

**Maoist Armed Conflict in Nepal :
Exploring the Motivating Factors for
the Involvement of Kham Magar
People of Thabang Village in Rolpa
District**

Netra Kumar Ojha*

Armed conflict denotes conflict in which at least two parties resort to the use of armed force against each other. Looking into the conflicts taking all over the world, Nepal has also faced an internal conflict in the name of the People's War in February 1996. The Maoist armed conflict had spread all over the country and had not only taken the lives of more than 17,000 people and billions of rupees of the property but also challenged a centuries-old authoritarian political regime. This study explores the motivating factors for the involvement of the Kham Magar people of Thabang village in the Maoist armed conflict. I used an exploratory ethnographic framework of qualitative research design by taking five participants and few key informants, and conducted an in-depth interview. I found that economic, social, cultural, religious, psychological, historical, and geopolitical

* Lecturer, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Padmakanya Multiple Campus, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur (Nepal) E-mail: <netraojha@gmail.com>

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL SCIENCES, Vol. 30, No. 1 (January-March), 2021
Peer Reviewed, Indexed & Refereed International Research Journal

factors are responsible for the involvement of the Magar people of Thabang Village in the Maoist armed conflict. Among them, social exclusion, oppression, and geopolitics are the major motivating factors. Moreover, ethnic collective conscience and collective action are also responsible factors in the emergence and growth of Maoist armed conflict in the study area.

[**Keywords** : Motivation, Maoist, Armed conflict, Kham Magar, Ethnography]

1. Introduction

Armed conflict denotes conflict in which at least two parties resort to the use of armed force against each other. It is difficult to define since several different thresholds and rules can be applied for deciding which conflict can be categorized as armed conflict (Kusum, 2001). The Most of 110-armed conflict “between” 1989-1999 were internal, with most of the fatalities being civilian-84 percent according to one count. Among the 110 conflicts, 60 reached the level of war (1,000 battle-related deaths in a year) at a time during the period 1989 to 1999. Only 7 were interstate wars with foreign intervention. Some cases like Afghanistan, Sudan, and Sri-lanka remained at war for all or most of the period (Shrestha, 2004).

Looking into the conflicts taking all over the world, Nepal has also faced an internal conflict in the name of the People’s War. The communist party of Nepal Maoist (CPN-M) had been started an armed struggle in February 1996, three days before the given deadline, attacking police post at Holeri (Rolpa) and Thibsikot (Rukum), (Upreti, 2006; Chamlagai, 2006; Sales, 2000; Thapa and Sijapati, 2003). The Maoist armed conflict, over the last ten years, had spread all over the country, except two districts- Manag and Mustang- out of the 75 districts of the country (Adhikari, 2006). It had not only taken the lives of more than 17,000 people and billions of rupees of the property but also challenged a centuries-old authoritarian political regime. The cost of reconstruction of development infrastructure that was destroyed by the Maoists is estimated at NRS 200 billion (Adhikari, 2006; Upreti, 2006). Talk programs in different stages were launched during the armed conflict period to resolve the conflict but they became unsuccessful. On 22nd November 2005, the Seven “Parties’ Alliance” and Maoists reached the 12-point understanding which has given a good basis to start the political process of settling the ongoing armed conflict. Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala and Maoist Supremo Puspa

Kamal Dahal (Prachand) signed the peace agreement by announcing the end of the armed conflict of Nepal. Now, Nepal is declared as a federal democratic republic state.

Nepal was a monolithic, feudalistic, autocratic, authoritarian, centralized, and closed state for centuries (Thapa, 2003; Karki and Seddon, 2003; Mishra, 2004; Kumar, 2004; Upreti, 2006). The state governing system in the entire history of modern Nepal was orchestrated by cajoling, the threat of suppression, and the use of coercive power by the state (Hutt, 2004; Kumar, 2004; Upreti, 2006). Such characteristics of the state consequently excluded a vast majority of Nepalese people from the nation-building process (Thapa, 2003; Raj, 2004). This became virtually a breeding ground of armed conflict in Nepal.

