
Understanding of the Maoist Movement (1996-2006): The Large-scale and long-run Perspective

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Abstract

In 2006AD there was a massive changes; millions of people took to the streets calling for democracy and freedom. The 2006 Maoist movement is a one of the biggest movements in Nepal as known as a kind of revolution. It's known as political achievement against the direct power of king Gyanendra Shah who had an absolute power to control or rule for all people of Nepal. There have been various causes of that movement. There was hierarchy relationship of lower class and upper class, oppressed groups, peasant, state structure, bureaucracy and others. The Maoist movement of Nepal has been a product of its socio-economic and political context. This paper tries to analysis and explores the Maoist movement through the large-scale and long run perspective. According to this perspective, there was various causes changed in both state institutions and social structures and its outcomes are still showing respectively, many outcomes have to be come. Past conflicts and institutional structures have long term effects and are of critical importance for later development and have large scale impact in structure. Large scale history defines its scope on major structures or international factors, defines the outcomes to be studied in larger terms; and the causes for these outcomes are determined by large structures, international ideology, psychology and others.

Key Words: *Insurgent, Effort, Democracy, Long time, enormous gage, History*

Introduction

According to Karl Marx, the primary source of revolutionary contradiction is the appearance of disconnect between the method of production between social forces and social relations of production (Skocpol 1995). In the context of rising Maoist, there were seen huge gap between haves and have not. The roots of European capitalism start to grow in Nepal too. On the other hand, the Maoist leaders direct influenced by FRC revolution. Even after re-inauguration of democracy, all the people are not able to get the equal behavior form the nation. The problems of backward people were as usual. Development do not gets its path even on multi-party democracy and political parties surrounds on the positions. Internal Dissatisfaction started within the member of party. Internal political allotment, power show, corruption, irregularities, relative focused helps to raise dissatisfaction to the public. Therefore, revolutions occur due to the class action that is led by a rising revolutionary class, who tend to gain the support of others. Maoist movement is carried out by purposive action by class-based revolts from below.

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Many social processes take a long time-sometimes an extremely long time-to unfold (Pierson 2003). Social change is happening in all society, place and time. There are different types of changes in different society. When there is a change through different phenomenon like movement, riot, revolution, insurgency, rebellion... it appears in the society and it has existing every society. In consequences of that brings changes in society, some phenomena changed structure some changes only some systems of society. Skocpol (1995) analysis of the causes and outcomes of social revolutions, she adapted certain ideas from the Marxist and Political-conflict perspectives. In her view, an indispensable theoretical tool for identifying one sort of basic contradiction in society, class relations are always a potential source of patterned social and political conflict, and class conflict and changes in class relations actually do figure prominently in successful social revolutionary transformations. In depth study of France, Russia and China specially analyzed class relations between peasants and landlords. In these revolutions, peasants did directly strike out at the class privileges of landlords, and these class conflicts in the countryside contributed both directly and indirectly to the overall sociopolitical transformations accomplished by the Revolutions. The literature on revolution ignores the importance of politics in explaining social revolution (Skocpol, 1979). She forcefully contends that the state must be considered a central factor as the cause of revolution. Relying on comparative case studies of the French Revolution of 1789, Russian Revolution of 1917, and Chinese Revolution of 1911-1949 (and four other contrasting cases), she argues that the structural position and power of the state internationally, the nature of the state's relationship with the dominant classes, and class struggle among groups in society play major roles in bringing about social revolutions. International competition (both political and economic), war defeats, fiscal problems, independence of landlord's power or lack thereof, and autonomous peasant uprising are key in creating revolutionary situations.

In Nepal, the peasants have passed various forms of struggle both locally and countrywide for a long time. There is common attraction towards the Communists among these people. The base of the Nepalese communist parties had peasants. Our society has been marked of poverty and inequality, extreme social exclusion, gender, caste, ethnic based discrimination. On the other hand, there is unequal distribution of the resources of production, political and administrative corruption that shows bad governance. In that situation, the state could not invest in infrastructure such as roads, schools, hospitals, electricity, drinking water and irrigation. And those disparities caused feelings of injustice. Class relations may be key determinations of democratization. (Mishra, 2015). Since the democracy of 1950, few piteous bourgeois people raised the voice unsatisfactory for the autocratic governance and discriminating behavior. Context of Maoist raised in Nepal and the insurgency happened in Nepal. They get chance to learn some lesson through the revolution of china and Russia. Simply, if a question raise about the inauguration of republic in Nepal, some of the people may say due to Maoist, some of them say due to 19 days revolution, but long run history needs to be analyzed for this cause. Every changes are not succeed overnight, it occur multiple causes, temporal process and contextual. In this paper, I am trying to explore the Maoist Movement (1996-2006) in terms of the Large-scale and long-run perspective. Its need to go through 1950.

