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Navigating Global Forces: International Dynamics in Nepal's Maoist Transformation

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Abstract

This article explores how international structural dynamics compelled transformations in Maoist ideology, strategy, and tactics. Alongside shifts within Nepal's internal structure, global influences-including the impact of globalization, international pressures, and the role of multinational organizations-were crucial in pushing the Maoists to end their People's War and engage in a peaceful democratic movement alongside the Seven Political Parties in 2006. The Maoist insurgency, which began in 1996 under the banner of establishing a 'New Democracy', led to the loss of thousands of lives and left many more injured over a decade of armed conflict. Ultimately, the Maoists transitioned from armed struggle to a peaceful political agreement with Nepal's major political forces, seeking to establish a republican, federal, and secular state. While many scholars have examined the Maoist conflict through a political lens, this article investigates the role of international structural factors in facilitating the transition to peace. Utilizing documentary research, archival analysis, and the historical-comparative method, the study highlights the influence of international actors. For instance, India ceased allowing Maoist activities along its border and played a role in brokering the peace agreement. China also withdrew support for the Maoists. The global context of the post-Cold War era, marked by intensified capitalist, liberal, and globalized relations and the emergence of the United States as the sole superpower, further influenced the conflict. The global anti-terrorism campaign following the September 11, 2001 attacks in the U.S. saw increased international military support for the Nepalese state. Additionally, organizations like UNOHCR and the ICRC acted as mediators to facilitate dialogue between the government and the Maoists. Thus, this article argues that international structural dynamics were significant in shaping the Maoists' transition to a peaceful political process.

Keywords

People's war, Political transformation, International structure, Globalization.

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1. Introduction

The Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPNM) has remained at the centre of discussion in Nepal after it was involved in the 'People's War' (PW) in 1996. The war was launched with the purpose of establishing 'New Democracy' in place of constitutional monarchy and parliamentary rule. The PW began through a strategy of attacking police camps in Rolpa, Rukum, Sindhuli, Gorkha, Kalikot and rural areas of other districts (Sapkota 2010: 251). Later it got involved in direct war with the Royal Nepal Army attacking its barracks in different parts of the country. The continuous face-to-face war between the People's Liberation Army (PLA) of the Maoist and the Royal Nepal Army (RNA) was responsible for the death of 17,265 peoples. At least 1,302 people also disappeared due to this war. Many others were wounded and displaced from their original places in the process.

The Maoists changed its strategy of war and other tactics from April 2000 onwards by starting dialogue with government for peaceful settlement of its PW. It declared that its PW had advanced to the 'strategic offensive' stage from the 'strategic defence' and the 'strategic balance' stages (Thapa and Sijapati, 2004 : 99). The Maoists adopted the strategy of taking a defensive position and an offensive position when it required (Upreti, 2008 : 67). It adopted an offensive position when the state force was weak or in a critical position. It got involved in the peace dialogue with the government from 2001. In 2003, the central committee meeting of CPNM passed a resolution, entitled 'About the Development of People's Democracy of Twenty-First Century'. This resolution provides an elaborate picture of change in ideological orientation of the party. Through the provision of this resolution, the Maoists accepted for the first time after its involvement in PW to enter into the competitive process. In September-October 2005, it held the meeting of its central committee at Chunwang, Rolpa. Through this meeting, it took a decision in

favour of establishing Nepal into a democratic republic. With this decision, it changed its earlier claim of involvement in war for the establishment of a New Democratic regime in the country. With these changes in strategy and ideology, the CPNM participated in an alliance with seven other political parties to start the Second People's Movement in 2006. The second people's movement reinstated the dissolved parliament. With this event, the CPNM signed a Comprehensive Peace Accord with the alliance of these parties on 22 November 2006 declaring the end of its PW.

With this agreement, it accepted to keep PLA in cantonments under the supervision of the United Nations in seven camps. The CPNM took part in the Constitution Assembly elections held in April 2008 and 2013 and general election held in 2017 and 2021 after promulgation of New Constitution of Nepal in 2015. It transformed from an insurgent type of political organization to a one competing for state power through participation in the electoral process. These dynamics give rise to a curiosity on trying to understand how these changes have affected its ideological position, strategies and its objectives of change in society. This article attempts to highlight these aspects of transformation of CPNM and the structural causes of these transformations.

