

**TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY**

**(Mis) representation of People's War in Nepal: A Critical Study of the Three  
Representative Works on the People's War**

**A Thesis submitted to the Central Department of English, TU in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in English**

**By**

**Kiran Usha Pun Pratiksha**

**Central Department of English**

**Kirtipur, Kathmandu**

**April 2010**

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**Central Department of English**

**Letter of Recommendation**

This thesis entitled “(Mis) representation of People’s War in Nepal: A Critical Study of the Three Representative Works on the People’s War” submitted to the Central Department of English Tribhuvan University by Kiran Usha Pun Pratiksha has been completed successfully. He carried out this research seriously. I therefore recommend him to submit it for the final Viva Voce.

.....

**Dr. Tara Lal Shrestha**

**(Supervisor)**

**TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY**  
**Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences**

**Central Department of English**

**Letter of Approval**

This thesis entitled “(Mis) representation of People’s War in Nepal: A Critical Study of the Three Representative Works on the People’s War” submitted to the Central Department of English Tribhuvan University by Kiran Usha Pun Pratiksha has been approved by the undersigned members of the research committee.

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Kiran Usha Pun Pratiksha

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## **Abstract**

As the Maoist insurgency was raging in Nepal, many readers and well wishers of Nepali literature anticipated that the market would be flooded with realistic and authentic literary works, depicting the devastations, heroisms and ordeals of the war. But close study of People's war literature reveals the scarcity of representative and archetypical works on the theme of a decade long 'People's War.'

To prove this claim, I have categorized and surveyed three kinds of writings: hard-core, anti-war and middle-path literary works of People's War. To clarify this claim, I have tried to analyze the three works of Ajya Shakti's 'Andhisang Khelda', Mahesh Bikram Shah's 'Chhapamarko Chhoro' and Gobind Bartman's 'Sohra Sanjhaharoo' applying Theodor Adorno's Cultural Criticism as the ideas of Immanent and Transcendent.

Those who wrote in the favor of 'People's War' became the victim of immanent criticism and they only presented ideological positive aspect of war only; who penned anti-people's war they did not catch the spirit of realistic panorama of people's war and headed towards transcendental criticism. The reason behind this is that they limited in city and based on big media houses of Kathmandu. The middle-path writers tried to apply dialectical criticism, but they raised only dark side of People's War and also came to be seen limited in city areas with the secondary data and information.

As a result, there has not yet been written representative and archetypical People's War literature.

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### Acronyms

CPN UML	–	Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist-Leninist)
CPNM	–	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)
DSP	–	Deputy Superintendent of Police
NC	–	Nepali Congress
NP	–	Nepal police
PL	–	Platoon
PLA	–	People's Liberation Army
RNA	–	Royal Nepal Army
SF	–	Security Forces
SLR	–	Self Loading Rifle
VC	–	Vice commander
PW	–	People's War

**Note:** I selected Nepali literary texts, the references used in English in this dissertation are my translations.



## I. Introduction

The emergence of cultural criticism is at the core of the contemporary critical discourse as a burning issue. This approach developed with roots in the British Cultural studies movement of the 1960s. A movement that reflected and contributed to the unrest of that decade, it both fueled and was fueled by the challenge to tradition and authority apparent in everything from the anti-war movement to the emergence of "hard rock" music. Birmingham University's centre for contemporary cultural studies, founded by Stuart Hall and Richard Hoggart in 1964, quickly became the locus of the movement, which both critiqued elitist definitions of culture and drew upon a wide variety of disciplines and perspectives.. The fact that the centre was founded in the mid-1960s is hardly surprising; cultural criticism, based as it is on a critique of elitist definition of culture. Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre launched, in France, in 1929.

In Britain the terms Cultural Criticism and cultural studies have been used more or less interchangeably, and, to add to the confusion, both terms have been used to refer to the analysis of literature. And, other forms in their social, political, or economic context. Cultural critics examine how literature emerges from, influences, and competes with other forms of discourse such as religion, science) within a given culture.

In an essay on "Cultural Studies", Stuart Hall describes the emergence of this kind of criticism in the 1950s as a "significant break" in the history of criticism. Mary Poovey writes, "old lines of thought are disturbed, older constellations displaced, and elements old and new are regrouped around a different set of premises and themes"(275). At this juncture, Mary Poovey emphasizes:

Each of these writers argues that without some concept of culture, we can't understand historical transformations or the place of those texts considered to incarnate "the best that has been thought and said". He adds, "The self consciousness of the three texts Hall cites moreover- their attention to the fact that such critical work invariably participates in (rather than simply reflecting upon) what counts as culture- dovetail with the agenda of the New Left so as to place the politics of intellectual work squarely at the center of cultural studies. In practice, this means that cultural criticism necessarily takes itself as one of the objects of its own scrutiny, since critical practice- whether in the form of teaching, lecturing, or writing- is viewed as a constitutive part of culture and therefore as always already political-as the participant, or even an intervention, in the exercise of power. (275)

Many types of literary criticisms are similar and because many overlap or draw from elements of each other, keeping them straight can get a little confusing. New historicism and cultural criticism are very similar. New historicism focuses, not on historical facts, which cannot always be relied upon to be totally a cultural criticism, but rather on the interpretations of history and what that tells us about those who did the interpreting. New historians believe that it is impossible for historians to be objective because they are viewing history through the lens of their own society and culture. In other words, their backgrounds color everything they see and interpret. New historians consider history similar to stories, in that history is recorded a cultural criticism to a particular point of view

A new historicist will look at a text to find the cultural conflicts and ideologies that were present in the society which produced the work. Cultural criticism follows

many of the same principles as new historicism, but it tends to be geared more towards political issues and popular culture than new historicism.

