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Causes of Social Movements and Maoist insurgency in Nepal

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Abstract

The Maoist seemed deceived by the failed promise of democracy, and felt powerless even though they were hardly a fringe political party represented in the national parliament. Then in February 1996, Maoist declared People's War, claiming that only a communist state could solve the country's various social and economic problems, giving birth to Maoist insurgency in the country. In this article, the issues such as the socio-economic reasons for the beginning of Maoist insurgency, the national and international structure in the contemporary period which helped for the advancing of war, and the reason for success of communist war which is slowly being extinct from the world after the cold war, are discussed. After the declaration of the Peoples War by the Maoist, Nepal became a country under siege with violence. Some see social inequality and exclusion of a large section of the population from the structures of political power and the sharing of resources by the traditional ruling elites as the underlying causes. Maoist insurgency reach to the climax due to different reasons. After the reclamation of popular government in Nepal in 2046 hilly regions Brahmins and Chhetri had domination on the administration whereas Dalits, Janajati, women and backward class, poor got excluded. Similarly, poverty and socio-economic inequality also aided for the maoist insurgency and Nepal's state mechanism also aided for the insurgency.

Keywords: Movement, discrimination, insurgency, participation, main stream politics, inclusion

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Introduction

Social movements are a type of group action. They are large informal groupings of individuals or organizations that focus on specific political or social issues. In other words, they carry out, resist or undo a social change. Social movement is one of the major forms of collective behavior. The term was first used by Saint-Simon in France at the turn of the eighteenth century, to characterize the movements of social protest that emerged there and later elsewhere, and was

applied to new political forces opposed to the status quo. Nowadays, it is used most commonly with reference to groups and organizations outside the mainstream of the political system (Rowbotham, 2013). Social movements are mostly informal networks of interaction, based on, shared beliefs and solidarity, mobilized around, contentious themes through, the frequent use of various forms of protest. Pro-democratic movement collected much strength in late 1989 and Late King Birendra accepted to the people's demands, establishing the multi-party democracy and constitutional monarchical system. After this, Nepal had a democratic constitutions and multi-party democratic system. People had expected that much development would follow democracy. A lot of works has focused on poverty and economic inequality and their contribution to the initiation and growth of the Maoist insurgency in Nepal (Lawoti, 2010).

Though along with the restoration of democracy some economic and social indicators seem to be better but this kind of development could not accumulate poor, *Dalits*, *Janajati*, backward class people, women etc in the mainstream. Because the democracy was centered at urban areas and for high class people, the poor and rural areas people could not enjoy the fruit of democracy. The Maoist seemed deceived by the failed promise of democracy, and felt powerless even though they were hardly a fringe political party represented in the national parliament. Then in February 1996, Maoist declared People's War, claiming that only a communist state could solve the country's various social and economic problems, giving birth to Maoist insurgency in the country. The Maoist controlled a large swath of territory within a decade of launching an insurgency. The armed conflict led to the death of more than 13,000 people, in addition to many other costs of civil war such as destruction, displacement and gross human rights abuses (Lawoti, 2010).

The Maoist insurgency should be looked up differently. It will be easily understood if it not defined and analyzed as class conflict as said by various people supporting war but with structural approach developed by Theda Skocpol. According to Skocpol to understand any revolt, insurgency, rebellion, revolution, it should be understood through the socio-economic conditions, state structure and international structure of the nation. (Skocpol, 1979).

In this article, the issues such as the socio-economic reasons for the beginning of Maoist insurgency, the national and international structure in the contemporary period which helped for the advancing of war, and the reason for success of communist war which is slowly being extinct from the world after the cold war, are discussed.

