans, and no bribes. Starting a business should be easy; being asked for a bribe should be impossible.
- 5. Public works programmes** in every province, paying fair wages to build roads, irrigation, schools and health posts.
- 6. Buy local.** Public offices should buy Nepali-made goods wherever quality and price are reasonable.
- 7. Cooperatives.** Support worker and farmer cooperatives with training, credit and fair rules, and punish those who misuse cooperative savings.

Which principles guide us

Socialism (work with dignity), Federalism (jobs in every province, not only Kathmandu), Inclusiveness (jobs for women, Dalits and excluded communities).

2. EDUCATION

What is wrong

Public schools are short of teachers, books and laboratories. Private schools are too expensive for most families. Universities are run as party territory. Many graduates cannot find work.

What we will do

1. **Free public education** from school to university, including books and exam fees.
2. **A trained teacher for every subject** in every public school, with fair pay and support for teachers who work in remote areas.
3. **Free universities from party control.** Appoint vice-chancellors, professors and staff through open competition based on merit. End party unions' control over appointments.
4. **Link learning to work.** Expand technical and vocational training in every province, designed together with employers and workers.
5. **Mother-tongue education** in the early years, where communities ask for it.
6. **Scholarships and hostels** for students from poor families, remote areas and excluded communities.
7. **A fixed academic calendar.** Exams and results on time, every year.
8. **Safe schools** for girls and for students with extraordinary abilities, with toilets, ramps and protection from harassment.

Which principles guide us

Socialism (education is a right), Inclusiveness (no child left behind), Multiparty democracy (institutions free from party capture), Federalism (local control of schools).

3. HEALTH

What is wrong

Health posts lack doctors and medicines. Families fall into debt because of hospital bills. Rural people travel for days for treatment. Mental health is ignored.

What we will do

1. **Free public healthcare** at every health post and public hospital, including essential medicines and tests.

- 2. A doctor and trained nurse** for every rural municipality, with extra pay and housing for those who serve in remote areas.
- 3. Safe motherhood:** free care before, during and after childbirth, and an emergency transport service in every district.
- 4. Mental health care** in public hospitals, and an end to the shame around asking for help.
- 5. Fair medicine prices,** with essential medicines available everywhere and strict action against fake or overpriced drugs.
- 6. Free treatment for the injured of Bhadra 23–25** and for the families of those killed, for as long as they need it.
- 7. Strong public hospitals.** Public money should strengthen public hospitals first.

Which principles guide us

Socialism (health is a right), Federalism (provinces and local governments run health services), Inclusiveness (care for women, the poor and remote communities).

4. LAND AND FARMING

What is wrong

Many families farm land they do not own. Some land sits idle in the hands of speculators. Farmers struggle to get seeds, fertiliser, irrigation and fair prices. Young people leave farming because it does not pay.

What we will do

- 1. Land reform.** Carry out fair land reform so that land belongs to those who work it. Set clear limits on how much land one family can hold, and distribute land above the limit fairly.
- 2. Secure homes** for landless families, squatters and the urban poor, with legal title.
- 3. Fair prices for farmers,** with a guaranteed minimum price for key crops and public storage so farmers are not forced to sell cheap.
- 4. Inputs on time:** seeds, fertiliser and irrigation available when farmers need them, without middlemen and black markets.
- 5. Modern farming support:** training, equipment shared through cooperatives, and farm extension workers in every ward.
- 6. Protect farmland** from careless building and speculation.
- 7. Young farmers' programme,** with land, credit and training for young people who want to farm.

Which principles guide us

Socialism (resources shared fairly, no exploitation), Federalism (local control of farming support), Inclusiveness (land rights for Dalits, landless families and women).

5. WORKERS ABROAD

What is wrong

Millions of Nepalis work abroad. Many are cheated by recruiters, pay huge fees, work in unsafe conditions and are abused. Some die and their families receive little help. The money they send home keeps Nepal running, yet the state does too little for them.