2. Methodology

It has already been mentioned that this study has focused on identifying international structural dynamics for transformation of Nepalese Maoist from an insurgent political organization to that involved in a peace process forging an alliance with the ruling organization. It has applied the qualitative methodological principle for collection of data. The data used in this article are derived basically through documentary research. It also applied the archival research method and historical-comparative method. The main data set of the study is obtained from documentary research. The use of documentary methods refers to the analysis of documents that contain information about the phenomenon one wishes to study (Bailey, 1994 : 194). The documentary method is the technique used to categorize, investigate, interpret and identify the limitations of physical sources, most commonly written documents whether in the private or public domain (Payne and Payne, 2004 : 61). The article has used the archival records for analyzing the CPNM's activities and events of the study period. Archival research methods include a

broad range of activities applied to facilitate the investigation of documents and textual materials produced by and about any organization (Ventresca and Morh, 2001: 2).

In addition, this article has used Historical-Comparative method to study the historical setting of the CPNM along with the development of the Communist Party of Nepal. Comparative historical research is a method of social science that examines historical events in order to create explanations that are valid beyond a particular time and place. Comparative-historical analysis is a field of research characterized by the use of systematic comparison and the analysis of processes over time to explain large-scale outcomes of such revolutions, political regimes and welfare states performance (Mahoney & Reuschemeyer, 2003 : 4). Mahoney has discussed that comparative-historical research is defined as the part of analysis of sequence of events that occur within cases (Mahoney, 2004 : 88). In his discussion, it is temporal processes and a kind of process analysis.

3. Diverse Interpretation of Maoist's Transformation

Different scholars interpret the Maoist's transformations through different perspectives. The political scientists deal with issues related to transformation of political parties in the form of change of their political activities. For example, Krishna Hachhetu has mentioned that the CPNM transformed itself from an insurgent organization to a party competing for state power through peaceful competitive processes (Hachhetu, 2008 : 33-71). B. C. Upreti has given an inventory of activities of CPNM to indicate that it has politically changed through time (Upreti, 2008 : 145). These understandings do not take into account the social and structural processes under which the Maoist got involved in the PW. They do not discuss the social relationship of Maoist with those organizations against which they were fighting a war.

Some other scholars have attempted to locate the causes of the Maoist insurgency in Nepal. For some, the rampant poverty in the country is its major reason. The poorest countries such as Nepal have higher conflict intensity than richer countries (Tiwari, 2010 : 243). Others say that it was the result of the failure of development endeavors. They argue that the weak state and divided dominant political parties contributed to the growth of Maoist's PW (Lawoti, 2010 : 7). They assert that the centralized state could not pay

attention to the problems prevalent in the countryside. The state could not extend its reach to the vast section of population living there. Still others have argued that it is a result of the inequality in distribution of economic resources among the various classes of social groups (Thapa and Sijapati, 2012 : 56). These arguments have produced a kind of debate in academic discussions. They have, however, not taken into account the issues related to transformation of the political organization.

Other scholars have analyzed the transformation of the Maoist from the point of role played by different other agencies. Some of them have opined that the activities of the Maoist led to the growth of civil society. The social groups formed through this process such as Civic Solidarity for Peace, Volunteer Mediators Group, Nepal Nagarik Manch, Nagarik Awaz, and Citizens for Peace Commission put pressure on the Maoist (Upreti, 2006 : 165). Political parties such as CPN-UML, Nepali Congress and CPN-Unity Centre also put an effort to transform the Maoist from being involved in the PW to adopting peaceful political processes. Some scholars have identified the role of international factors for this process of change. Specifically, they argue that India, China and USA that assisted Nepalese army to fight against Maoist forced it to come to the peace process (Upreti, 2010 : 219).

Very few scholars have tried to investigate the causes of transformation of CPNM from the armed struggle to peaceful politics. B. C. Upreti (2008 : 160-165) has attributed the transformation of CPNM to the party itself, Indian factors that helped in negotiations in between SPA and Maoist, the international support to the RNA and also the role played by the civil society. The Maoists themselves did not find a favourable domestic and international situation. They appeared to be realizing the shortcomings of the communist revolution in the localized context and therefore started looking for an alternative path to realize their goals in the context of the emerging political scenario in the country (Upreti, 2008 : 161). Moreover, Krishna Hachhetu argues that liberal democracy, which is known as bourgeois democracy in Marxist vocabulary, has now become the ultimate destination of many communist parties in the world (Hachhetu 2008: 39). This is not only the case in Nepal. Hachhetu has attributed this transformation of Maoist to the international communities supporting anti-communist force. The Maoist could not foresee the possibility of capturing state power at the center through

armed revolution alone. Hachhetu also discusses the role of internal contradiction between Prachanda faction and the Baburam Bhattarai faction for changing its ideology, strategy and tactics.