Theoretical perspectives

The long run perspective is happening or presented over a long period of time or having a long course of performances. The perspective is as the eventual outcome of a sequence of events, actions, etc. The long run is pertain history in time period in which there are lots of event determine to next event which are made new impact to new time. The period of time has long been an important subject of study in social science, but here defining it in a manner of studying history. There is no meaning of time alone, unless there is no change, humanity or society. 2060BS years is not important as much as 2063BS. However, the Calendars 2060BS may also study at the historical movement of 2063BS. In that sense, time does not have a single meaning.

The large scale history is defines its scope over a long time period and a large geographical range. The theory aspires to some form of comparative generality across historical contexts, both in its diagnosis of causes and its attribution of patterns of stability and development. In other words, large scale history defines its scope in large terms, defines the outcomes to be studied in large terms; and hypothesizes that some of the causes of these outcomes are themselves large structure. We may distinguish different species of macro history depending on interpretations of scale. As a cited in Little (2000), History of the 'long duration' accounts of the development of the large scale features of a particular region, nation or civilization, including population history, economic history, political history, war and peace, cultural formations and religion (Kadurie 1972, Fairbank 1992).

Long run and large scale is a macro sociological concept. Macrosociology is an approach to sociology which emphasizes the analysis of social systems and populations on a large scale, at the level of social structure, and often at a necessarily high level of theoretical abstraction (Calhaun 2002). Microsociology, by contrast, focuses on the individual social agency. It also concerns individuals, families, and other constituent aspects of a society, but always does so in relation to larger social system of which they are a part. Classical theorists Marx, Weber, Durkheim are well thought-out structuralists, but they focused on different types of structures. We can say that, they are pioneer of macro sociology.

In about 1970s, Prime minister of the PRC Chou En-lai said, on a question on the global impact of the 1789 French Revolution that 'it was too early to tell.' After about 200 years when journalist said the question, he had said that, it was too early to answer mean while diagnosing the outcome of any revolution. According to Mishra (2010), the cascades of impact or the impact of impact, deep causes and deep impacts. The significance of the long term, the significance of a whole historical phase.

A flutter of a bee in the South Atlantic can create a global storm: connectedness (Mishra 2010). The essence of this sentence is that the event of one place affects to the universal level. Individual, groups, communities all connected globally. Individual in the world are affected by global events. Written by Mishra (2010), one individual and a group. One group and other groups. One individual, one group and an institution. One individual, one institution and the entire world. Global connectedness. Interdependence. Each unit is constituted by the whole. Globally constituted. Hence, we can say, nothing is disconnected from world; connections can certainly be close or far, direct or indirect. The Maoist movement is a case of a long term causal process and a long term outcomes. Slow moving outcomes are ones with long time horizons that is, processes

where meaningful change in the dependent variable occurs only over the long run (Pierson, 2003). Thus social processes may not only be slow moving; they may also require a long time. Structural accounts constitute a prominent class of arguments about long term outcomes. Key causal claims are based on the existence of certain broad structures or relationships among structures. Typically, these arguments claim a causal connection between structures and eventual outcomes but are agnostic on issues in timing (Skocpol, 1979).

An analysis of Maoist movement through large scale and Long run perspective

The 2006 Democratic movement is a one of the biggest movements in Nepal as a social revolution. The movement is also sometimes referred to as People's movement (Jan Andolan). Sometimes it seems to an achievement of Maoist movement. If we understand the causes and impact of the movement we should go through the long run history, there may have been different causes of 2006 movement. If we want to proper study the Maoist movement (1996-2006), we should studied deep causes and deep impact respectively, it is necessary to go through large scale and long run perspective. It is needs to see the long run history of Nepalese context and large scale global factors. To explain the outcomes and impacts on a large scale, it is necessary to analyze the processes over time. Over the background here, I briefly presented this movement used in this theoretical perspective.

Evolution of Communist Party in Nepal (CPN)

The communist movement arrived in Nepal by way of southern democratic neighbor India, and not directly through China. According to Lawati (2010), history of the Nepalese communist party in Nepal dates back to 1949, the year that the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN) was formed by Pushpa Lal Shrestha with four of his associates in Calcutta, India.