What we will do

1. **End recruitment fraud.** Close dishonest agencies, publish a list of licensed ones, and punish those who cheat workers.
2. **Real "free visa, free ticket".** Enforce rules so that workers do not pay illegal fees.
3. **Help abroad.** Strong embassies and labour attachés in every major destination, with a 24-hour helpline in Nepali.
4. **Insurance and compensation** for every worker, paid quickly to families when something goes wrong.
5. **Safe return and new work at home,** with training and small-business support for returning workers.
6. **Respect for women migrants,** with protection from abuse, not bans that push them into unsafe routes.
7. **The vote for Nepalis abroad,** so that those who carry our economy have a say in how it is run.

Which principles guide us

Socialism (no exploitation), Inclusiveness (a citizen abroad is still a citizen), Multiparty democracy (the right to vote).

6. WOMEN AND GENDER EQUALITY

What is wrong

Women carry much of the work of farms and households, often without pay or recognition. Many face violence at home and harassment in public. Women are still a small share of the leaders in parties, government and business. Gender and sexual minorities face discrimination and fear.

What we will do

1. **Equal pay** for equal work, enforced by law.
2. **Zero tolerance for violence against women.** Fast-track courts, safe houses in every district, and police trained to support survivors.
3. **Equal citizenship.** Mothers must be able to pass citizenship to their children on the same terms as fathers.
4. **Equal land and property rights**, in law and in practice.
5. **Women in leadership**, with proportional representation at every level, including the top posts.
6. **Childcare and maternity support** so that women can work and study.
7. **Equal rights for gender and sexual minorities**, including legal recognition, protection from discrimination, and safety.

Which principles guide us

Inclusiveness (equal share of power), Socialism (care work is real work), Freedom of speech (the right to live and speak without fear).

7. ENDING CASTE DISCRIMINATION

What is wrong

Caste discrimination is a crime in Nepal, yet Dalits still face "untouchability" in villages and cities — at water taps, temples, homes and marriages. Many Dalit families are landless and poor. Crimes against Dalits are often not punished.

What we will do

1. **Enforce the law against untouchability.** Every complaint must be registered and investigated, and officials who refuse to act must be punished.
2. **Land and housing for landless Dalit families.**
3. **Proportional representation of Dalits** in parliament, government, the civil service, the police and the army, including senior posts.
4. **Scholarships and jobs** for Dalit young people, and support for traditional skills and trades.
5. **Public campaigns** in schools and communities to end caste prejudice.
6. **Fast-track courts** for caste-based violence.

Which principles guide us

Inclusiveness (equal dignity and power), Socialism (land and resources shared fairly), Freedom of speech (the right to speak out without fear).

8. INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, MADHESIS AND AUTONOMY

What is wrong

Indigenous nationalities (including Tharus) have lost land, forests and rivers to decisions made far away. Many of their languages are disappearing. Madhesis have long been treated as less than equal citizens. The constitutional promise of special, protected and autonomous regions has not been kept.

What we will do

1. **Create autonomous regions** through federal law, after open consultation with the communities concerned.
2. **Free, prior and informed consent.** No large project may take Indigenous land or forests without the agreement of the community.
3. **Protect languages and culture**, with mother-tongue education and official use of local languages where communities ask.
4. **Return of community forests and land rights** that were unfairly taken.
5. **Equal citizenship for Madhesis**, with fair representation and an end to discrimination in public service.
6. **Recognise and remember** the struggles of the Madhes, Tharuhat and other Indigenous movements.

Which principles guide us

Federalism and autonomy (power close to the people), Inclusiveness (equal share of power), Socialism (fair sharing of resources).

9. ENVIRONMENT AND DISASTERS

What is wrong

Floods, landslides, earthquakes and melting glaciers threaten lives every year. The poorest people suffer most. Careless road-building and unregulated mining make disasters worse. Air pollution harms our cities.