The Maoist armed conflict was not only the cause of the failure of the 12 years of democracy in Nepal. Rather it was the manifestation of the failure of 238 years of the governance system of modern Nepal. The feudal, exclusionary, 'top-down' and elitist ruling system was the fundamental cause of the problem. Rampant poverty, structural inequality, political oppression, social discrimination against certain groups like ethnic groups, kamaiya, Women, Dalit, etc. failure of the public administration, widespread corruption, and continuous failure of successive governments to address these structural problems were the root causes of the Maoist armed conflict. Besides, another plausible explanation for the emergence of the Maoist armed conflict in a particular time was the growing awareness of the Nepalese people during the period of multiparty democracy. They were becoming more aware of poverty, inequality, discrimination, corruption, and lack of employment opportunities. Destruction of indigenous social networks in Nepal has also contributed to the conflict (Pandey, 1999; Kushum, 2001; Ananda, 2001; Gurung, 2003; Karki and Seddon, 2003; Onesto, 2003; Muni, 2003; Mishra, 2004; Mahat, 2005; Pandey, 2005; Parwez, 2006 and Do and Iyer, 2007).

In a context of complex conflict like the Maoist armed conflict in Nepal, it is very hard to identify and separate causes and consequences as causes become consequences and consequences turn into causes. There is a fairly large amount of publications and documents available about the analysis of the armed conflict in Nepal. Some books have been written by Nepalese and foreign

scholars covering conflict situations. Many research papers have been prepared by various researchers and several conflict assessment documents are produced by donor agencies and NGOs/INGOs (Kushum, 2001; Ananda, 2001; DFID, 2003 and Mishra, 2004). However, there is a dearth of authentic research of the motivating factors of Maoist Armed Conflict which was launched from the Kham Magar Community of Rolpa district, Nepal. The life of the Kham Magar has been turned upside-down during this conflict and many of them have died (Onesto, 2003).

Numerous sources and newspaper articles have attempted to explain why this community has become a Maoist-stronghold. Three factors are usually cited: the presence of the forest which offers a natural opportunity for guerilla operations, the particularly poor economic conditions, and finally a local population, mostly Magars. My argument here is on the fact that poverty and the presence of the forest have certainly played their part in the rise of the Maoists, although the same conditions are of course found in many other regions and communities in Nepal. The third factor - the presence of Magar requires some commentary. So, the above-presented causes can play a vital role in the origin of Maoist armed conflict in the Kham Magar community but they need further clarification which is only possible by using anthropological analysis.

So, the purpose of the study is to explore the motivating factors for the involvement of the Kham Magar people of Thabang village in the Maoist armed conflict. Thus, the key research questions of this study are, why were the Kham Magar people have chosen as a breeding ground of conflict by the Maoists? What types of social and cultural conditions prevailing among the local people? And how is it that they have found themselves to be dragged into fatal combat?

2. Theoretical Approaches of Armed Conflict

Many studies of various scholars have indicated that there is a significant correlation between landlessness and the number of fatalities in armed conflict. Moreover, Some others found armed conflict mostly related to poverty and underdevelopment of country, and that caste and ethnic divisions are not a major contributor to conflict (Thapa and Sijapati, 2004 and Gersony, 2003 as cited in Do and Iyer, 2007). Besides, government repression might have also the possibility to generated further grievances, which led to greater

support for rebels (Do and Iyer, 2007). On the one hand, Collier and Hoeffler (1999) developed a conceptual framework based on grievances and loot approaches. On the other, Mahat (2005) developed a framework that acknowledges the relevance of grievance theory for the study of people's war. Unlike the above scholars, Karki and Bhattarai (2004) observe that conflict is an outcome of complex social and economic demands, intertwined with ideology and a history of discrimination on which the rebels might be able to capitalize.