Structural approach of Theda Skocpol

In 1979, Theda Skocpol published *States and Social Revolutions*, which was immediately recognized as a landmark in the Theory of revolution. Before the development of Structural

approach concept by Theda Skocpol, Revolution was understood and defined by various concepts and viewpoints in which Aggregate-psychological theories of revolution, system\value-consensus theories, political conflict perspective are the major concepts. Skocpol has developed structural approach as a different concept than that of Marxist to understand any movement, war, insurgency or revolution because the revolution cannot be defined and analyzed with only the concepts as stated above. In her book Skocpol presents an argument about the causes of social revolutions in France, Russia and China. Social revolutions in France, Russia and China emerged from specifically political crises centered in the structures and situations of old-regime states. The events of 1787-9 in France, of the first half of 1917 in Russia and of 1911-16 in China not only undermined autocratic monarchical regimes but also disorganized centrally coordinated administrative and coercive controls over the potentially rebellious lower classes. The revolutionary crises developed when the old-regime states became unable to meet the challenges of evolving international situations.

Skocpol (1979) argued that revolution was not the impact of modernizing change within a country that disturbed political stability; rather, it was international military and economic competition from a neighboring state at a more advanced level of development would have no choice but to seek to increase its own resources by structuring its financial, military, and economic systems. Skocpol pointed out that if a state in this situation encountered resistance to reform from powerful elites in its own country, this conflict could trigger a political crisis and precipitate a revolution. Skocpol thus presented her theory as laying out three conditions in a country's social and political structures that were necessary and sufficient for a great social revolution: international pressure from a more advanced state or states; economic or political elites who had the power to resist state-led reforms and create a political crisis; and organizations (either village or party) that were capable of mobilizing peasants for popular uprisings against local authorities. Countries lacking one of these conditions might have less extensive or unsuccessful revolutionary events, but they could not undergo great social revolutions. The voluntaristic (rational choice) theories common in political science miss something important about the revolutions: Theories on revolutions fail to perceive the structural forces that create a revolutionary situation. To fill in this gap, existing social scientific theories of revolution are not adequate. So, social revolutions should be analyzed from a structural perspective with attention devoted to international contexts and to developments at home and abroad that affect the breakdown of the state organizations of old regimes and the buildup of new revolutionary state organizations.

An explanation of revolutions must be problematic, first the emergence of a revolutionary situation, holistically conceived, and second, the complex and unintended intermeshing of the various motivated actions of the differentially situated groups which take part in the revolution-an intermeshing that produces overall changes which never correspond to the original intentions of

any one group, no matter how “central” it may seem. One can begin to make sense of such complexity only by focusing simultaneously on the interrelated situations of groups within specified societal institutional fields. To take such an impersonal and non subjective view point – and one which emphasizes patterns of institutionalized relationships among persons, positions, and groups-is to work from what may in some generic sense he called a structural perspective on socio-historical reality (Aolain, Haynes, Cahn, & Fionnuala, 2011).

External conditions affect revolutions through influence on local conditions, institutions and actors. Military competition and war, intrusion from abroad, international support to rebels or the establishment side, and transnational economic conditions could create revolutionary political conditions by affecting economic development and administrative and military coherence or breakdown (Skocpol, 1979).

Thus, the insurgency, revolution, or movement in any country cannot be understood by studying this only through limited concept of class conflict. For this, as said by Skocpol, it is important to search the structural causes. In this article the Maoist insurgency has been tried to understand through the study of structural causes developed by Skocpol.

Causes of Maoist insurgency in Nepal

Conflict is a universal and permanently recurring phenomenon within society. H.L. Nieburg has argued that violence is a natural form of political behavior, that the threat of inflicting pain by restoring to violence will always be a useful means of political bargaining within domestic and international society; that the threat of resorting to force demonstrates the seriousness with which the dissatisfied party sets forth its demands against the satisfied, the establishment. Karl Marx is known for his assertion that conflict arise inevitably out of socio-economic change (Thapa, 2005).