What we will do

1. **Build safely.** Every road, bridge and building funded by the state must follow safety and environmental rules.
2. **Early warning** for floods and landslides in every vulnerable area.
3. **Fast, fair disaster relief**, with public accounts of every rupee spent.
4. **Stop illegal mining** of rivers and hills, and punish those who protect it.
5. **Clean air and water** in cities, with public transport and proper waste management.
6. **Climate justice.** Nepal did little to cause climate change. We will press richer countries to pay for the damage and support communities in the mountains and the Tarai.
7. **Forests for people**, managed by local communities.

Which principles guide us

Socialism (resources belong to all, including future generations), Federalism (local communities manage their own environment), Inclusiveness (protect the poorest first).

10. DIGITAL RIGHTS AND TECHNOLOGY

What is wrong

The online space is where young people learn, work and organise, yet internet access is still poor in many areas, platforms can be blocked, and personal data is not well protected.

What we will do

1. **Affordable internet for all**, reaching every school, health post and ward office.
2. **No arbitrary blocking** of platforms or the internet.
3. **A strong data-protection law**, so that personal information cannot be misused by companies or the state.
4. **Digital public services:** citizenship, passports, licences and land records available online, quickly, without middlemen and bribes.
5. **Support for technology jobs and start-ups**, including remote work for Nepali young people.
6. **Open data.** Government budgets, contracts and decisions published online in formats anyone can check.

Which principles guide us

Freedom of speech (the right to speak and to know), Socialism (equal access for all), Multiparty democracy (transparent, accountable government).



PART 05

JUSTICE AND A CLEAN STATE

Our first demands. They cannot wait.

JUSTICE AND A CLEAN STATE

Besides our five principles, two things cannot wait: **justice for those who were killed**, and **cleaning the state of corruption**. Without justice there is no trust. Without a clean state, no plan in this manifesto can work.

JUSTICE FOR BHADRA 23-25

On Bhadra 23–25, 2082 (8–10 September 2025), young people across Nepal came out peacefully to demand that the state listen. The state answered with bullets. We grieve every life lost. We honour every citizen who fell. We will not let their sacrifice be forgotten or wasted.

Justice must be **real** — the truth told, those responsible punished, the victims cared for and the dead remembered. It must also be **fair** — separating peaceful protesters from those who used the protests as cover for crime.

What we demand

- 1. Honour the dead.** Declare every citizen killed on Bhadra 23–25, 2082 a martyr.
- 2. Care for the victims.** Give immediate relief and free medical treatment to the injured and to the families of those killed, decided together with them.
- 3. Find the truth.** Form an independent and impartial commission with real powers to investigate the killings and other human rights violations. It must include legal, media and technology experts and young people as advisers, and publish its report within 90 days.
- 4. Separate protesters from criminals.** An independent body of human rights and justice experts, with young people represented, must separate peaceful protesters from the criminal gangs and party cadres who burnt and looted property, and recommend who should be prosecuted.
- 5. Punish those responsible.** Everyone who ordered or carried out unlawful killings must face the courts, whatever their rank or party.
- 6. Repair and remember.** Together with the victims' families, agree a policy for compensation and a public memorial, and carry it out.
- 7. Reform the police.** Study why police have used unlawful force in every movement in our history, make the report public, and change the law, training and rules so that it never happens again.

ENDING IMPUNITY

Impunity means that those who commit crimes, especially the powerful, are never punished. It has been part of every chapter of our history: during the Panchayat years, during the armed conflict, during the movements of the Madhes and Tharuhat, and on Bhadra 23–25.

What we demand

1. **Publish every report.** All past commission reports on killings, disappearances and abuses must be made public.
2. **No amnesty for serious crimes.** There must be no pardon for killings, torture, rape or enforced disappearance.
3. **Complete transitional justice** for the victims of the armed conflict, with truth, reparation and prosecution where the evidence requires it.
4. **Independent investigation of every death** caused by the police or security forces.