Murshed and Gates (2003) examine the root motivating factors of armed conflict. They suggest that grievances rather than greed are the main motivating force. Gurung (2004) concluded that no correlation exists between the density of socially excluded population and intensity of insurgency, but that there is a correspondence between the area of insurgency and level of poverty. Zartman (2005 cited in Tiwari, 2007) has argued that while initiation of conflicts requires the presence of political entrepreneur, the continuation of conflict requires successful mobilization of population subgroup. Moreover, other analysts point out the factors like social injustice, unemployment, underdevelopment, problems of exclusion, lack of good governance, etc. as contributing to the escalation of the activities (Karki and Seddon, 2003; Hutt, 2004; and Thapa and Sijapati, 2003).

Developmentalists see that the conflict is a social and economic issue and is produced and sustained by failed development (Pandey, 1999). Sociologists and ethnic activists see the armed conflict mainly from an ethnic angle. One argues that the People's war has blended class-based and caste/ethnic-based insurgency in the country (Bhattachan, 2000). Political scientists analyze the failed governance as the main reason behind the constant weakening of the state and strengthening of the rebels (Baral, 1993; Hutt, 1994; Hoftun, Raeper and Whelpton, 1999; Kumar, 2000 and Hachhethu, 2002).

The point of view of different people to analyze the armed conflict is the basis of their disciplinary background. Developmentalists see Maoist armed conflict as a social and economic issue and is produced and sustained by failed development. Social and ethnic activists analyze it mainly from the ethnic angle. Analyzing the Maoist armed conflict, a social anthropologist argues, Maoist armed conflict has blended

class-based and caste/ethnic-based armed conflict in the country. Political scientists' analyses that the failure of governance is the main factor for weakening the state and strengthening the Maoist armed conflict. Economists focus on economic factors such as poverty or lack of economic opportunity is significantly correlated with the intensity of the conflict. Some sociologists focus on the structural causes and others on ethnic issues are the motivating factors for the involvement of people in armed conflict.

3. Kham Magar and Maoist Armed Conflict

The Kham-speaking Magar people are spread along the Sani Bheri, the Bheri, Uttar Ganga, and their tributaries in the district of Rolpa, Rukum, and the western part of Dhaulagiri along the Bhuji and Nishi Khola (river). Kham is the Tibeto-Burman language not to be confused with the Tibetan dialect spoken in the Kham province of Tibet. These people claim a common origin and consider themselves as a single country entity. They are distinct culturally from the Magar in Palpa and Gandaki to the east, which speaks a separate language, Magarkura, and are made up of a different set of clans (Hitchcock 1965 cited in Molnar, 1981).

The Kham Magars (as they are hereafter referred to for convenience) are divided into five broad clans (thar) : Buda, Roka, Gharti, Pun, and Jhankri. They are patrilineal and practice a system of preferential matrilineal cross-cousin marriage (Molnar, 1978 and Sales, 2000 cited in Thapa, 2003). The clans are divided into aforesaid sub-groups which are exogamous. Marriages are contracted locally between these sub-groups. The Magar practice polygyny to a limited extent and residence is neolocal. The elder sons divide the family estate within a few years after marriage, while the youngest son remains in the family house to care for his parents in their old age. The property, both movable and immovable, is divided equally among all sons regardless of whether or not their mother is divorced from their father or whether their mother is the later wife in a polygynous marriage (Molnar, 1978).

The Kham Magar has a mixed economy based on hill agriculture and animal husbandry. They raise cattle and sheep and goats; Pastoralism is a major economic strategy. They live in dense settlements above a river valley and exploit the lands along this valley and the surrounding ridges. These settlements range in

altitude from 6500 to 8000 feet and the ridges range from 10,000 to 13,000 feet (Molnar 1981). Kham Magars, who are seen as a native people easily, swayed but, who, if they can be enlisted for a task, continue in it or die in the attempt. There is irony in the fact that as many Magars have been killed by the Maoists as by the police (Sales, 2000).