Most of the above-mentioned writings are asociological and ahistorical. They have not linked the Maoist's activities with the social structural causes. There are, however some other scholars who attempt to discuss this problem from the structural and historical point of view. Chaitanya Mishra has assessed the political transition of Nepal including the changes found in the CPNM, on the basis of socio-structural condition of Nepal (Mishra, 2007 : 13). The major constitutive features of multi-level historical-structural processes are the awakening and demise of pre-capitalist including feudal, political, economic and cultural forms at multiple levels of social organization, the expansion and intensification of capitalism, democratization based on successively enlarged, intensified and relatively successful popular movements, individualization, capability enhancement and empowerment. However, his assessment is not sufficient in that he did not include the internal class relationship, the role of the dominant group, state crisis as well as international structural condition for the transformation of Maoist. All these discussions are important in some respects. However, they have discussed the individual events of this transformation process as an independent issue in themselves. They have not been able to discuss these issues by placing them within the broader framework of a given type of international structural dynamics.

4. Theoretical Debates on Transformation of Political Parties

There are various theories that analyze the formation and transformation of political organizations. Some of them argue that rational choices of groups, psychology, political mobilization of people, and role of ideology are necessary for collective actions (Downs, 1957; Gurr, 1970; Tilly, 1978; Johnson, 1982). Rational choice theory has simple assumption about the activities of political parties. It traces all social activities depends on rational calculation and decision-making. It gives emphasis on the interest of political parties for their transformation. Downs argues that political parties act solely in order to attain the income, prestige and power, which come from being in state power. Political parties treat ideology and policies as a means to the attainment of their ends. (Downs, 1957 : 28).

In fact, this concept is reductionist in character, which ignores the organizational structure, complexity, interactions among people, and the conflicted stands regarding objectives and preferences (Montero & Gunther, 2003 : 15).

There is a strong argument that social structural forces influence for the formation and operation of activities of political parties. Scott and Marshall define social structure as any recurring pattern of social behaviour; or more specifically, to the ordered interrelationships between different elements of a social system or society such as the family, the government, political, economic, educational institutions, and the religion etc. (Scott & Marshall, 2009 : 740). C. Wright Mills argues that a political actor is interconnected to the historical and social structures of a society. Political organizations cannot be understood without reference to a society in which they are established (Mills, 1959 : 157). A political organization performs its activities within a sequence of its social role. According to Mills, political organizations are not free to perform their activities within a society neglecting the social structure. Social structure changes when innumerable actions of innumerable men modify their milieu (Ibid, 181). This change in social structure transforms the activities of political organizations.

The structural perspectives for transformation of political parties can be categorized into internal class situation, non-class structure and international context. Karl Marx has given importance on internal class structure for transformation of political parties (Marx & Engels, 1962 : 304). He assumes that political activities are class-based movements growing out of objective structural contradictions within historically developing conflict-ridden societies. His analysis has given emphasis to the mode of production, class relations of property ownership and surplus appropriation to understand the change within a society. The perspective of Marx builds on a materialist understanding of societal development. Human being requires the necessary economic activities to provide its material needs. According to Marx, the disjuncture within a mode of production between the social forces and social relations of production creates contradiction between owners and non-owners' class. This contradiction develops in the form of class struggle. Based on Marxist perspective, conflict perspective emphasizes on inequalities existing due to disproportionate control over society's resources (Collins, 1975; Dahrendorf, 1959; Coser, 1956). It illustrates that the differential

distribution of power invariably becomes the determining factor of social conflict. These conflicting interests within a society are not integrative, but divisible with each other. This structural situation leads to formation of political organizations for organizing collective action against the existing relation of production and political power.

Some scholars have attributed social movements for collective actions, formation and transformation of political parties. They argue that political parties are transformed when the issues of social movement changes. The situation of social movement is created among less organized groups of people, who share the belief and action seeking the change in social order (Gusfield, 1970; Diani, 1992; Calhoun, 1993). Calhoun explains that new social movement emphasizes life style, ethical, feminism, peace movement, youth movement and identity concerns (Calhoun, 1993 : 130). The new social movements challenged the conventional division of political parties into right and left. Similarly, Diani argues that political parties are part of social movement (Diani, 1992 : 167). When the issues of social movement changes from their goals of focusing on the large-scale system of state and economy to politicization of everyday life, it leads to the transformation activities of political parties.