In 1950s Nepali Congress and king Tribhuvan took the initiation to overthrow the Rana dynasty. Then after, the great political leader Puspala Shrestha took the commencement to establish the Nepal communist party following the footsteps of Lenin, Mao se Tung and Karl Marks, the communist party formed in Nepal then. In 1050 the Nepali Congress party resorted to the armed struggle to achieve; the recently emerging communist parties did not have capacity to launch any such struggle.

In a short duration of time, different factions of the Communist party emerged. The Communist party leaders led different political movements such as in 1950s, in 1971/72 (Jhapa Revolt), in 1980s and also in 1990s but these movements failed to achieve anything concrete because the communist factions were divided among themselves (Basnet 2009). In the mid-1980s the Singh Lama faction again split into three smaller groups, the CPN (Masal) led by Singh, the CPN (Mashal) led by Pushpa Kamal Dahal (Prachanda), and another that retained the original party name. The Singh Lama faction, representing the more radical group, demanded a constituent assembly instead of the mere restoration of parliamentary democracy, which Congress had been pressing for same. But, the constitution was not promulgating from constitution assembly, there was not formulating that types of assembly. The Panchayat System was formulated by King Mahendra after overthrowing the first democratically elected government and dissolving the

parliament in 1960. Under the direct leadership of the king bring the new constitution of December 16, 1962. A new legal code promulgated in 1963 replaced the *Muluki Ain of 1854*. A major land reform program launched in 1964 essentially was a failure. a single system of representative government in a way that had been rendered impossible for the elite-based political parties. The system was a singular system run from the central power structure. The various communist factions united as one and formed the United Leftist Front. Nepali Congress and Nepal Communist Party set aside their different views and together agreed to fight a revolution against the Panchayati system. The result was that the general public was increasing to support political parties. The people's movement was announced from 1990 and there were various strikes and protests all around the country. The citizens poured onto the streets disobeying the curfew set by the government. Finally, King Birendra declared that the Panchayati system was ended and democracy was re-established. The communist party was a part of that democracy but in small number in parliament.

Evolution of Maoist and root causes of movement

Traditionally, social life in Nepal has been highly stratified, marked by caste and other hierarchies which shaped much of the country's social, economic and political life. The dramatic political changes of 1990 raised popular expectations of social progress and greater equality, but although some statistical indicators from the early 1990s show positive developments in the economy, the living conditions of most people remained poor. Around this time, some analysts were noting that deep-rooted socio-economic conditions encouraging to armed conflict existed in Nepal, and warned of the possibility of a radical movement rising up to channel longstanding grievances (Mishra 2007).

After 1990, people had high expectations that political leaders would pay more attention to the people's problems than in the previous system. During the democracy movements, the leaders spoke of changes in everything like drinking water to freedom from poverty, liberty, employment, education and others but they are not responsible with people. Many Nepalese people started to feel that most of the leaders of all major political parties were corrupt, irresponsible, and inefficient (Acharya, 2003). In 1996, the establishment of multiparty democracy, CPN Maoist reached the conclusion that the 1990 constitution was not enough. The leaders of the CPN Maoist argued that a new and revolutionary constitution was necessary for an end to the exploitation and domination being faced by the poor and powerless (Sapkota, 2004).

As a cited in Lawati (2010), in 1991, CPN (United Marxist-Leninist) emerged as the second largest party from general elections. The final split in 1994 when Nirmal Lama usurped control of the United People's Front (UPF), it was the Unity Center which was led by Prachanda that first represented insurgent communism in Nepal. The Prachanda-Bhattarai group announced that it would not take part in the general elections of 1994 (Bhattra, 2003). It was this militant group that was named the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). The Maoists movement was started from Rolpa and Rukum district which were both well-suited for an armed uprising.

There is also evidence that the state had been conducting exercises to suppress the activities of the left in the Midwestern hills. As cited in Lawati (2010), the Sija movement (named for Sisne peak and Jaljalamandir) the first organized campaign launched by the Maoists in 1995 was actually

developed in response to atrocities described in grim reports of politically motivated human rights violations commissioned by the Nepali Congress government in 1992 and 1993 (Bhattra, 2003).