In a society such as Nepal, in transition from traditional to modern, active monarchy to democracy, the causes of conflict are many. After the declaration of the Peoples War by the Maoist, Nepal became a country under siege with violence. Some see social inequality and exclusion of a large section of the population from the structures of political power and the sharing of resources by the traditional ruling elites as the underlying causes. There have been a lot of similar debates put forward as to gauge the root cause of Maoist Insurgency in Nepal (Riaz, & Basu, 2007).

There is however widespread consensus as to the root causes of the conflict in Nepal. The main grievances, all closely related to each other include inequitable socio-economic and political access, bad governance/corruption and poverty and inequality. These issues are used by the

Maoists to justify their challenges to the legitimacy of the government, and all contribute to motivate certain sectors of the population to join or at least support their movement and their cause (Kievelitz, & Polzer, 2002). The new political order set up after 1990 failed to include all sections of Nepali society, and the nationalities and Dalits remained- and they felt they were outside both mainstream politics and the reach of development programs. Traditional regional disparities continued and far flung areas like districts of Karnali zone remained under-represented in politics, planning and the development processes. Meantime, the gap between the people in the villages and cities and between the rich and the poor continued to expand. Nepal in the 1990s experienced relative prosperity in the urban areas, but the redistribution of wealth and opportunities remained distorted, resulting in increased unemployment (Robins, 2012).

The objective structure of Nepal also aided for the Maoist insurgency. The large population of Nepal got excluded from the mainstream of nation when the restored democracy in 1990 could not become inclusive. The state mechanism got weakened day by day due to corruption. The historic apathy continued in the 1990s because of continuation of extractive policy and absence of substantive reforms. The centralization of power in Kathmandu and within the executive at the center rendered the parliament and other agencies of the state ineffective.

Similarly, searching the reasons for the Maoist insurgency in Nepal, we find the equal role of International structure in which India which bounds Nepal in three sides geographically with open border. Similarly, the role of international revolutionary organization, RIM has also been shown. In this part mainly the role of socio-economic condition of Nepal, the national and international structure for the commencement of Maoist insurgency have been described.

Role of socio-economic condition

The socio-economic conditions of state are the most important factors of revolution internal economic order and population growth facilitated a huge expansion of production that kept everyone from recognizing need for structural change (Skocpol 1979). Skocpol argues that the peasants provide the dynamite to bring down the old building urban worker revolts did make some difference in the Revolutions, especially French and Russian by helping to shape conflicts. Similarly, she added peasant revolts of the French, Russian and Chinese revolutions were effective and unique because they become at once widespread; they were directed particularly against landlords and thereby created decisive constraints at the societal level on the range of sociopolitical options available to elites contending for national power.

Skocpol finds such influence in structural and situational conditions that affect; the degrees and kinds of solidarity of peasant communities, the degrees of peasant autonomy from direct day-

to-day supervision and control by landlords and their agents and the relaxation of state coercive sanctions against peasant revolts. He has shown that a crisis in the French economy precipitated popular uprisings at the end of the old regime. In particular, in 1788, the grain harvest failed, with usual consequences on incomes, unemployment and purchasing power. French urban and rural poor had an established formula for bread riots, which they implemented in 1789, but then they went further and attacked seigneurial system too. Nepal also had the socio-economic condition as given by Skocpol which are stated as follows.

Poverty and economic inequality

Poverty and inequality, and how they are perceived- relative deprivation or the gap between expected and achieved well-being-can increase alienation and push groups towards violent conflict (Gurr 1968). A lot of work has focused on poverty and economic inequality and their contribution to the initiation and growth of Maoist insurgency in Nepal.

Economic indicators, showed improvement during the 1990s. Infrastructure and service sector also expanded more rapidly in the 1990s. The total road length increased from 7,036 km in 1989/90 to 15,308 km in 1999/2000. The primary, lower secondary and secondary schools increased by 45, 83 and 122 percent in a decade. Private education expanded in primary, secondary, university, vocational and technical education (Mahat, 2005). However, if we look closely at those data we found many inequalities and discriminations.