Cultural criticism draws quite a bit from other forms of criticism, such as Marxism, feminism, African American criticism, etc. Basically, any type of criticism that examines the culture in which the work was written could be defined as Cultural Criticism.

Cultural critics do not see a distinction between different forms of culture. For example, "high" culture, things such as the theatre, opera, art, the symphony, aren't considered any more or less important than "low" culture items, such as television, pop music, or stand-up comedians. To a cultural critic, all these forms of culture are equally important.

A cultural critic would look at a literary work to determine what kind of social behavior the work might promote, what kind of readers might enjoy the work, why, what social understandings the work relies on, if the values of the reader are similar to the values promoted in the work, and other questions that would help connect the work to the culture that produced it and those cultures interpreting it. Vincent B. Leitch Leitch argues for the use of post structural theory in cultural criticism. He maintains that deconstruction remains crucial for truly critical approach to cultural studies. The turn toward "dis-course" and away from "literature" has led to a resurgence of cultural criticism, a mode of analysis revitalized and reformed by the arrival of "theory."

When the critiques of identity and reference derived from poststructuralism and (more complexly) from feminism, they are added to the pre-cultural criticism. Mary Poovey describes:

culture as the ground of human activity, the result is something like the three-tiered enterprise that I'm calling cultural criticism: the study of culture as an interdependent set of institutional and informal practices and discourses; the study of the traces this larger social formation produces in individual texts; the study of the role own practice—in this case, teaching—plays in reproducing or subverting, the dominant cultural formation. [T]he basic premise, as I see it, of a cultural criticism informed by post structuralism is that concepts we treat as if they were things are seen as the effects of representations and institutional practices, not their origin. (275)

### **Writing Trends of People's War Literature**

I think to discuss on the subject matter of people's war literature is itself a vague issue. Generally, any literature which is written on the subject matter of people's war is understood as a people's war literature. Though there is written many literary works, but all those works are not centralized totally on this war topics. Some works are centralized on this issue, but others are just touched. Nowadays, writing on this subject has been converted in really just like fashion. Our expectation should not be a fashion but an authenticity and qualitative creation.

During the one decade long Peoples War, we know that there are numerous literary works such as novel, essay, poetry, songs, film, and drama. *Lal Salam*, *Janyuddha*, *Kisan*, *Aawaj* films are made especially centralized on this war. *Sari Soldiers* (direction by American journalist July), *a stove, a blouse and a Gun* and *Bullet to Ballet* (direction by Subina Shrestha), *Parkhaika Char barsh*, and *Sangharsaka Teen Dasak* (direction by Netra Panthi), *Jungalama Radio* (direction by Netra Panthi and Aruna Rayamajhi) *Aankha Ajhai Obhaeka Chhainan* (direction by

Nabin Bibhas), *Forgive not Forget* and so on documentaries are made in the theme of People's War. Writing this campaign is long process and it is going on, in coming days there would be further research on this matter. My evaluation and research here is till now what is written. On the basis of this assumption, we can evaluate many literary genres, which are written with multiple perspectives. Especially, the perspective is three ways. Critic Nabin Bibhas argues:

there are written three types of PW literature. Firstly, 'for' literary group, who glorify the war and convince to people to participate in war .Second one is against war literary group, who try to prove the PW is 'terrorist' activities and they do not accept to need of the people's war. Third group is middle path oriented group, who criticize both Maoist and government as well. (*Mulyankan 21*)

Another critic, Ganga Shreshtha, is also near with Bibhas's this categories. He further explains three group is such a way: "hard core of PW, anti-war and middle-path one, who created illusion (Bharm Palne ra Bharm Chharne Bichaule Dhar)" (Sanskriti Samiksha 81).

### **'For' People's War**

In the beginning stage, People's War supporter group's literary creations were not allowed to be published because of the political ban on Maoist party and its ideology. So, most of those group's writings had no publicity in the city-oriented intellectuals. Their writings were just limited to the party publication media, and also limited to cadres.

But anti-war and middle-path circles' writings were hyped. Some literary creators, from die-hard group, were arrested, kidnapped and killed by the government side. Krishna Sen 'Ichchhuk', Chunu Gurung, D.Kaudinya were key literary figures of

these group, who were killed by Police and RNA. Purna Biram and Nabin Bibhas were kidnapped and disappeared so long by the RNA.

Because of the 'Political Banned' on Maoism, their supporter group's writing was almost unknown among city-oriented intellectuals and writers. After the agreement of the peace, their literary creations are available.

It seems that, according to quantitative point of view, war-supporting literary works are more than anti-war and middle-path literature. Hard-core war writers are Maoist senior leaders to the PLA and local cadres. Chaitanya, CP Gajurel, etc, are the top most leaders of Maoist party. Lokendra Bista, Mani Thapa, Ganga Shreshtha, Rit Bahadur Khadka, Purna Gharti Magar, Krishna Sen 'Ichchhuk', Ishwar Chandra Gyawali were central leaders from those group. In this school there are also so many writers who are not the Maoist cadres. There are thousands of literary works, published from this category.