In March 1995 the newly named Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) began to draw up plans to launch an armed struggle, the so-called *People's War*, against the State. On 4 February 1996, the CPN Maoist submitted a 40-point demand to the Government which addressed a wide range of social, economic and political agendas, and warned that a militant struggle would follow if the demands were not met. Just one week later, on 13 February 1996, the CPN (Maoist) launched an armed insurgency against the Government (OHCHR, 2012).

Kings and feudal chiefs controlled the land and monopolized taxes. They punished and rewarded people and peasants as they wished. The kings were the sovereigns of the state. The political change of 1990 forced King Birendra to give up sovereignty, which empowered people as sovereign. Then the King Gyanendra reclaimed back the sovereignty after he became king in 2001 and behaved as the all mighty, but people discarded him through peoples movements and political pressure. The April 2006 people's movement compelled him to give up sovereignty and hand it back to the people.

The root cause of the birth of the Maoist movement in Nepal was the extreme inequality in society and political power, ignore their demands. Unfortunately, the government chose to suppress the Maoists rather than seeking a deal to fulfill or negotiate these demands. It helped in spreading support for the Maoist across the country. In 1996 they promulgated the people's war. The Maoist insurgency sustained its guerrilla war for ten long years and succeeded in influencing the entire country by 2006. This was clearly the end of the 240 year old Shah Dynasty's power in Nepal.

The population of Nepal can be roughly divided into two main ethnic groups: the Gorkhalis (or Parbatias) living in the hills and belonging to a Nepali cultural branch and the Madhesis living in the plains (Terai) and deeply influenced by Hindu culture from neighbouring India (Lawati2010). The former formed the ruling elites who have dominated every aspect of political and economic life of Nepal. As a consequence the Madhesis have been discriminated against and excluded from the state apparatus, from political participation and have even been denied full citizenship.

Historically, the low-caste population especially the Dalits has been victimized and has been denied access to the socioeconomic and political structures of the country (Ahuti, 2010). Social exclusion based on the dogmatic prejudice of untouchability has gone along with economic, livelihood dispossession and gender discrimination. The launch of a people's war by the Maoist insurgents in February 1996 has produced a renewed sense of awareness among these deprived groups; the Maoists have been keen on exploiting long standing grievances and giving a voice to politically marginalized individuals (Mishra, 2007).

Corruption is viewed at a macro-level, that is, as a factor that acts against the democratic rules, the political agenda and the development perspective of the country. The increase in foreign aid for cooperation development unleashed big amounts of money that were misused by more and more corrupt officials.

Domestic factor and state role

The panchyatsystem: After a decade, the then king Mahendra claimed that democracy had failed and usurped power from the elected prime minister. He restricted activities of all the political

parties and introduced party less panchayat system that continued for almost 30 years. However, a people's movement in 1990s forced the absolute monarch to replace the panchayat system with multi-party democracy and constitutional monarchy. Continuation of the monarchy was a big challenge to the political parties because some of the parties wanted to continue the monarchy but there was no ground for it.

A unified state structure: Nepal had been long the unified system of government. The unified system centralized all the power of the center and a few certain class, caste and community had the major powers. A large number of people of the society were marginalized. Government and people's representatives are very far from the people and are concentrated on the centre within very limited area. This is the main defect of the system and is responsible for underdevelopment and marginalized of the sectors and communities giving rise to conflict. It is an urgent need to address the problems for restructuring of the society (Thapa, 2005). The state-power has existing between the feudal, bureaucratic and bourgeois classes.

Monarchy system: The Shah dynasty ruled in Nepal for 240 years. The Kingdom of Nepal was founded by Prithvi Narayan Shah, a Gorkha king who succeeded in unifying the kingdoms of Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhaktapur into a single state under his Shah dynasty. The Kingdom of Nepal was an absolute monarchy for most of its history. However, from 1846 until the Revolution of 1951, the country was ruled by the hereditary Prime Ministers from the Rana dynasty, reducing the role of the Shah monarch to that of a figurehead. In November 1990, after the Jana Andolan movement, the new Constitution was adopted and the country became a constitutional monarchy.

Exclusiveness in every sector of society: Being a country of diversity, many people who were excluded never felt their ownership in the nation and its administration. Social exclusion is a multidimensional process of progressive social rupture, detaching groups and individuals from social relations and institutions and preventing them from full participation in the normal, normatively prescribed activities of the society in which they live. Then, the People's war and the people's movement both were committed for inclusion of previously excluded groups (Acharya 2003). Many individuals and families were displaced from their homes; there were large-scale disruptions to education, health and basic government services across the country; economic hardships were further exacerbated by the conflict; and instability.