4. Methodology

The topic of this study is related to exploring the motivating factor of the involvement of the Kham Magar people in the Maoist armed conflict. For digging out the knowledge about the research problem, I used the design of study depending on the ontological and epistemological stand of the subjective or qualitative way of generating knowledge from the research field. So, this study followed an exploratory ethnographic framework of qualitative research design. I took the Kham Magar people of Thabang village and followed the purposive sampling procedure for the selection of participants in this study. Thus, in this study, I took five participants for ethnographic data collection.

Similarly, in this study, the data is collected using both primary and secondary sources. The primary data is collected through an in-depth interview with the participants. Moreover, this study also used a key informant informal interview as a data collection technique. The fieldwork had conducted from September 18 to December 10, 2008. Finally, in this study, I analyzed all the collected data thematically and developing generalizations.

5. Data Presentation and Findings

After the restoration of the multi-party system in 1990, the government of Nepal has been facing several internal problems including the Maoist armed conflict. These arose when the CPN (Maoist) launched what they declared to be a 'People's War' in Nepal in 1996. It is said that factors like political, economic, socio-ethnic, lack of governance, and regional and international influences have been playing a major role in the emergence and growth of Maoist armed conflict in Nepal. At the same time, factors such as rampant corruption, nepotism, injustice, unemployment, inequality, discrimination, exclusion, and poverty were helping to the emergence and growth of Maoist armed conflict. But, in the context

of complex conflict like the Maoist armed conflict in Nepal, it is very hard to identify and separate the independent and dependent variables, as independent variables become dependent and dependent turn into independent. The Maoist armed conflict-affected mostly the Magar, especially in Rolpa and Rukum which are the Magar dominant districts; and it is supposed that Magar has greater numbers of militia in Maoists' force.

The study conducted in Thabang Village revealed the fact that many motivating factors had contributed to the emergence and growth of Maoist armed conflict in the study area. The research conducted in the study area revealed the fact that most of the people were motivated into the armed conflict due to social exclusion. The Maoist party took the policy to mobilize the socially excluded people for the armed conflict in the name of their emancipation. As one of the informants had put it :

We were not only excluded from being indigenous people as Magar but also excluded by blaming as adopting illegal livelihood strategy from the government. One of the cash crops of our community had hemp and its products once upon a time. We used to plant hemp, not for illegal purposes like opium. The hemp had multi-dimensional usefulness to us. We used to get jute from the hemp plant and used to make clothes. And, also by making the thread from jute we used to sell it and bought everyday necessities. When the government declared hemp illegal we lost one of our livelihood strategies. Hemp for us was like a Paddy for the people of Terai. Police had destroyed the plantation of hemp and we became rebellious against the police.

Nepal depends heavily on agriculture and more than 80% of people are associated with agriculture for their subsistence. Due to the inappropriate management of land and lack of a scientific agricultural system the production is very minimal. It is directly related to the economy of the country. Economic factors play a crucial role in the development of the country. Without economic development and poverty reduction, the expectations and livelihood of people can neither be fulfilled nor managed. When people became economically excluded there begins conflicts with the groups or country.

The study conducted by the researcher in the study area revealed the facts that, it was Mohan Bikram who had played a

significant role in the emergence and growth of Maoist armed conflict by cultivating the communist ideological seed in the study area. Regan (Political name), an inhabitant of Thabang Village, a pro-head of local people government and an active member of Maoist party, claimed that :