### **Poem, Song and Gajal**

Krishna Sen 'Ichchhuk', Purna Biram, Mani Thapa are key poets of 'For' People's War poetry. *Janayuddhaka Kabita* (collection of people's war supporter poems), Mani Thapa's *Bagiraheko Sunkoshi*, Satya Pahadi's *Aago, Labha ra Huri*, Dhaneshwar Pokhrel's *Bidrohako Yug*, Ganesh Bhandari's *Asthako Niharikabata*, *Aathau Mahadeshma Columbus*, Deep Shikha's *Sansar Pheri Rachinchha*, Balaram Timilsina's *Yuddhabhumika Geetharoo*, Yagya Bahadur Dangi's *Usako Hatyapachhi*, K.L. Peedit's *Jhola ra Sapanaharoo*, Nabin Bibhas's *Unaka Gajal*, Ishwar Chandra Gyawali's *Hurika Spandanharoo*, *Aagoka Shabdabimba*, *Yasari Desh Marirahekochha*, *Hamro Rato Yatra*, Lokendra Bista's *O Mera Sundar Laliguransharoo*, Punya Kariki, Rajendra Paudel's collections of poems are some of the literary pieces supporting the people's war.

Likewise, other works glorifying and underlining the significance of the Maoist rebellion include Dabal Mahara's *Mukti Yuddha*, Nibha Shah's *Inklab Jindabab* and *Kalapaniki Draupadi*, Chunu Gurug's *Belisara*, Hiramani Dukhi's *Joon Paskine Yatrama*, Debendra Paudel's *Unyu Phuleko Karki Netama* and *Laliguranska Geetharoo*, Keshav Silawal's *Dharila Manisharoo*, D. Kaudinya's *Banduk*, Aansu ra *Phoolharoo*, Jayanta Gharti Magar's *Ladainka Geetharoo*, Rishiram Lamichhane's *Aandhi Aaudaichha*, Anil Nepal's *Asthako Stambha*, Dil Shahani's *Aasthako Sagarmatha*, Nara Bahadur B.C.'s *Rato Gham*, Samir Yatri's *Hiu Pani Umlirahechha*, Debidas Ghimire's *Badhasalabat Pharkada*, Anil Sharma's *Agni Panchhika Geetharoo*, Dinesh Dulal's *Manab Yatanashala*, Kushal Bogati's *Shreepechako Chihanmathi Ubhier*, Ashok Subedi's *Nayan Samayaka Nayan Manchhe*, Ram Prasad Jaisi's *Salik ra Manchheharoo* and other works have been published.

Most of the literary works written on the subject have been poems. Some prominent poets of this particular genre are Ganga Shreshtha, Mitralal Pageni, Nadiram KC, Mast Bist, Kulanand Giri, Kamal Pun, Dilli Malla, Nakima, Krishna Kusum, Bandhu Bikram Chhetri, Sita Sharma, Aparajita, Manju Marmika, Mahendra Ghimire, Swapnil Smriti, Hari Bahadur Karmacharya, Khemraj Sharma, Shankar Adhikarai, Raju Ale Magar, Muna Nishchal, Bipal Boyung, Bishad, Shekhar Aryal, Ram Kumar Shrestha, Bishnu Nembang Subba, Bishnu Shrapit, Sargamanjari, Rajaram Raut, LG Bibas, Brabim Kumar, Ashok Kunwar, Umesh Acharaya, D.P. Dhakal, Drishya, Raj Kumar Kunwar, R.P. Timilsina, Nadish, Pratha, Punya Prasad Rimal, Nabaraj Kshitij, and Dhrub Satya.

Some other people's war supporting writers have come out with dozens of audio-visual materials of their songs to reach out to the common man in the remote areas. Pioneer lyricists and singers of this school are Khusiram Pakhrin, Sita Acharya,

Pradeep Dewan, Maila Lama, Jhankar Budha Magar, Mohit Shrestha, Bidrohi, Surya Prakash Pun, Purna Gharti Magar, Santosh Budha Magar, Kulman Budha Magar, Kulanand Giri, Prajwal Khadka, Kamal Pun, Mahesh Budha Magar, Umapa Singh.

### **Short-Story**

Very few short stories have been published on the people's war compared to poetry. Dr. Risiraj Baral's *Sainya Upahar*, *Banmanchheko Katha*, *Paiyu Phulna Thalepachhi*, C.P. Gajurel's *Pratirodha*, Saugat Acharya's *Sankalpayatra*, Sarala Regmi's *Chudaldai Bandhanharoo*, Kamal Niol's *Nayan Itihas*, Nabin Bibhas's *Aadha Bato Hindepachhi*, K.L. Peedit's *Samayka Katha*, Anjan Birahi's *Anjan Birahika Kathaharoo*, Ghanshyam Dhakal's *Aajko Mahabharat*, and Punya Karki's *Makhamali* and *Madhyaratama* are some notable works of short-fiction published in this regard. Harihar Khanal, Shyam Kumar Budha Magar 'Chintan', Kamala Roka Magar, Rohit Dahal, Dil Sahani, Bhaskar, Ashok Subedi, Lekali Khadka, Jitaman Pun, Bhim Kumari Batha, Bishes Pun, Jhapendra Baidhya, Puran Kshetri are also among the writers who used to write short stories.

### **Novel**

Though few compared to poetry, a significant number of short stories were published in support of the people's war, but an even lesser number of novels were published on the subject. These published works include Sukum Sharma's *Anabarat Yatra*, Kamal Niol's *Muktimarg*, Ram Chandra Bhattarai's, *Balidanko Nam Jwala*, Ghanshyam Dhakal's *Rato Aakash*, Rishiraj Baral's *Samargatha*, Sarala Regmi's *Prabah Yug Pathak's Urgenka Ghoda*, Nadiram KC's *BidrohakoGeet*.