On the other hand, Huntington identifies modernization as a tool of transformation that contributes to the formation and transformation of political organizations (Huntington, 2009 : 264). He argues that a revolution takes place in the societies when the process of political modernization and political development has lagged behind the process of social and economic changes. New groups of people always look for opportunities to be involved in politics. They create new political institutions, which then launch revolutions to be able to take part in politics. According to Huntington, the middle class and other groups of city such as lumpen proletariat and industrial workers need the support of peasants in rural areas to overthrow the political system.

Some theories have focused to international structure for formation and transformation of political organization. Arjun Appadurai discusses that grassroots globalization makes collective action against globalization from above (Appadurai, 2006 : 304). The state supports globalization from above by implementing corporate capitalism, new-liberalism and free-market policy (Kellner, 2002 : 287). Similarly, globalization involves sets of social relations and flows of commodities, capital, technology, ideas, forms of culture, and

people across national boundaries through a global networked society. Kellner argues that globalization unleashes conflicts between capitalism and democracy, and its restructuring processes create new openings for struggle, resistance, and democratic transformation. (Kellner, 2002 : 299). The globalization from below results from transnational alliances, which fight for better wages and working conditions, social and political justice, and environmental protection. Political parties can develop ideological affinity with transnational political parties with which they have a common interest or set of values in a particular political configuration (Tarrow, 1989 : 189). The globalization is also important for analyzing the transformation of activities of political parties (Acemoglu and Robinson 2006, Mahoney & Rueschemeyer, 2003, Huntington 1996). The political parties are transformed when they are connected to changing trend of global trade system and international political influence.

Besides these theories, Theda Skocpol has broadly discussed about the structural situation developed within and outside the state under a specific kind of socio-historical reality (Skocpol, 1979). She provides an elaborate discourse of the origin of revolution under different types of historical situations. She is not satisfied with the discussion that the role-played by individuals and their ideologies are sufficient for the emergence of social revolution. She argues that the structural conditions limit the development of the revolutionary organizations and ideology of vanguards (Skocpol, 1979 : 17). This article has focused the structural framework discussed by Theda Skocpol for analyzing the transformation of Maoist in Nepal. Theda Skocpol has argued that the relationship among the nations is also one important factor that contributes to the emergence of social-revolutionary crises and revolutionary struggles and outcomes (Skocpol, 1979 : 19). She argues that all modern collective actions and social revolution, in fact, must be seen as closely related in their causes and accomplishments to the internationally uneven spread of capitalist economic development and nation-state formation on a world scale. She further argues that notions of modernization as an international socioeconomic dynamic harmonize nicely with conceptions of revolutions as purposive movements grounded in and facilitating societal development. Perhaps rapid and disjointed economic expansion stimulates and then frustrates mass expectations, giving rise to widespread discontent and political violence that destroys the existing government (Ibid, 20). Historically,

unequal or competitive relationships among nations have helped shape any given country's state and class structures, thus influencing the existing domestic context from which revolution emerges or not. Modern social revolutions have happened only in countries situated in disadvantaged positions within international arenas.

5. Linkages of the Maoist to Revolutionary Forces Working in other Countries

Like the role played by the international community in political and economic activities of Nepal to instigate the Maoist movement, some other developments in political activities in some other countries of the world also provided support for the Maoist in its revolutionary activities. The Maoist viewed Peru as their role model for launching a revolutionary movement in the country. The Communist Party of Peru (Shining Path) waged a violent movement against the Peruvian state in the 1980s. It followed the Maoist's ideology of protracted guerrilla war. The Maoist in Nepal received the support from Revolutionary International Movement (RIM). It is a worldwide organization of the revolutionary parties, which believe in the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and Maoism. RIM came into existence in March 1984 in London. It provides a forum to the revolutionary parties to discuss issues, problems and challenges to their revolutionary action (Upreti, 2008 : 92). RIM provides possible guidelines and support to such parties and organizations. The Nepalese Maoist had link with Maoist parties of India such as Communist Party of India (ML), Naxalbari, Communist Party of India (MLPW), Maoist Communist Centre, Revolutionary Communist Centre of India (MLM), and Revolutionary Communist Centre of India (Maoist). They took advantage of the open border between Nepal and India. The Maoist received moral support from Worker's Party of Belgium, Worker's Communist Party of Norway and World's Resistance Movement. It played a significant role in uniting the revolutionary parties of South Asia and establishing Coordinating Council of Maoist Parties of South Asia (CCOMPOSA). It seems that the Maoist wanted to strengthen their own movement by organizing support of all revolutionary parties of South Asia. The Maoist established Nepali organizations such as Akhil Bharatiya Ekta Samaj, All India Nepali Students Association, and Nepali People's Progressive Forum Belgium to create international support in favour of the Maoist movement. The Maoist in Nepal had widened

its support bases at the international level that helped them in launching and sustaining their armed struggle. The World People's Resistance Movement (WPRM) supported the Maoist in its People's War (Upreti 2010 : 231). It organized meetings, discussions and interactions in Europe and other parts of the world to garner support for the Maoist in Nepal.