Mohan Bikram was the greatest hero not only in Thabang but also within the whole Rapti zone, once upon a time. He was the first person who had met Barman Budha and Krishna Jhankri in Pyuthan jail and made them communist. The credit also goes to Mohan Bikram for planting the seed of communist ideology in Thabang. "Thabang had become Thabang because Mohan Bikram was there", says Regan. After breaking off with Nirmal Lama, Mohan Bikram Singh set up his party in November 1983 called CPN (Masal). In 1985, after its fifth Congress, Masal broke up once more, this time into CPN (Masal) and CPN (Mashal) with the former Mohan Bikram and the latter led by Mohan Baidya. The camp of Mohan Baidya, CPN (Mashal) is now called Maoist Party. "But, we decided to involve in Mohan Baidya's camp by leaving the Mohan Bikram", says Regan. Due to the massive oppression of administration and the marginalization from the state to the people, it became inevitable of armed people's war for emancipation. Mohan Bikram had trained us, and we had also collected local weapons like guns, spears, etc., for the people's war. During the training, he always said us to be ready for war but he never declared war and we decided to leave him. People's War will begin but when? It had never begun. All hopes were turned into dust. After the Army operation in 1981 in Thabang, some villagers had gone to meet Mohan Bikram, at that time Mohan Bikram used to live in India. People had shared their pains and sorrows with him and had requested to return to the village. But, Mohan Bikram advised them to live in India by doing the job. He had also added that his idea was the best one for their safety. They have known his intention and returned home by blaming him as Gaddar (Unfaithful).

The study conducted in Thabang Village in 2008 also revealed the fact that oppression was the main motivating factor for the emergence and growth of Maoist armed conflict in the study area. It is said that the armed conflict which was launched by CPN (Maoist) in 1996 had started in this area. Before and during the Maoist armed conflict people were oppressed in many ways. In between 1996 to

2005 total of 31 persons were lost their lives in the armed conflict. Police and army had done joint operation in Thabang Village more than 15 times during the Maoist armed conflict. Even no single individual can found safe from oppression, more or less all were suppressed by the administration. Lali Roka, an inhabitant of Thabang Village was brutally killed by the police. Such types of brutal and inhuman oppression initiated people to involve Maoist armed conflict to take revenge. As another respondent had put it as :

A 33-year-old community health worker, Lali Roka of Thabang Village, while administrating polio vaccination at the health post on January 18, 1997, on polio day, was arrested by the police and taken into custody. She was brutally tortured during interrogation. When she became unconscious, she was set to fire after pulling down one side roof or the cowshed at Chaubang Khola, nearby the police post. While she was being set on fire by the security forces, her loud screaming was heard around the village. Indeed, she had just been unconscious because of cruel, inhumane, and degrading treatment. The following morning villagers gathered at the site and saw the unburnt leg and later identified that she was Lali.

The Major Army Operation which was held in Thabang Village in 1981 was the first Operation. In that operation, many villagers were arrested and kept in Jail by blaming them as anti-nationalist and anti-people forces. It had contributed to creating true consciousness to the local Kham Magar people to revolt against their enemy. After the restoration of democracy, people were also exploited by the democratic government. Operation Romeo and kilo Sierra Two were launched by the democratic government to suppress the people in the name of a terrorist. When security forces entered the village all villagers used to made shelter in the jungle. They lived there until the security forces left their village. To live in peaceful conditions was almost impossible during the armed conflict. Comrade Syaula presents his story about how he became a revolutionary as :

Comrade Syaula, 41 years old, an inhabitant of Thabang Village, had met Badal (political name) in his village, at the age of 15. "Badal used to train us in the upper site jungle of the village", says Syula. During the training, he used to encourage us to prepare for the People's War, but, I did not know what actually about it. People also had doubts to win the war without

reliable weapons. Badal used to convince us by saying that weapons themselves would come into the village. But, how is it possible? We didn't believe it at first. When the war began to start, we gradually got success to seize the weapons from the police in our village. Badal's speech about weapons came true and in reality, we got the weapons in our village.