First, in many parts of the country, especially in the hills and mountains, poverty affected a large proportion of the population. Poverty intensified and expanded owing to an increase in population and decrease in land productivity in the 1990s: “unlike in previous generations, it is no longer possible, for a significant proportion of the poor, to cultivate new public land and ameliorate poverty at the household level... the size of intergenerational transfer of agricultural land has become progressively smaller” (Mishra, 2004).

Second, the absolute number of poor increased in Nepal. Government statistics show around 40 percent of the people as poor-people unable to access basic human needs, including a minimum defined basket of food. Even though this proportion remained constant in the decades from the 1970s to the 1990s, the absolute number of poor increased in huge numbers. For example, between 1977 and 1996 “the absolute number of absolutely poor persons nearly doubled” (Mishra, 2004).

Third, expansion of infrastructure and services benefited more people than before; but with an increase in the absolute number of people owing to a population boom, access to benefits of

development and services may have continued to elude large segments of the population. Many of the development projects, infrastructure and services such as expansion of banking and air transportation benefited the better-off section of society living in and around urban (Lawoti, 2010).

The stagnation was due to the government policy of import substitution industrialization- the government invested in industrialization in urban areas at the cost of peasants and rural areas. Sharma (2006) argues that agriculture, the major source of employment and income for 80 percent of the people, “has not received more than 26 percent of development expenditure in any development plan since the mid 1950s, Nepal which had the highest agriculture yield in South Asia in the early 1960s fell significantly behind other countries by early 1990s.

Land ownership patterns are also contributed to poverty and inequality. Land and Land-based resources such as forests and water are very valuable in an agricultural society like Nepal and their unequal distribution has contributed to conflicts (Uperti 2004). While investigating various reasons for the increasing Maoist insurgency in Nepal CPNUML has showed some reasons such as unemployment problem, poverty and backwardness, managerial domination, lack of vision in governance, regional imbalance etc. Similarly, inability of giving attention towards solving unemployment problem, and political parties being more and more facility oriented were some reasons shown by the party for increasing war. In the same way, Nepal Congress has also quoted some reasons for the increment of Maoist insurgency in which the inability of government for management of youths who are suffered from the problem of unemployment and earning their living have been stated..

Socio-cultural inequality

Nepal not only faced class inequality, but extreme socio-cultural inequality also existed among numerous linguistic, ethnic, religious, caste and regional groups. The caste hill Hindu monopolized the political, economic, social and cultural power. Bahun, Chhetri, Newar and Tarai ‘high caste’ have better access to material resources while Dalit, indigenous nationalities, mid-level Madhesi caste and Muslims are worse off (Lawoti 2010). Bahun and Chhetri are among the effective executive head in Nepal. Neaupane (2000) found that hill Hindu elites dominated 12 influential sectors in 1999: the executive, judiciary, Constitutional Councils, civil administration, parliament, political party leadership, local government heads, and leaderships of industrial and commercial, academic, professional, cultural, science and technology, and civil society associations.

Similarly, this political, social and economic domination, the marginalized groups face cultural discrimination, perhaps the most important feature because it was the foundation of

discrimination in other realms (Lawati 2010). The state was declared Hindu, discriminating against other indigenous and non-indigenous religions. Khas-Nepali enjoyed special privileges compared to other native languages. Citizenship discrimination occurred based on racial markers. The government-formed Citizenship Commission stated that in the 1990s more than 3 million adult Nepalese, mostly Madhesi but Dalit and indigenous nationalities as well, were denied citizenship (Upadhaya 2052). Cultural imperialism or the imposition of the dominant group's language, religion and values on the rest of the society was a consequence as well as cause of ethnic domination (Lawoti 2010). Particularly, in some of the districts of Mid-Western Development Region, the reason for the increment of conflict is due to the attack on *Magas* in the name of terrorists. (CPN-UML, 2054)