### **Essay (Memoirs, Letters)**

There is a long list of essays, especially memoirs most of which were written by people who were at the battlefield or involved in the people's war. Prabesh Pun's *Al*



*Bida Comrade Sahansila*, Ganaga Bahadur Lama's *Dash Barshe Janayuddha*: *Smritika Dobaharoo*, Shyam Kumar Budha Magar's *Aandhimay Tee Dinharoo*, Nirmal Mahara's *Pharker Herda: Janayuddhaka Ek Dashk* and *Gaurabasali Itihas ra Yuddha Morchaka Anubhutiharoo*, Punya Karki's *Kabiko Chhaitau Indriya*, Prem Sudha's *Pratibandhit Kalam*, Nabin Bibhas's *Rata Pani Aithan Pareko Ratama*, Mohit Shreshtha's *Jiudo Sapana*, Dr. Rishi Raj Baral's *Pheri Lal Bhanjyangner Ubhier*, *Priyajanaharooko Samjhanama*, and *Kuhiro ra Ghodhchadiharoo*, Lekhnath Nyaupane's *Chithima Janayuddha*, Manarishi Dhital's *The Final Days of People's War* are some of the works published in this genre. Memoirs of Nabin Sanghrsh, Chamkila Tara, Upama Singh, Krishna Sen 'Ichchhuk', Deependra Rokaya, Chetan Kunwar, Gobind Acharya, Dewaki Timilsina, Kumar Shah, Prabhat Chalaune, Dilli Malla, Raj Kumar Kunwar, and many other writers have also been published.

### **PLA Writer**

We can get a long list of PLA writers especially in memoirs where they relate their experiences how they fought with the then RNA and the police. Nand Kishor Pun 'Pasang's *Mahatwapurn Fauji Karbahiharoo* (memoirs and attacking plans of PLA), Uday Bahadur Chalaune 'Deepak's *Bidrohaka Padachapaharoo* (memoirs), PLA sixth divison's *Janabadi Deuda* (songs), Bir Bahadur K.C.'s *Rata Phoolharoo* (memoirs), Rishiram Khadka's *Gham Udaeko Desh* (poems), Suresh Pahadi's *Yuddhamorchaka Dobaharoo* (memoirs), Bishnu Bahadur Shahi's *Raktim Itihas* (memoirs), Kshitij Magar's *Sunchhahariko Einama* (short stories), Jhakku Prasad Pun's 'Nirmam's *Abhyast Sipahi* (short stories), Saral Sahayatri's collections of short-stories etc. books have been published.

### **Criticism**

We don't have a long list of critics and books of criticism from this school, and most of them focus on promoting Marxist aesthetics and the people's war and coming down on those who are against it. Chaitanya's *Samiksha ra Saundarya*, 'Marxbadi *Kala Dristi ra Samiksha*, *Kranti ra Saundarya*, Ishwar Chandra Gyawali's *Bargasangharshko Sandarbha*, *Sanskriti ra Saundarya*, Dr Jagadish Chandra Bhandari's *Saundarya ra Nayan Bichar*, Ganga Shrestha's *Sanskriti*, *Samiksha ra Saundarya*, Dr. Gopindra Paudel's *Kathako Saundary Shastra*, Dr. Rishi Raj Baral's *Sangeet ra Saundarya*, *Suchana Bhumandalikaran ra Sanskritik Samrajyabad*, *Sahitya ra Samaj*, *Satta ra Sanskriti*, etc books are available in the market.

Writers are from this school are: Ninu Chapagain, Sudha Tripathi, Ramesh Bhattarai, Dil Sahani, Dr Tarakant Pande, Sukum Sharma, Tikaram Udasi, Punya Karki, Ghanshyam Dhakal, Dhan Prasad Subebi, Nabin Bibhas, Birendra Shahi.

### **Jail Break and Jail Memoir**

In the People's War period, hundreds of Maoist cadres were imprisoned in jails and army barracks. Some of them make breakout and escaped from prison. Some of those 'Jail-breakers' have written memoirs about their jailbreak experiences. Raju Chhetri's *Muktika lagi Sangharsha: Sandharbha Gajuri Barrack Brek* (Gajuri Army Barrack break), Jhak Bahadur Malla's *Surkhet Jel Brekko Antarkatha* (Surkhet Jail Break), Ganesh Bhandari's *Bandi Aakashbiruddha* (Surkhet Jail Break) and Uma Bhujel's *Band Parkhaldekhi Khula aakashmma* (Gorkha Jail Break), Krishna K.C.'s *Badhasalako Yatra* (part 1,2) are some such books published. Likewise, Anil Sharma's *Samjhanama Bharatiya Jail*, Hemant Prakash Oli's *Karabas ka Dinharoo*, Jitaman Basnet's *Andhyara 258 Dinharoo* and other jail memoirs have been published.

### **Miscellaneous**

This school includes books that comprised literary works written in different genres such as poems, lyrics, essays and short stories. *Pidabhitraako Aakros* (a collection of memoirs, essays and poems written by martyrs' wives), *Balidanka Gathaharoo* (creation of martyrs including pioneer literary figures like Krishna Sen, Mast Bista, Chunu Gurung and D.Kaudinya), Khem Tapaliya's *Nagarjun Express* (Drama), etc, books are available in market. And, there are so many literary works are published in party's mouth pieces and party cadre's magazines.

However, not a single epic has been written based on the people's war to this day which can be called as a representative of the people's war in Nepal. And, from this school, almost literary works are dominated by ideology. They are trying to interpret PW from the only positive aspect and seems only one side of People's War. Therefore, they are far from the actual face of People's War.

### **Anti-People's War**

Most of the writers in the anti-war literary group are under the flag of Nepali Congress and CPN (UML). This school's writing ideology not only proves that, some of them are, party's leaders and cadres as well. Anti-PW literary works have largely tried to portray people's war as an act of terrorism. Mostly city centric this group's writers are from the middle class, well-educated and renowned in the Nepalese literary market. These writers are either part of the state or bureaucracy, or have a strong connection with them. Their writings are mostly based on information derived from anti-Maoist media rather than first-hand information collected from people or places directly affected by the people's war. Hence, their works are far from reality, even though they are rich in literary expression.