Geography and infrastructure: geography, infrastructure and the opportunities created by the remoteness of a district are significant in determining conflict intensity. The road density variable is significant in all of the regressions, and its effect on conflict is robust to the inclusion of a host of controls. It receives more attention from the central government in terms of budget allocation, has a linguistically less polarized population, and has lower land inequality.

Social factors and ideology : Moving beyond the political economy approach, there is obvious reason to suspect that social and economic grievances, group divisions and political ideology have a significant causal impact on conflict intensity. In addition, nearly all of the existing literature on the Maoist insurgency has, to varying extents, highlighted the importance of grievances, caste and ethnic divisions, and ideology in explaining the Maoist conflict.

Senior Maoist leaders may well be motivated by a genuine desire for social and economic transformation. Their pursuit of domestic transformation takes precedence over their professed

commitment to global revolution. They are more interested in controlling development efforts across Nepal and consolidating their grip on local populations' daily lives.

External Factor

Maoist movement was considerably helped by the external factor. The Maoist leadership was induced to establish wider contacts and learning from their external exposure. The intellectual influence on this movement has come from the writings of Mao and the rebels have called themselves Maoists. Development of Prachanda Path as a whole and its philosophical concept has taken place in the background of grasp of MLM, historic necessity of class struggle of Nepalese revolution, the struggle against all kinds of wrong thinking and trends prevailing in Nepalese communist movement and the synthesis of positive and negative experiences of international communist movement. Prachanda Path is the set of ideas that has emerged amidst application of MLM in the particularity of Nepalese revolution and it has strength to serve world revolution. Owing to rapid development of the people's war under the guidance of Prachanda Path, but after the war the ideology elapsed from the people's minds. But, during the war it had center of attraction and hope of the world proletariat and exploited and oppressed masses.

Skocpol (1995) also discuss the role of the international community in social revolutions. It is assumed that each nation learns from the example of others. For example, modernization takes off from Western Europe. After being modernized, nations often fall into revolutions due to the change in value and once the revolution is successful the state can undergo more socioeconomic development. A state's relationship with other countries and the international community in general helps to determine the outcome of its revolution. Not only do nations look to each other as examples of how to properly execute a revolution, but they also lean on others for support during one. Nepal has close ties with India and China, in accordance with a long-standing treaty, Indian and Nepali citizens may travel to each other's countries without a passport or visa. Nepali citizens may work in India without legal restriction. Nepal established relations with the People's Republic of China on 1 August 1955, and relations since have been based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Nepal has assisted in curbing anti-China protests from the Tibetan migrant. Much of the equipment and arms are imported from India. Consequently, the US provided M16s, M4s, and other Colt weapons to combat communist (Maoist) insurgents (Wikipedia).

This state of Nepal caused by the disreputable Sugauli Treaty with the British blocked the natural development from feudalism to capitalism. The self-reliant economy with agriculture, trade, exchange etc. began collapsing from the time when the foreign capital made its intrusion into the Nepalese society. When some small industries were established to meet the interest of foreign capital, Nepal gradually transformed into a semi-feudal stage from feudal stage (Basnet 2009). Thus, Nepal is still in semi-feudal and semi colonial state. The intellectual influence on this movement has come from the writings of Mao and the rebels has called themselves 'Maoists.' Dismantle the unitary state and create a federal structure became a slogan of the political movement. Now, Nepal is declared as a federal democratic republican country. So, the federal structure is the core issue of the revolution in order to ensure forward-looking change in the society.

Conclusion

In the long run, Prachanda Path alone is unlikely to provide an adequate framework for building a truly egalitarian and functional civil society in Nepal. The outcomes of the Maoist movement have shown a small amount. However, the effect of that movement remains longer run. Like Chow PM of PRC, it can be said that it is not good time to answering; it is too early to say the outcomes of the revolution. Because the new constitution has been created as a success of the revolution, the above legislation is at the stage of implementation, as well as many policy, act remain there. Hence, the outcomes of the movement remain for a long time. No limit Many of our generations will experience this.

In conclusion, I want to summarize up the factors that the Maoist movement in Nepal like highly centralized social structure, authoritarian culture, ideological doubts, personal desire among the political class, irresponsible and corrupted political institutions, internal, international interests, economic crisis, undemocratic monarchy, identity issues and others.

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