CLEAN THE STATE

Corruption is the root from which most of our problems grow. It steals the money that should build schools and hospitals. It fills public posts with party loyalists. It protects the guilty and punishes the honest.

The anti-corruption body itself must first be **cleaned**, then **empowered**, then **watched by citizens**. Those at the very top must be the first to show where their wealth came from.

What we demand

1. **Clean the anti-corruption body.** Hold public hearings for every commissioner of the Commission for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority (CIAA). Remove those who are not independent and appoint honest, capable replacements.
2. **Investigate everywhere.** The CIAA must investigate corruption and abuse of power in federal, provincial and local government, and in political parties.
3. **Citizens watch the watchdog.** A citizens' and youth task force must monitor the CIAA's work and publish its findings.
4. **Check the wealth of the powerful.** Within 90 days, the CIAA must examine the asset declarations — and the sources of wealth — of all party leaders in parliament, former federal and provincial ministers, the Speaker, the Chair of the National Assembly, Supreme Court judges, government secretaries and special-class officials, and their families. It must hold public hearings and prosecute where needed.

- 5. Close the loophole.** Change the law so that policy-level corruption can be punished.
- 6. A safe complaints channel.** Any citizen can report corruption directly and in confidence. Every complaint must be looked into within 30 days, with regular public updates.
- 7. Return stolen wealth.** Dissolve the foundations, funds and centres that parties ran in their leaders' names using public land, property or money, and return all their assets to the nation.

FIX THE CIVIL SERVICE

Ministers come and go, but the civil service runs the state every day. It is slow, politicised and a breeding ground for policy-level corruption. An effective, merit-based civil service is the machine that turns every other demand into reality.

What we demand

- 1. An expert task force,** including young people, to recommend how to make the civil service fast, fair and based on merit. Its report must be public and acted upon by parliament.
- 2. No party unions in the civil service.** Civil servants may join professional associations, but not party-affiliated unions.
- 3. Appointment and promotion by merit,** through open competition, with inclusion of every community.
- 4. Service deadlines.** Every public office must publish how long each service should take, and citizens must be able to complain when it takes longer.

DEADLINES WE WILL WATCH

A promise without a deadline is not a promise. These are the deadlines we will hold every government to.

Deadline	What must be done
Every week	Government press briefing
Every month	Publication of all cabinet decisions and spending
30 days	Start looking into each citizen's corruption complaint
90 days	Independent commission publishes its report on Bhadra 23–25
90 days	CIAA examines the asset declarations of senior leaders and officials

Every month, Project Left will publish a **Promise Tracker**: a simple list of which promises have been kept, which are late and which have been broken.



PART 06

THE ROAD BEHIND US

The struggles we inherit, and the lessons we have learnt.

THE ROAD BEHIND US

We are not the first generation of Nepalis to rise. Every freedom we enjoy was won by those who came before us, often at great cost. Every betrayal we suffer was learnt from what happened after their victories. We study both.

What earlier movements won

When	What happened	What it won
2007 BS (1951)	Revolution against Rana rule	Ended a century of family rule and opened the door to democracy
2046 BS (1990)	People's Movement	Ended the partyless Panchayat system and restored multiparty democracy
2052–63 BS (1996–2006)	Armed conflict and the People's Movement of 2062–63	Ended the monarchy; opened the way to a republic, secularism and a Constituent Assembly
2063–65 BS (2007–08)	Madhes movements	Recognition of federalism and of Madhesi identity and representation
Many decades	Women's, Dalit and Indigenous movements, including the Tharuhat movement	Constitutional promises of inclusion, proportional representation and protection from discrimination
2072 BS (2015)	Constitution of Nepal	A federal, democratic, secular republic with a long list of fundamental rights
2082 BS (2025)	Bhadra 23–25 uprising	Forced the old government out, at the cost of many young lives

We honour every one of these struggles. We stand on their shoulders.