For instance, the following excerpt from Narayan Wagle's novel *Palpasa Cafe* shows how writers of this particular group try to portray people's war as terrorism:

They have held all the villagers hostage. No one is allowed to move on his own will. This is simply dictatorship. Such activities are a sign of the system they are trying to establish tomorrow. It is possible through guns, but not through people vote (184).

Gobinda Raj Bhattarai *Sukratko Paila* (novel), depicts the total biasness and prejudice towards People's War. Shutting down of the private schools has not been searched the causes but only criticized the activities of Maoist, which is related to transcendental idea.

Founder principal, Janak Singh, has been given a ultimate threaten to save his own life by Maoist. As a result, that school was closed. Some brought their siblings in India, some made admission in government school, some made migration in Madhes and others in the Kathmandu Valley. (*Sukaratka Paila 136*)

Krishna Abiral's *Jalladko Man* (novel), Pradeep Nepal's *Aakasah Gangako Tiraitir* (novel) *Baghmareko Lalasalam*, are some representative works of this anti-war group.

*Conflict and War Stories* (edited by Dr. Gobindraj Bhattarai), is a collection of anti-People's War short stories. This collection comprises short stories by Mohanraj Sharma, Parshu Pradhan, Dhruva Chandra Gautam, Rajendra Bimal, Bhuwan Dhungana, Sanat Regmi, Padmawati Singh, Narendra Paudel, Madhuban Paudel, Dhruva Sapakota, Pradeep Nepal, Ilya Bhattarai, Abinash Shreshtha, Kishor Pahadi, Sirjana Sharma, Gobind Giri Prerana, Dhruva Madhukarmi, Rajendra Parajuli, Mahesha Bikram Shah, Amod Bhattarai, Roshan Thapa Neerab, Pradeep Meyanbo, Rajendra Bimal and Phulman Bal.

But in *Samasamayik Nepali Dwanda Katha* (edited by Dr.Laxman Gautam), another anthology of short stories, space has been given 'For' People's War writings that speak for and against the people's war as well as the middle path.

Writers from this school are, Anamolamani, Yubaraj Nayanghare, Gopal Parajuli, Rajendra Parajuli, Manoj Acharya, Mani Lohani, Thakur Belbase, etc.

### **Middle-Path**

Mostly CPN (UML), CPN (Masal) and some political party related literary figures' writing seems middle path. In their creation, they are attempting to portray the drawback of government side and as well as Maoist. Their writing has censured both sides' activities-Maoist and government. However, they even do not show positive aspects of the war. Their middle path has created so many dilemmas to identify the roadmap in literary theoretical aspect. Ramesh Bikal, Bijaya Chalise, Rudra Kharel, Khagendra Sangraula, Krishna Dharabasi, Purushottam Subedi, Syamal, Bimal Nibha, Gobind Bartman, Hari Gobind Luitel, Narayan Dhakal, R.M.Dangol, Udaya G.M., Mohan Bikram Singh, Padam Gautam, Chanki Shreshtha, Ghanshyam Sharma, Sanjeev Uprety, Dheer Kumar Shrestha, Gayatri Bist, Binod Manjan, Narmadeshwari Satyal, Bishnu Rijal, Biplav Dhakal, Bhagirathi Shreshtha, Bijayaraj Acharay, Bhanu G.M., Biplav Adhikari, Sushil Gautam (Hapur), Padma Prasad Sharama, and some other writers are heading in this path.

Novelist M.P. Kharel's novel, *Pustantar*, has criticized the both sides-Maoist and government. Divided into 21 parts, novel's setting is Tribhuwan University as well as some local parts of Pyuthan and Dang. His novel's theme is centralized to sketch the negative aspect of war. He is so parsimonious to show the some positive aspect of war. His writing is confined in parochial thinking of just negative aspect of both government and Maoist armies' brutality and terror, frightening of students and

local people . Both side's cultural scene has been portrayed superficially. Some following description of this novel justifies this issue:

'Chhatra, I have no authority to light a candle even in my room at great night because army is knocking my doors to put out a stingy candle .As a result, I am unsuccessful to express my feeling in this letter.

Pardon me!' (*Pustantar 6*)

'How can I conscript in their (Maoists) army without agreement of ideological faith ? [I]deological faith does not emerge with kidnapping and intimidation'. (4)

Sanjeev Uprety's *Ghanchakkar* has been written against violence and war. Especially, he focuses on liberal humanism and it is seemed that his writing is against both government and Maoist side. In the name of writing against blood-thirsty, brutality, explosion and ruinous he is failed to catch the spirit of Adorno's dialectical criticism. As a result, his intention of establishing a peace and harmony in the society has become utopia. Every kind of violence, war and blood-thirsty cannot be avoided totally because sometime war also played the productive role in the society.

I remembered a article recounted by Barun when raining was falling:

Manjushree had said before turning north of Syoyambho's hillock,

'One day dark age saturated by severe cruelty, violence, blood-thirsty and treachery would landing up in the valley. Brothers would kill and die each other or a friend would throw a knife to another close friend.

That day, this valley of the creature like fish, tortoise etc would change into big lake as before cutting the Chobhar Dando. (*Ghanchakkar 201*)

Min Bahadur Bista's work, *Meen Bahadur Bistaka Kabita* is a collection of people's war related issues poems. Some poems negative depict the cultural aspect of

rural areas. But symbolically, his writing is not abstained from characterizing only negative aspects of people's war. Aesthetically, his poem's rural images' are trying to express the real pictures, which is praiseworthy aspect of this collection. There are 45 collected poems in this book. *Haraeko Chhoro* and *Gauko Pathasala* are his two effective poems , which show the very pathetic picture of the war.