I used to work a road construction labour before launching the armed conflict in Achham district. I had returned home one month later the declaration of the People's war and used to work as a cowherd. But some wily people of the village blamed me as a Maoist criminal and police did start to search for me. I became underground to save my life and joined with Maoist party. I did for Maoist by taking different roles assigned by the party. During wartime, I lost my right hand by blasting a grenade accidentally. I think oppression is the main motivating factor for the emergence and growth of Maoist armed conflict. Police and Army oppressed many times in the village by charging fake issues to the villagers. They also took the life of Lali Roka, a health volunteer by raping in the group which also encouraged me for revenge. "I believed with Maoist leaders' speech about the establishment of a just society." "We captured weapons and would government too then why would not possible for the establishment of communism?" But, it takes more time, so to establish Magars' autonomous state is our current goal" Syula concluded.

Nepal's importance, seen from the international perspective, lies not in its size or its natural resources, but its strategic location between two Asian powers, China and India. Both have been competing for leadership in Asia since the mid-1950s. Both China and India want to use Nepal as their wishes, due to the geographical situation of Nepal. For India, Nepal is the strong keystone for northern side safety and China; Nepal must be fully independent, without any tension from India. For this sake, there must be stability in Nepal from the view of China. So, the research conducted in the Thabang Village also revealed the fact that China and the Maoist armed conflict were somewhere related. As another informant put it :

Comrade Gore, 60 years old, an inhabitant of Thabang Village had involved Barman Budha's camp when Thabang Village had divided into two camps due to the conflict between Ram Kumar Budha and Barman Budha. "I had become a communist party

member in 1976", says Gore. At that time China-Nepal Maitri Sangh used to send magazines in the village. Our elders like Suryalal Budha and Barman Budha also used to talk about the successful communist revolution in China. During that time, Police administration charged us by blaming us as anti-nationalist, anti-people, anti-King, and criminal elements, only because we were being communist. But I don't think that we were wrong. Administration severely charged us at different times, although the Major Army Operation was major ones. We planned to take revenge against the administration. In between the years of armed conflict, the administration charged many operations frequently in the Thabang Village. During the time of armed conflict, I lost my sister Lali Roka. Police arrested her at that time she was involving in the Polio Drop program as a volunteer in the village health post. They raped her in the group and brutally killed her. So, oppression is the main factor that motivated me to involve in the Maoist armed conflict.

It was due to the Kham Magars' social and cultural conditions which helped to the emergence and growth of Maoist armed conflict in the study area. Kham Magars were communal in social and cultural respects which helped them to adopt the communist ideology and later they became Maoist activists.

The ideology of the Maoist Party was favorable for the Kham Magar people to take revenge against the state. Maoists took religion as the opium of society. The Kham Magars also decided to clean their stigma by adopting Maoist ideology. The commonality of the Kham Magars culture was favorable for the Maoists. The severe oppressions before and during the Maoist armed conflict also helped them to motivate the armed struggle. In Kham culture, people face individual problems collectively. To sacrifice themselves for the sake of their community is common practice. Durkheim's collective conscience and Marx's material interpretation of history are appropriate here to find out the motivating factors for the emergence and growth of Maoist armed conflict in the study area.

6. Conclusion

The study conducted in Thabang Village revealed the fact that many motivating factors had contributed to the emergence and growth of Maoist armed conflict in the study area. Among them were mainly economic, social, cultural, religious, psychological, historical,

and geopolitical factors. Social exclusion was one of the motivating factors for the emergence and growth of the Maoist armed conflict. Kham Magar had excluded from economical, social, cultural, geographical, educational, developmental, religious, and political spheres. They had demanded to study in their languages. But the government didn't allow it. They were also excluded by blaming as adopting illegal livelihood strategy. Religious and ethnic communities have been drawn to the Maoist cause by the promise of autonomy of religions and culture. Poverty was another motivating factor for the emergence and growth of Maoist armed conflict.