What went wrong after each victory

Each movement was led in the streets by ordinary people. And each was settled at the negotiating table by a small group of leaders. Again and again, the same pattern repeated itself:

- 1. Victory was declared too early.** People went home once the old regime fell, before the new rules were written.

- 2. Old elites captured new institutions.** Those who had opposed change found ways to rebuild their power inside the new system.
- 3. Promises were written but not carried out.** Rights went into the Constitution but not into the budget.
- 4. Those who used violence were never punished.** Commissions were formed, reports were written and hidden, and impunity continued.
- 5. The young were thanked and then ignored.** Young people did the marching and the dying, and older leaders did the governing.

What we have learnt

We will not repeat these mistakes. That is why:

- **every demand in this manifesto has a deadline** or a clear test;
- **young people must sit inside** every commission and task force, not outside the door;
- **every report must be published**, not hidden;
- **we stay organised** long after any government changes;
- **we behave by clear rules**, so that no one can capture or misuse our movement.

We honour every movement that came before us by finishing the work they began.



PART 07

HOW WE BEHAVE

Nine rules every member follows.

HOW WE BEHAVE

An organisation that demands honesty from others must show it first. Every member of Project Left agrees to these nine rules. For each rule we explain **what it means in practice**.

1. Nonviolence

The rule. We act peacefully. We never attack people, homes, businesses or public property.

In practice. We carry no weapons, sticks or anything that can burn. If violence starts at an event, we stop and leave. If anyone uses violence in our name, we say publicly that they are not one of us.

2. Independence

The rule. We belong to no other party, no business and no foreign power. We accept no money whose source we cannot reveal.

In practice. We take no donations from political parties, business houses or foreign governments. Every contribution is recorded. A member who also belongs to a party must say so.

3. Openness

The rule. Our decisions and our accounts are open to our members.

In practice. Members can see how decisions were made and how money was spent. Anyone who speaks for Project Left does so with the organisation's approval and can be held to account.

4. Inclusion

The rule. Our committees reflect all of Nepal.

In practice. Every committee includes women and men, members of different castes and ethnicities, different regions, people with extraordinary abilities, and gender and sexual minorities. When it does not, we say so and fix it.

5. Respect

The rule. We disagree without hatred.

In practice. We never harass, threaten, insult or abuse anyone, online or offline, including our opponents. We criticise decisions and records, not a person's caste, religion, gender, body or family.

6. Truth

The rule. We share facts, not rumours.

In practice. Every number we publish has a source. We check before we share. When we make a mistake, we correct it publicly and say so clearly.

7. Remembrance

The rule. We honour the martyrs and the injured.

In practice. We never use their names, photographs or stories for anyone's private gain, and never without their families' consent.

8. Lawful means

The rule. We work through peaceful and lawful means, even as we campaign to change the law.

In practice. We seek the required permissions for public events. We use our rights under the Constitution: to speak, to organise and to protest peacefully.

9. Vigilance

The rule. We do not stop when governments change.

In practice. We watch, we report and we hold every promise to its deadline through our monthly Promise Tracker.

When a member breaks the rules

1. Anyone can report a breach, in confidence.
2. A small panel of members hears both sides within 14 days.
3. The outcome may be a warning, removal from a role, or the end of membership.
4. Violence, threats or misuse of the organisation's money lead to immediate suspension.



PART 08

ANSWERING OUR CRITICS

Honest replies to the questions people ask us.

ANSWERING OUR CRITICS

An organisation that cannot answer its critics does not deserve to be heard. These are the objections we hear most often, and our replies.

"You are too young and inexperienced."

We are not asking to run the country alone. We are asking for a seat at the table where decisions about our future are made. Experience has not saved Nepal from decades of misrule. The leaders with the most experience presided over the failures that drove us to the streets. We want balance: the knowledge of experts, the accountability of elected leaders and the voice of those who will live longest with the results.

"The protests caused destruction and chaos."