Bakhat Bahadur Thapa's novel, *Kalchakra*, half part of novel is based on People's War. Furthermore, there are horror images of the war. How the late Royal Nepal Army and People's Liberation Army killed common people in the Rolpa, Rukum like Maoist affected areas. Thapa has tried to show the drawbacks of both sides. He has criticized both forces and tried to claim both are terrorists because both killed innocent and common people. Negative activities like exploitation, terror and cruelty of both sides' has been portrayed. He has called Maoist 'voracists (Khaobadis)'.

*Santrast Aankhaharoo*, a collection of 12 short stories, by Matrika Pokhrel, has tried to outline the complicatedness of the war period. He has criticized to the activities of the state as well as Maoist. He has tried to express with dialectic criticism, but his writing is not also success to show real image, aspect and spirit of dialectical spirit.

Narayan Dhakal's novel, *Durbhikshya* and Bibas Basti's short stories collection, *Yasari nai Aaru Phulchha* Nayan Raj Pande's, *Nidaya Jagadamba*, *Samasamayik Dwandwa Katha* (edited by Dr. Laxman Gautam), Amar Giri's *Tara Pani Hami Jeebit Chhau* and *Gham Chhekne Pahad*, Uday G.M.'s *Unaka Gajal* (gajal collection) and *Puchchhar Nabhaeka Hanuman* (collection of satire essays), Tikaram Udasi, Udaya G.M. and Akasha Ganga B.C.'s poem collection *Mausamaka Haraphaharoo*, Sharad Devkota's poem collection, *Meri Shreemati*, Raj Kumar

Dikpal's short-stories' collection, *Aatankako Chhayamuni*, Mani Koimee's gajal collection *Joonako Aabha* also are in this school. They just limited in terrorism and cruelty of war rather than positive aspect of cultural identity consciousness and awareness of ten year insurgency in the rustic remote areas like Rolpa, Rukum Humla, Jumla of Nepal .

As a whole, middle path oriented writers' writing, represent the darks side of the PW and SF of government. It seems that these categories of writers are city centric and are unfamiliar with the real cultural problem of many indigenous, Dalit, woman, and Madheshi people of remote areas of Nepalese society. Politically, this category writers are under the flag of UML and other small leftist parties. Their source of writing is limited and superficial and based on information of the big media houses in city area rather than remote and rustic areas of Nepalese indigenous cultures like anti People's War writers. City centered and anti-Maoist big media houses like Annpuruna Post, Kantipur, Nagarik daily's information is not authentic cultural problem of exploited people of rustic areas. In conclusion, this categorical writers' writing is not close spirit and feeling to theoretical aspect of dialectical criticism.

Chapter one contains preliminary synopsis of the People's War literature and three trends of writing. Chapter two is the description of cultural criticism and Adorno's notion of immanent, transcendent and dialectical criticism, which is methodological tool. Chapter three emphasizes the textual analysis of three representative literary works of People's war. From 'for' literary group, I have chosen Ajaya Shakti's *Aandhisang Khelda*, Mahesh Bikram Shah's *Chhapamarko Chhoro* from anti People's War, and Gobind Bartaman's *Sohra Sanjhaharoo* from middle-path literary group.



Chapter four focuses on the causes of yet has not been created archetypical People's war literary works and description well wishers of Nepalese literature are still anticipating such genuine, authoritative, representative unbiased works. This chapter is conclusiveness of whole thesis.

## II. Cultural Criticism

Generally, in broad sense, it is considered that Marxism, feminism, lesbian/gay/ queer and post colonial/African -American criticisms are associated to cultural criticism. It develops in a give-and-take relationship with its large cultural landscape. While we are constrained within the limits set for us by our culture, we may have to struggle against those boundaries to transform the backwarded parochialism and provincialism. In human's the earliest to current history, such transformation is natural and fundamental procedure.

It is common sense that cultural criticism is associated with subject matter of everyday lifestyles and customs. In this issue, Ray and Murfin have clarified that many cultural critics have emphasized the cultural criticism as a "the practice of everyday life" (Bedford Glossary 66).The cultural phenomena is really put into practice of everyday routine.

Cultural criticism today, in the view of many, is injured exists without firm declining, our present generation of cultural critics, arriving after the attack of postmodernism. And the increasingly widespread commercialization of culture has been cast free, without any firm basis for judgments. Critics today, it is also claimed, are too cozy behind the viewed walls of academe. We live in an age of commercialism and demonstration. As a result, today's our all lifestyles and cultures are affected by those commercial behaviors.

On another side, many critics are not negligible of political support of cultural criticism. This notion tends to be more overtly politically in its support of the oppressed group. Because of its political orientation, cultural criticism often draws upon Marxist, feminist, and other political theories in performing its analysis. Tyson utters:

When cultural criticism analyzes the operations of oppression, it does not view oppressed peoples, as political theories sometimes do, as helpless victims. Rather, like new historicism views oppressed peoples as both victimized by the dominant power structure and capable of resisting or transforming that power structure. (*Critical Theory* 294)

Tyson focuses the consumeristic influence of especially high and low culture. His interpretation of hierarchical condition of such culture is witnessed with more Marxist point view rather than his own original description. He states:

Marxist criticism, then organized as an analytical approach in its own right during the mid-1960s, cultural criticism, in the narrower definition of the term, argues that working class culture has been misunderstood and undervalued. The dominant class dictates what forms of art are to be considered "high" (superior) culture, such as the ballet, the opera, and the other "fine" arts. Forms of popular culture, on the other hand –such as television situation comedies, popular music, and "pulp" fiction –have been relegated to the status of "low" (inferior) culture. For culture critics, however, there is no meaningful distinction between so-called "high" and "low" forms of culture. (293)

Raymond Williams defines the culture as "a general social process: the giving and taking of meanings ...the process of community"(*Non-Western Studies* 275). It supports not only do meaning form part of life social process but so too do the social practices that we normally think of as separate. Culture is, therefore, conceptualized as the patterns of organization that underwrite and link all parts of the social formation, making of it a "common" culture, a social totality.