The State Structure of Nepal and Maoist insurgency

A Fertile environment and committed insurgents are important and necessary conditions but not sufficient for the success of rebellions. Rebellions are launched against a state and their success and failure are dependent to a considerable extent of the capability, coherence and responsiveness of the state (Skocpol 1979). An effective state can improve societal conditions so that insurgency-favorable conditions no longer remain, or are lessened. Capable states can also successfully repress rebellions. Skocpol (1979) argues that narrow, incompetent and corrupt regimes are vulnerable to revolutionary takeover: "Revolutionary coalitions have formed and expanded in countries in which one finds political exclusion and severe and indiscriminate repression."

With the restoration of democracy in 1990 and universal adult franchise, the Nepali state appeared to have become more inclusive than before. Extremist communist groups like CPN-United Center (foundation of the Maoists), in fact, participated in elections in the early 1990s before launching the insurgency. The question is why did the Maoists abandon the electoral path and what was the role of the state in the growth of the rebellion? While searching answers to these types of question, we find the important role of contemporary national structure. With the restoration of democracy, the inability of inclusive development in various state structures and the large population being excluded are important. The inability of bringing the theory of social justice into practice and the contemporary protestors Nepali Congress, CPNUML, and civil society being passive immediately after their certain demands being fulfilled are some reasons for big population not being able to enjoy the fruit of democracy. As a result, the situation came for continuing the war. The situations of state structure are stated below:

Exclusionary democracy

Nepal had the formal trappings of a democracy, such as regular elections and parliament; but Nepal's state institutions and democracy were exclusionary. The winner-take-all majoritarian democracy Nepal adopted in 1990 alienated ideological and cultural minorities through denial of political space in governance. It was instrumental in pushing a party that participated in the 1991 general and 1992 local elections to an insurgency (Lawoti, 2005). The state structure and political culture gave little role to the opposition in governance, while the ruling party often abused the state machinery and resources to undermine and harass opposition parties. The first past the post electoral method and the unitary state system facilitated the concentration of power in a narrow majority. The parliamentary committee system was weak, because of which opposition had no significant role in making legislations and holding the government accountable. As a result the non-ruling political party actors, including the Maoists, felt excluded from the governance processes (Lawoti, 2007).

The Maoists raised issues with different governments in the early 1990s and called many strikes to attract the attention of the government. The 40 point demands submitted to the Sher Bahadur Deuba government before launching the insurgency was the final list they expanded the demands over the years as they petitioned successive governments. The various governments from 1991 to 1996 were not responsive to these demands. Skocpol (1979) write: 'As state increases repression, more people will mobilize around the rebel cause to avoid the abuse at the hands of the state', especially if they are suspected by the state of being rebel sympathizers.

The highly majority and centralized democracy excluded more than two thirds of the marginalized Dalit, indigenous nationalities and Madhesi from governance. A state that is weak owing the exclusion can endure in there are no challenges, but if a challenge emerges it could dismantle rapidly, especially if the rebel forces mobilize the excluded people. The continued exclusion in the post-1990 open polity, however, meant that the Maoists had opportunities to exploit the situation, which they did rather effectively. The increase in awareness of inequality, exclusion and discrimination among the marginalized groups on the other hand, made the Maoist task easier (Lawoti, 2010).

Weak state

The Nepali state was very weak due several problems. It was not effectively penetrated the country side and hence did not reach a vast segment of population. The health sector and physical infrastructure provide some examples of shortages of services: in the mid-1990s, 11 out of 75 districts did not have public hospital; there was one doctor for nearly 14,000 people in 1993/94

and only 754 health posts and 117 primary health centers were operating by 1997 (NESAC, 1998). Kahtmandu's Human Development Index (HDI) 0.6 while 21 rural districts' HDI ranged between 0.2 to 0.3 and another three districts had lower than 0.2 (Ibid). As the state had not done much for the people, a large segment of the population demonstrated ambivalence towards the state when the Maoists emerged to challenge it.