We grieve every life lost and every building burnt. We demand that organised attacks by criminal gangs and party cadres be separated from the acts of genuine protesters, and that those responsible be prosecuted. Peaceful protest is a right. Arson and looting are crimes. We ask that both be judged fairly.

"You have no famous leader. Who speaks for you?"

Our strength is that no single person owns this movement. We are built on principles, not on personalities. Those who speak for us do so openly within our organisation and are held to the rules in this manifesto.

"Your demands are unrealistic."

Every demand in this manifesto is within the power of the state. Publishing decisions costs almost nothing. Examining asset declarations is already the law. Spending the budget on time requires only honesty and planning. What has been missing is not ability but will. We are here to supply the will.

"Rejecting the old parties means rejecting democracy."

We reject no democratic principle. Multiparty democracy is one of our five principles. We demand the renewal of parties, not their abolition. What we oppose is the capture of parties by a few leaders, and the capture of the state by parties.

"Socialism will scare away investment and make Nepal poor."

Our socialism means free schools and hospitals, a fair share of public resources, dignified work and an end to corruption. These are the foundations of a healthy economy. Investors fear corruption, instability and unpredictable rules far more than they fear a fair state.

"Federalism is too expensive. Go back to a central state."

Federalism is not expensive. Corruption and duplication are. The answer is to make provinces and local governments work properly, with clear powers and honest budgets, not to take power back to Kathmandu.

"Autonomous regions will break up Nepal."

No. Autonomous regions are part of one federal Nepal, as the Constitution already allows. When people feel respected and in control of their own lives, they become more loyal to the nation, not less. Exclusion divides a country; respect unites it.

"Inclusion is just caste and ethnic politics."

Exclusion is what divided Nepal. Inclusion is the cure. We ask for fairness for every community, including poor Khas Arya, and we choose people for ability and honesty from every community.

"Social media is not real politics."

For our generation, the online space is a public square. It is where we learn, debate and organise. A movement that changed a government in days is real politics. We will also be on the streets, in the wards and at the ballot box.

"Why should we trust you more than the others?"

Do not trust us blindly. Judge us by our rules of behaviour, our published promises and our deeds. If we break our own rules, say so loudly. That is exactly what this manifesto asks of everyone in power.



PART 09

WHAT YOU CAN DO

A movement is only as strong as the people in it.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Everyone has a part to play. You do not need to be an expert or a leader. You need only to care, to learn and to act.

If you are a student

- Start a discussion circle on this manifesto in your school or campus.
- Demand that your university be free from party control and that exams and results come on time.
- Help younger students and classmates who are falling behind.

If you are a worker or professional

- **Lawyers** can support victims and help people understand their rights.
- **Journalists** can follow public spending and ask hard questions.
- **Engineers and coders** can build tools that track government promises and spending.
- **Doctors and nurses** can care for the injured and speak up for public health.
- **Teachers** can help people read and understand this manifesto.

If you are a farmer

- Organise in your cooperative for fair prices, land rights and timely seeds and fertiliser.
- Tell us what your community needs, so that our plan reflects real life.

If you work abroad

- Share your experience of recruitment fraud and exploitation, so that others are protected.
- Stay connected and support the movement at home.

If you are from a family of the martyrs or the injured

- Lead the work on justice, compensation and remembrance. Nothing about you should be decided without you.

If you belong to an excluded community

- Hold us, and every government, to the promise of inclusion.
- Claim your full share of every seat and every decision.

Every citizen can

1. **Read** what the government publishes, and ask why when it publishes nothing.

2. **Report** corruption through the safe complaints channel.
3. **Talk** to family and friends about these ideas.
4. **Check** facts before sharing anything online.
5. **Vote**, and judge every candidate against this manifesto.
6. **Join** Project Left and follow our nine rules.

OUR PLEDGE

Every member of Project Left makes this pledge.