Stuart Hall describes the cultural criticism with related to human activities and practices. Hall summarizes the description as the following:

the ground of human activity, the result is something like the three-tired enterprise that I am calling cultural criticism; the study of culture as an interdependent set of institutional and informal practices and discourses; the study of the traces this larger social formation produces in individual texts' the study of the role own our practice- in this case, teaching—plays in reproducing or subverting the dominant cultural formation. ( 277)

### **Critics of Cultural Criticism**

Michel Foucault is strong, continental influence on present—day cultural criticism –and perhaps the strongest influence on American cultural criticism and the so called new historicism, an interdisciplinary form of historical criticism whose evolution has often paralleled that of cultural criticism. Raymond William is a significant cultural critique with his influence works *Culture and Society* .

Cultural criticism has been heavily influenced by Marxism, (some contemporary cultural critics even consider themselves Marxist critics as well), it is important to be familiar with certain Marxist concepts, particularly those advanced by Mikhail Bakhtin, Walter Benjamin, Antonio Gramsci, and Louis Althusser.

Cultural criticism has been used more of less interchangeably, and, to add to the confusion, both terms have been used to refer to two different things. On one hand, they have been used to refer to the analysis of literature including popular, literature and other art forms in their social, political or economic context. On the other hand, they have been used to refer to much broader interdisciplinary study of the interrelationships between a variety of cultural discourses and practices such as

advertising, gift giving and racial categorization. Michel de Certeau, Stuart Hall, and Dick Hebdige, whose 1979 book, *Subculture: The meaning of Style* paved the way for critics like John Fisks, Greil Marcus, and Rachel Bowlby. These analyses have addressed topics such as the resistance tactics employed by televisions viewers, the influence of consumer choice. An example of cultural criticism is Mary Poovey's book *The Proper Lady and the Women Writer* (1984)—in which 18<sup>th</sup> century novels by women are viewed in light of conduct manuals, ladies magazines, and patriarchal system governing the ownership and inheritance of property.

Patrick Brantlinger's *Rule of Darkness* (1988) is another example of cultural criticism. Brantlinger reads Joseph Conrad's "Heart of Darkness" in the context of late 19<sup>th</sup> century imperialism, racism, the goals of the Congo Reform Association, imperialism, popular romances concerning love and adventure, and expose literature (mis) representing cannibalism in Africa.

Cultural critics examine how literature emerges from, influences, and competes with other forms of discourse such as religion, science or advertising within a given culture. They analyze the social contexts in which a given text was written, and under what condition it was—and is—produced, disseminated, and read. Like practitioners of cultural studies, they oppose the view that culture refers exclusively to high culture, culture with a capital C, seeking to make the term refer to popular, folk, urban and mass culture, as well as to that culture we associate with the so-called "great literature". Culture critics argue that what we refer to as a culture is in fact a set of interactive culture, alive and changing, rather than static or monolithic. They favor analyzing literary works not as aesthetic objects complete in themselves but as works to be seen in terms of their relationship to other works, to economic conditions, or to broad social discourses about child birth, women's education, rural decay, etc.

Cultural critics have emphasized what de Certeau, a French theorist, has called 'the practice of everyday life', approaching literature more as an anthropologist than as a traditional "elitist" literary critic.

Cultural critics are as willing to write about *Star Trek* as they are to analyze James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922), a modern literary classic full of allusions to *Homer's Odyssey*. When they do write about *Ulysses*, they likely to emphasize how it reflects and represents cultural forms common to Joyce's *Dublin*, such as advertising, journalism, film, and pub life. They also typically demonstrate how the boundary between high and low culture is transgressed in innumerable ways within works on both sides of the putative cultural divide.

Cultural critic might contrast a revered literary classic with a movie or even a comic strip version. The classic might also be seen in light of some more common form of reading material. Alternatively, it might be seen as the reflection of common cultural myths or concern. Cultural critics might use a work to demonstrate how texts transgress the alleged boundary between low and high culture. For instance, some cultural critics have noted that although William Shakespeare's plays began as popular works enjoyed by working people's, they were later considered "highbrow" plays that only the privileged and educated could appreciate. With the advent of film production, however they have regained an increasingly popular audience. Cultural critics, responding to a spate of Shakespeare plays turned into movies have analyzed the cultural work acultural criticismomplished by Mel Gibson and Franco Zerrirelli in the latters

Russian critic Mikhail Bakhtin viewed literary in terms of discourse and dialogue between discourses. The narrative of a novel written in society in flux, for instance, may include not only an official, legitimate discourses, but others that

challenge that viewpoint. In *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (1929) and *Rabelais and His World* (1940), Bakhtin examined what he called *Polyphonic* novels, each characterized by several voices or discourse. In works by Rabelais, for instance, Bakhtin found that (profane) discourse for the *carnival* and of other popular festivities play against the more official discourses of church and magistrates. Cultural critics have found particularly compelling Bakhtin's suggestions that the dialogue involving "high" and "low" culture takes place not only between classic and popular texts, but also between the dialogic voices the exist within classic texts.