Power abuse, corruption and a culture of impunity became widespread and administration was politicized for partisan purposes. Absence of effective accountability mechanism further fuelled power abuse and corruption. The crises increased dissatisfaction among common citizens. As the political parties, especially the ruling parties abused state power and administration to influence electoral outcomes, elections in particular and democracy in general began to lose legitimacy, the more so because the open polity allowed and articulation of dissatisfaction (Lawati, 2007). The Local governments were weak despite the 1999 decentralization was not empowered with fiscal and political authority. Likewise, the police and civil administration was still controlled by the central government. The weak local governments also could not provide services or protect the people.

The Maoist rebellion grew rapidly owing to the irresponsible response of the state. When the Maoists began attacking rural police posts and government offices, the state agencies were withdrawn to district centers and other safe areas. For example between 2052 and the 2063, 1,271 police units out of nearly two thousand total units (around 65 percent) were removed from rural areas and merged with units in secure towns and district headquarters (Lawoti, 2010).

When the movement oriented political groups and the panchayat era turned themselves into political parties, they failed to build their institutions in democratic manner. While almost all of them mouthed democratic slogans, none built mechanisms through which the small illegalities of party leaders, ideologues and members could be disciplined through transparent, credible but decisive sets of intra-party rules and procedures. Some political misdemeanors were allowed to occur with impunity in each of the big parties-Nepali Congress (NC), Communist Party of Nepal -United Marxist Leninist (CPN-UML), and Rastriya Prajatantra Party (RPP)- were personal aggrandizement, often indulged in moral posturing, they too failed to come up with effective laws to tame excesses of ruling party. The CPN-UML, which led the opposition for most of the period, was unable to create a social environment in which the laws that would govern party finance-said to be the single most important source of political corruption in Nepal could be passed. This kind of deceit on the part of the political parties contributed directly to a widespread disenchantment with the multi-party democratic set-up, and facilitated the political arrival and growth of the Maoist. The fact is that Nepal has suffered for the post democratic time form corrupt, visionless

leadership and rudderless and arbitrary state control, which has contributed in countless ways to the longevity of the Maoist insurgency.

International Structure and Maoist insurgency in Nepal.

External conditions affect revolutions through influence on local conditions, institutions and actors. Military competition and war, intrusion from abroad, international support to rebels or the establishment side, and transnational economic conditions could create revolutionary political conditions by affecting economic development; and administrative and military coherence or breakdown (Skocpol 1979). Scholars have found in other contexts that “historically developing transnational economic relations have always strongly influenced national economic development (Skocpol, 1979).

The Maoists themselves have pointed to international factors as structural causes of the rebellion in Nepal. They have alleged that “capitalist imperialism” and “Indian expansionism” have caused underdevelopment in Nepal characterized by “semi-colonialism” and “semi-feudalism” (Bhattarai, 2003). Dr. Bhattarai, about the international structural reason of Maoist Insurgency, writes:

Historically British India made Nepal its semi-colony through Sugauli Treaty in 1816. From this, the way of self dependency and sovereignty closed and dependency started...particularly, at present, through the treaty of 1950, the semi-colony of Indian Bistarbaad, industrial, commercial and monetary monopoly of India persists in Nepal. There is no doubt on the negative and fatal effects of Indian Bistarbaad on development of Nepal's internal class relation, socio-economic relation and on gist the development of national capitalism continuously since 180 years...the only aim of Maoist insurgency is to develop new kind of national capitalism (Bhattarai, 2054).