Mohan Bikram had played a significant role in the emergence and growth of Maoist armed conflict by cultivating the communist seed in the Study Area. Oppression was another main motivating factor for the emergence and growth of Maoist armed conflict. Analyzing the geopolitical situation, Maoists adopts both Mao and Che Guevara's Military science. The geopolitical situation of Nepal, especially western hills was more suitable to adopt those military tactics. Maoist fully utilized this situation by guiding the ideology of MLM. Thus, ideology and philosophy had played the role of motivating factor for the emergence and development of Maoist conflict in the study area. quality of leadership had also one of the motivating factors.

Psychological factors had also played a great role in the emergence of the armed conflict in the study area. The frustration of youth, unemployed mass and students failed in SLC and those who were expecting more from the political change of 1990 and getting nothing. So, they have no choice left only to join Maoist armed conflict. Another motivating factor for the emergence and growth of the Maoist armed conflict was the history of Kham Magar itself. The geopolitical situation had played as another motivating factor for the emergence and growth of Maoist armed conflict. Both China and India want to use Nepal as their wishes, due to the geographical situation of Nepal. For India, Nepal is a strong keystone for northern side safety, and for China, Nepal must be fully independent, without any tension from India. For this sake, China-Nepal Maitri Sangh used to send the magazines to the village before launching the Maoist armed conflict. The social and cultural conditions of Kham Magars are based on collective conscience and collective action. This had played as the main dominating factor in the emergence and growth of Maoist armed conflict in the study area.

References

- Adhikari, Indra, "Women in Conflict : The Gender Perspective in Maoist Insurgency", Lok Raj Baral (ed.), *Nepal Facets of Maoist Insurgency*, New Delhi : Adroit Publishers, 2006.
- Baral, Lok Raj, *Nepal : Problems of Governance*, New Delhi : Konark Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 1993.
- Bhattachan, Krishna Bahadur, "Possible Ethnic Revolution or Insurgency in a Predatory Unitary Hindu State", Dhruva Kumar (ed.), *Domestic Conflict and Crisis of Governability in Nepal*, Kathmandu : Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, 2000.
- Chamlagai, Abi Narayan, "Maoist Insurgency: An Ideological Diagnosis", Lok Raj Baral (ed.), *Nepal Facets of Maoist Insurgency*, Delhi : Adroit Publishers, 2006.
- Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler, "Justice-Seeking and Loot Seeking in Civil War", Draft Paper, 17 February 1999.
- DFID, *Economic Aspects of Insurgency in Nepal*, Report 57/02, United Kingdom : Department for International Development, 2003.
- Do, Quy-Toan and Lakshmi Iyer, "Poverty, Social Divisions and Conflict in Nepal", World Bank Policy Research Working Paper-4228, May 2007.
- Gurung, Harka, "Nepal: Maoist Insurgency and Indigenous People", *Nepali Journal of Contemporary Studies*, III(2), September 2003.
- Gurung, Harka, "Social Exclusion and Maoist Insurgency", Paper presented at National Dialogue on the ILO Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal People, Kathmandu, Nepal, 19-20 January 2004.
- Hachhethu, Krishna, *Party Building in Nepal : Organization, Leadership and People : A comparative Study of the Nepali Congress and the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist)*, Kathmandu : Mandala Book Point, 2002.
- Hoftun, Martin, William Raeper and John Whelpton, *People, Politics and Ideology: Democracy and Social Change in Nepal*, Kathmandu : Mandala Book Point, 1999.
- Hutt, Michael (ed.), *Himalayan People's War : Nepal's Maoist Rebellion*, London : C.Hurst and Co. Ltd, 2004.
- Hutt, Michael, (ed.), *Nepal in the Nineties*, Delhi : Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Karki, Arjun and Binod Bhattarai (eds.), *Whose War? : Economic and Socio-Cultural Impacts of Nepal's Maoist-Government Nepal*, NGO Federation of Nepal, 2004.
- Karki, Arjun and David Seddon (eds.), *The People's War in Nepal : Left Perspectives*, New Delhi : Adroit Publishers, 2003.
- Kumar, Dhruva (ed.), *Domestic Conflict and Crisis of Governability in Nepal*, Kathmandu : Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, 2000.