I pledge to stand against inhumanity in every form. I will follow Project Left's five principles: Inclusiveness, Socialism, Federalism and autonomy, Multiparty democracy, and Freedom of speech. I will act peacefully, honestly and with respect for everyone, including those who disagree with me. I will never use violence, never spread lies, and never use this movement for private gain. I will stay vigilant until every promise made to the people of Nepal is kept.

In Nepali: म सबै प्रकारको अमानवीयताविरुद्ध उभिने प्रतिज्ञा गर्छु। म Project Left का पाँच सिद्धान्त — समावेशिता, समाजवाद, संघीयता र स्वायत्तता, बहुदलीय लोकतन्त्र र अभिव्यक्ति स्वतन्त्रता — पालना गर्नेछु। म शान्तिपूर्ण, इमानदार र सबैप्रति सम्मानपूर्वक काम गर्नेछु। म कहिल्यै हिंसा गर्ने छैन, झुटो फैलाउने छैन र यो आन्दोलनलाई निजी फाइदाका लागि प्रयोग गर्ने छैन।



PART 10

WORDS WE USE

A simple explanation of every difficult word.

WORDS WE USE

To keep things clear, this is exactly what we mean by these words.

Word	What we mean
Asset declaration	A public statement of everything a person owns and where it came from.
Autonomous region	An area inside federal Nepal where a historically excluded community runs its own language, culture, land and local development, with equal rights for everyone living there.
BS (Bikram Sambat)	Nepal's official calendar. 2082 BS is roughly 2025–26 in the Western calendar.
CIAA	Commission for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority, Nepal's main anti-corruption body.
Civil service	The permanent government staff who run public offices, whichever party is in power.
Constituent Assembly	An elected body whose job is to write a new constitution.
Constitution	The highest law of the country. Every other law must follow it.
Cooperative	A business owned and run together by its members, who share its profits.
Federalism	A system where power is shared between federal, provincial and local governments.
Free, prior and informed consent	A community's right to say yes or no to a project on its land, after being given full and honest information, before work begins.
Impunity	When people who commit crimes, especially those in power, are never punished.
Inclusiveness	Every community having a fair and real share of power.
Inhumanity	Any system that treats people as if their lives do not matter.
Martyr	A citizen killed while standing up for the people's rights.
Multiparty democracy	Free elections between many parties, with peaceful changes of power.

Word	What we mean
Policy-level corruption	Decisions that are legal on paper but are made to benefit a few people.
Proportional representation	An election system where each group's share of seats matches its share of the votes or population.
Promise Tracker	Project Left's monthly public list of which government promises are kept, late or broken.
Remittance	Money that workers abroad send home to their families.
Socialism	The nation's wealth serving all its people, with basic needs guaranteed as rights.
Term limit	The maximum number of times one person can hold the same office.
Transitional justice	The process of finding the truth, punishing serious crimes and repairing harm after a conflict.
Untouchability	The crime of treating a person as "impure" because of their caste.
Whistle-blower	A person who exposes wrongdoing inside an organisation.

OUR PROMISE

This manifesto belongs to the people of Nepal. It was paid for in lives, and it will not be bargained away.

To the martyrs and their families: your sacrifice will not be forgotten. We will not rest until those responsible face justice, your families are cared for, and your names are remembered in the history of the nation.

To those in power: you hold power on trust. Publish what you do. Include those who have been left out. Keep your promises on time. We are watching.

To the political parties: clean your houses, open your accounts and renew your leadership. Those who do will find us ready to work with them. Those who do not will find us in their way.

To every citizen, at home and abroad: organise, watch and speak. Join us in every province and every municipality. Democracy is not something the powerful give us. It is something we do, every day.

We were told we were too young to matter. We will build a Nepal that is inclusive, socialist in its care for the poorest, federal and close to its people, democratic in its contest of ideas, and free in its speech.



**Inclusiveness. Socialism. Federalism.
Multiparty democracy. Freedom of speech.**

This is our promise. This is our Nepal.

FIGHT AGAINST THE INHUMANITY

अमानवीयताविरुद्ध संघर्ष