6. International Context after Maoist Started its PW in 1996

When the insurgency began to target the interests and to threaten the continuity of the development programs and the safety of the local staff, the international community engaged with the palace, political parties, military officials, human rights activists, civil society mediators and representatives of various communities to calm down the Maoist's People's War (Upreti, 2008 : 118). In 2002, the Maoist threatened foreign missions, including the US Embassy, to discourage foreign governments from supporting the government of Nepal. The United Nations and its organ Office for the High Commissioner of Human Rights (UNOHCHR) were active in stopping the breach of human rights by both the Maoist and the state. The European Community in 2004 called upon all constitutional forces in Nepal to work closely together in support of a common strategy for achieving a comprehensive and inclusive settlement in the country, based upon the principle of multiparty democracy and constitutional monarchy (Ibid, 235). Some INGOs such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Amnesty International, the International Crisis Group (ICG), Human Rights Watch (HRW), and the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) were actively engaged in resolving the problems of Nepal's armed conflict. Donors joined Nepal's civil society organizations in requesting the deployment of a robust UN human rights mission (Frieden, 2012 : 107). The UN Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights (UNOHCHR) involved in a dialogue with the state's security forces as well as with senior Maoist cadres. This shows that the prolonged People's War of Maoist was not only the concern of Nepalese state; rather it was the concern of international community.

The major events in the world during the period after 1990 were the end of Cold War and the emergence of the United States as the only superpower. The terrorist attack in New York and Washington

on 11 September 2001 had challenged this position of the United States. The USA declared the war against terrorism. A few months later Taliban of Afghanistan was finally defeated and a new government was established in Kabul. The United States did not want to see the expansion of radical communists like Maoist in Nepal (Upreti, 2010 : 227) and wanted to expand its influence in the Nepal army by providing military resources. The United States and India were getting closer after 9 September 2001 (Raj, 2004 : 130). Both USA and India assisted Nepalese Army in its fight against the Maoist insurgency. The United States supported Indian views to handle the problem of the Maoist and put the Maoist in a watch list of secondary type of terrorist organizations. It signed an agreement with Nepal for anti-terrorist assistance including the offer of advanced and investigative security and counter-terrorism technique. The United States kept Nepalese Maoist in the same position as Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, Shining Path in Peru or Al Qaida (Ibid, 140). In Peru, the Shining Path was demolished after the arrest of Comrade Gonzalo and involvement of the army with brutal and repressive measures. Andean peasants were caught in the crossfire with 25,000 Peruvians being killed. Khmer Rouge was accounted for forcible conscription of children, destruction of schools, torturing and killing civilians, looting of food from humanitarian aid projects. The intervention of USA was highly criticized by the Maoist in their document.

Before the royal massacre of June 1 in Nepal and the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the USA, India was less concerned with the Nepali conflict. The Indian response towards the Maoist was always contradictory and reflected a double standard (Upreti, 2006 : 45). Maoist leaders took shelter on Indian territory and many meetings of the central committee of Maoist were held in India. However, after the royal massacre of 1 June in Nepal and the terrorist attack in USA on 11 September 2001, India adopted a more aggressive position. India felt that the Maoist insurgency was a threat not only to the security of Nepal but also to the security of India. The Indian government had taken a stand that the Maoists were terrorists. Indian authorities handed over Maoist leader Suresh Ale Magar and MatrikaYadav, who were arrested in India to the government of Nepal. India also arrested C.P. Gajurel in Chennai and Kiran Baidhya in Siliguri and were jailed (Thapa & Sijapati, 2012 : 193). After the royal takeover of 1 February 2005, King Gyanendra followed his own roadmap neglecting India and tried to