Other parliamentarian parties also have stated that Maoist insurgency in Nepal has commenced due to international communist organizations. The contemporary spokes person of Nepali Congress Narahari Acharya writes:

When the Revolutionary International Movement (RIM) presented the disagreement on the involvement of the legal forum of CPN unity centre, Samyukta Janamorcha Nepal in the constitutional and local elections, Prachanda panel of unity centre not only changed its policy but also changed party's name to CPN Maoist according to the decision of RIM in the year 2051 B.S. From the activities of Maoists after this, it can be seen that Maoist extended its relation not only with RIM but also with Indian Maoist Organizations such as

Peoples' War Group, Maoist Communist Centre, Indian Communist Party Maoist etc (Acharya, 2057).

Similar to Nepali Congress, CPN-UML has also stated that the Maoist insurgency had commenced due to the international communist organizations.

...after the contact with LITTE and the member of RIM, Shining Path of Peru, RCP of America, MCC and PWG of India, PBSP of Bangladesh, Maoist got foreign inspirations for persistence of Maoists insurgency (CPNUML, 2054).

The Maoist have also linked themselves to the Maoists of India as well as other Maoist groups in South Asia and elsewhere (under the Revolutionary International Movement RIM), many in the Indian security establishment perceived them as a direct security challenge to the stability of India and the whole South Asian region. The intelligence establishment in India, particularly the Intelligence Bureau (IB), has been ideologically structured to face the challenge of communists in general and leftist extremists in particular ever since the British days (Muni, 2012).

The Maoist insurgency commenced and reached to climax due to this kind of international structures and situations. Besides, there are some other international structures which aided for this. The global economy has affected the insurgency indirectly through remittance economy, which is a large contributor to the income of many Nepali households, particularly outside of Kathmandu. The Maoists tapped into remittance earnings in a significant way. The majority of those who go abroad for work are from villages and the Maoists taxed people who returned for holidays as well as when they sent money home to their families (Lawoti, 2010).

India, the main arms and ammunition supplier to the RNA, conducted a volte-face and facilitated the understanding between the parliamentary parties and Maoists. This new development resulted in the successful mass movement of April 2006 that forced the royal regime into capitulation and facilitated the Maoists' ascension to state power.

Conclusion

Maoist insurgency reach to the climax due to different reasons. After the reclamation of popular government in Nepal in 2046 hilly regions Brahmins and Chhetri had domination on the administration whereas Dalits, Janajati, women and backward class, poor got excluded. Similarly, poverty and socio-economic inequality also aided for the maoist insurgency. Similarly, Nepal's state mechanism also aided for the insurgency. Nepal's state organization, mechanism and structures and the restored democracy 2046 excluded a large population. The rural area of Nepal

got backward on the development process due to centralization of development activities and services. Due to the insurgency the Police Posts got limited on District Headquarters which gave Maoists the wider areas for movement and other activities. Similarly, another important aspect is the international structure. While studying the 40 points demands presented by Maoists during its insurgency, one third of the demands of the maoist includes the Indian expansion policy and semi-colonial control. As said by the CPN Maoist leader Dr. Baburam Bhattarai, the sentiments of nationalism went on growing but no parties could address on this and thus the Nepalese people expected for the new kind of power to govern the country. Besides, it can be understood that the relation with international communist organizations also aided for the commencement of maoist insurgency. The foreign power, especially India aided for the maoist active ties and thus the insurgency reached to its target in the short time.

These types of structural reasons helped for Maoist insurgency in Nepal to massive expansion. Ignoring to the demand of republican system started by some communist parties, in 2046 B.S., the democracy supporters stopped their movement by bringing multiparty democracy and constitutional monarchy. In 2063 B.S. Maoists also entered to the mainstream politics after the comprehensive peace accord which was signed between Nepal government and Maoist on 5th Mangshir 2063. With the constitutional election and announcement of republican system, the major demands of the Maoists have been addressed. The leaders and activists have got their seat in the mainstream of the nation. In the recent time, another group has been feeling being excluded because even after the longtime of announcement of republican system, the nation mechanism has been ignoring to the livelihood issues. If this situation persists in Nepal, commencement of another war is not impossible.

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