- Kumar, Dhruva, *Yuddha Ko Artha Shaashtra* (in Nepali) *in Nepal*, 28-31, February 2004.
- Kushum, Govinda, "Nepal In-Country Workshop on preventive Action", *Workshop : Participant's Manual*, United Nations Staff Collage Project, 2001.
- Mahat, Ram Sharan, *In Defense of Democracy : Dynamics, and Fault Lines of Nepal's Political Economy*, India: Adroit Publishers, 2005.
- Mishra, C., "Locating the 'Causes' of the Maoist Struggle", A Paper presented at the International Workshop on 'Causes of Internal Conflicts and Means to Resolve Them : Case Study of Nepal', Organized in 22-24 February, 2004.
- Molnar, Augusta, "Economic Strategies and Ecological Constraints: Case of the Kham Magar of North West Nepal", C. Von Furer-Haimendorf (ed.), *Asian Highland Societies : In Anthropological Perspective*, New Delhi : Sterling Publisher Pvt. Ltd 1981.
- Muni, S. D., *The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal : The Challenge and the Response*, New Delhi : Rupa and Co, 2003.
- Murshed, S. M., and S. Gates, *Spatial-Horizontal Inequality and the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal*, Washington, DC : World Bank, February 2003.
- Onesto, Li, Report from the People's War in Nepal, Deepak Thapa (ed.), *Understanding the Maoist Movement in Nepal*, Nepal : Martin Chautari, 2003.
- Panday, Devendra Raj, *Nepal's Failed Development : Reflections on the Mission and the Maladies*, Kathmandu : Nepal South Asia Study Centre, 1999.
- Pandey, Nishchal Nath, *Nepal's Maoist Movement and Implications for India and China*, New Delhi : Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 2005.
- Parwez, Shahid Md, "An Empirical Analysis of the Conflict in Nepal", NRM Working Paper Series No. 7, Asian Development Bank, July 2006.
- Raj, Prakash A., *Maoist in the Land of Buddha : An Analytical Study of the Study of Maoist Insurgency in Nepal*, Delhi : Nirala Publications, 2004.
- Sales, Anne de, "The Kham Magar Country, Nepal; Between Ethnic Claims and Maoism" (Translated by David N. Gellner), *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research*, 19, Autumn 2000.
- Shrestha, Chunda Bahadur, *Nepal : Coping with Maoist Insurgency*, Nepal : Chetana Lokshum, 2004.
- Thapa, Deepak (ed.), *Understanding the Maoist Movement of Nepal*, Kathmandu : Martin Chautari 2003.
- Thapa, Deepak and Bandana Sijapati, *A Kingdom under Seize : Nepal's Maoist Insurgency, 1996 to 2003*, Kathmandu : The Print House, 2003.
- Tiwari, Bishow Nath, "An Assessment of the Causes of Conflict in Nepal", A Paper to be presented at the Second Annual Himalayan Policy Research Conference Nepal Study Centre, Madison 11 October 2007.

Upreti, Bishnu Raj, *Armed Conflict and Peace Process in Nepal : The Maoist Insurgency, Past Negotiations, and Opportunities for Conflict Transformation*, New Delhi : Adroit Publishers, 2006.

Upreti, Bishnu Raj, *The Price of Neglect; From Resource Conflict to Maoist Insurgency in the Himalayan Kingdom*, Kathmandu : Bhrikuti Academic Publications, 2004a.

Whelpton, John, "Political Identity in Nepal : State, Nation, and Community", D. N. Gellner, J. Pfaff-Czarnecka & J. Whelpton (eds.), *Nationalism and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom : The Politics of Culture in Contemporary Nepal*, Amsterdam : Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997, 39-78. ★