develop a close relationship with China. As a result, India's role changed drastically against the monarchy. India supported the collaboration between the Maoist and democratic political forces of Nepal to topple the king. China was also dissatisfied with the Maoist's people war. The Chinese government had branded them as terrorists accusing them of 'misusing' the name of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung and did not like to call them Maoists but had been calling them 'anti-government forces' (Raj, 2004 : 123). The Chinese Foreign Minister supported Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba, who declared a state of emergency to maintain peace and stability in the country. When the Chinese Prime Minister Zhu Rongji visited Nepal in May 2001, he said that the Maoist insurgency did not have any relationship with present day China. China's ambassador kept a close eye on the development of Nepal's domestic situation. It declared that the peace talk between Maoist and government of Nepal was an internal matter of Nepal. On the other side, China participated in a conference hosted by Britain in London on 19-20 June 2002, where the discussion was to find a solution to the problem of Maoist insurgency in Nepal. The Chinese were too pre-occupied with their own affairs and were not interested in interfering in the internal affairs of a friendly country like Nepal (Ibid, 126). In fact, China supported the Indian and other efforts to resolve the Maoist conflict in Nepal.

Immanuel Wallerstein developed the concept of world system in 1974 to explain the interconnection between economically dominant state and other individual nation-states (Wallerstein, 2000 : 88-91). Theda Skocpol argues that the states are interdependent in the international states system (Skocpol, 1979 : 22). Recently, globalization is a major transforming force of the world's societies (Curry, Jiobu & Schwirian 2008 : 73). With globalization individuals, groups and nations become interdependent. In other words, it is the intensification of worldwide social relations, which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice-versa (Giddens, 1990 : 64). Due to the effects of globalization, nation states are no longer conceived as sovereign agents. On the other hand, globalization contributes to democracy through the international financial and political integration after the end of cold war (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2006 : 48). Multiparty Democratic system was reinstated in Nepal in 1990 following the epoch-making global events such as the fall of Berlin

Wall and the wave of democratization and globalization phenomena. Thus, the political and economic interconnection of nations prevents Maoist to establish New Democracy in Nepal. Chaitanya Mishra illustrates that Nepal could not become a New Democratic because it was placed in between two capitalist neighbours. He argues that the state could not reach New Democracy and Socialism without development of capitalism. On the other hand, Maoists did not have the youths to fight in their armed PW for a long time. Hari Rokka argues that large workforce migrated to India and other foreign countries seeking employment. Maoists could not analyze the changing trends of workforce shifting from agriculture to international arena. As a result, they realized that they could not sustain its armed struggle over a decade.

The Maoist could not have overlooked the military supremacy of the state security forces. It had 95,000 army personnel, 25,000 Armed Police Force personnel and 40,000 civilian police personnel that were backed by international anti-communist and anti-terrorist support (Hachhetu, 2008 : 52). Nepalese state was able to procure sophisticated weapons and military gadgets from USA, the UK, India and other countries and thus CPNM needed to take part in the negotiations to offset the international pressure. The Maoist realized that the international situation after 9 September 2001 was not favourable for revolution. Then, the Maoists were ready to revise their ideology, strategy and tactics for a new kind of polarization nationally and internationally. They were ready to forge a coalition with Seven Party Alliance to end the direct rule of the king and establishment of multiparty system.

7. Conclusion

The structural conditions discussed by Theda Skocpol (1979) for emergence of revolution and collective action are important for analyzing the transformation of Maoist. The dynamics of international structure affect the process of revolution within a country. The international structure is also an important factor for leading to transformation of Maoist to peaceful political process. Many studies find that the international support for development of Nepal could not enhance productive sectors of Nepal. It creates a situation of disparity between urban and rural areas. This structural situation supported Maoist for launching its PW. However, the relationships among nations were more intense after 1990s due to

capitalism, liberalization and globalization. USA emerged as the only superpower due to the end of Cold War. The international community did not want to lose their dominance in the economic and political power of Nepal. India, China and USA stood against PW launched by the Maoist. They provided their support to the dominant political parties. India played a positive role in negotiations between the Maoist and alliance of seven political parties. The empirical facts show that the transformation in ideology, strategy and tactics of the Maoist led to a change in its ultimate aim of establishing a New Democracy. The terrorist attack in USA on 11 September 2001 had started the anti-terrorist war worldwide. Nepalese state received intensive military support from international community. The international organizations such as UNOHCR and ICRC played the role of a mediator to hold dialogue between the government of Nepal and Maoist. They forced the dominant political parties and the Maoist to forge an alliance against the absolute monarchy to establish multiparty democracy. This structural situation compelled Maoist to transform its ideology and strategy towards peaceful political process.

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