The second Marxist thinker that practitioners of cultural criticism and cultural studies have drawn on his Walter Benjamin, a German Marxist who attacked fascism and questioned the superior value placed on certain traditional literary forms that he felt conveyed a stultifying aura of culture. He, best known for his essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (1936), not only praised modernist movements such as Dadaism, he also hailed the development of new art forms involving mechanical production and reproduction, anticipating by decades the work of those cultural critics interested in mass-produced, mass-mediated, and mass-consumed culture. Forms such as photography, radio, and film could render the arts a more democratic, less exclusive domain.

Antonio Gramsci, an Italian, Marxist whose 1929-35 Prison Notebooks were partially published in English as selections from the *Prison Notebooks* (1971), critiqued the very concept of literature and, beyond that, of culture in the old sense. He stressed the importance of culture more broadly defined and the need for nurturing proletarian (working class) culture. Gramsci also argued that all intellectual or cultural work is fundamentally political, relating literature to the ideologies—the prevailing ideas and beliefs—of the culture in which it was produced. He developed the concept

of hegemony, which refers both to the process of consensus formation and authority of ideologies to shape the way things look, what they mean, and, therefore, what reality is for most people. But Gramsci did not see people, even poor people, as the helpless victims of hegemony, as ideology's helpless robots. Rather, he believed that people have the freedom and power to struggle against and shape ideology, to alter hegemony, to break out of the web like system of prevailing assumption, and to form a new consensus.

The French Marxist Louis Althusser also explored the relationship between literature and ideology, in works such as *For Marx* (1956) and *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (1971). But unlike Gramsci, Althusser tended to portray ideology as controlling people, and not vice versa. He argued that ideology serves to reproduce the society's existing relations of production, even in literary texts. Many cultural critics reject Althusser's view of literature, however, for although he did argue that literature is relatively autonomous—more independent of ideology than the church, press, of state—he was referring to the literature we associate with "high culture". Popular fictions, Althusser assumed, were mere packhorses designed to carry the baggage of a culture's ideology or mere brood mares destined to reproduce it.

Marxist cultural critic Tony Bennett uses "Monty Python's Flying Circus" and another British television show, "Not the 9 O'clock News," to reject the Althusserian notion that all forms of culture are manifestations of capitalist ideology. Most practitioners of cultural criticism however are not Marxists in any strict sense. Anne Beezer, who has analyzed advertisements and women's magazines, gives both the media she is concerned with the audience more credit than Althusserian Marxists presumably would. Whereas Althusserian Marxists might argue that such media



make people what they are, Beezer points out that the same magazines tell women how to please their men also.

The overlap feminist and cultural criticism is hardly surprising, especially given the recent evolution of feminism into various feminisms. These typically focus on "majority" women of European descent, minority women in Western culture, and women living in Third World societies. The culturalist analysis of value hierarchies has focused on class, race, national origin, gender, and sexuality; the terms of its critique have proved useful to contemporary feminists, many of whom differ from their predecessors insofar as they see women not as one of several contributing to identity of subject formation. The influence of cultural criticism (and, in some cases, Marxist class analysis) can be seen in the work of contemporary feminist critics such as Gyatri Chakravorty Spivak, Trinh T. Minh-ha and Gloria Anzaldua, who stress that although all women are female, they are something else as well (working class, lesbian, Native American), a factor that must be considered in analyzing their writing.

The expansion of feminism and feminist literary criticism to including multicultural analysis parallels a transformation of education in general. African American critics have pointed out that the North American white culture elite has tended to view the oral-musical traditions of African Americans (jazz, the blues, sermons, folktales, etc.) as entertaining but nonetheless inferior. In order not to be similarly marginalized, black writers have produced texts that, as Henry Louis Gates has noted, fuse the language and traditions of the white Western canon with a black vernacular and tradition derived from African and Caribbean culture.

Interest in race and ethnicity has a cultural criticism accompanied a new, interdisciplinary focus on colonial and postcolonial societies, in which issues of race, class, and ethnicity look large. Practitioners of postcolonial studies, another form of

cultural studies inaugurated by Edward Said's book *Orientalism* (1978), have a cultural criticism according to Homi K. Bhabha in a essay entitled "Postcolonial Criticism" (1992), revealed the way in which certain cultures (mis)represent others in order to achieve and extend political and social domination in the modern world-order. Thanks to the work of scholars like Bhabha, Said, Gates, Anzaldua, and Spivak, education in general and literary study in particular is becoming more democratic, multicultural, and "decentred" in its interests and emphasis (The Bedford Glossary 71-72).

### **Adorno's Notion of Dialectical Criticism**

German philosopher, sociologist, and musicologist Adorno was director of the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research, 1958-69. He is known as for such works as *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947, written with Max Horkheimer) and *Negative Dialectics* (1966). In these works, Adorno develops his concepts of reason as a key factor of social control. Concluding that philosophical authoritarianism is inevitably oppressive and all theories literary theorist, his importance lies in the consideration of ideology as a part of human life to control.

He relates psychology in Marxist thought and its tribulations in society. Unlike earlier Marxist, his ideas are comparatively far reaching and complex for the ordinary readers. He even rejects Marxist utopia. It is so because his ideas are not strictly based on one aspect.

According to Adorno, society is full of contradiction. Such contradiction can be related at different levels. Society is the sum totals of different dialects depict the levels like political, economic and social so on. According to this notion, art depicts the contradiction of society and dialectical totality. If society is full of contradiction, then art definitely shows such dialectical totality. Adorno argues that modernist writers like Proust, Valery and Joyce were able to present such contradiction or

reality. Adorno further clarifies: “Modernists’ emphasis on the subject is only an appearance since in reality the social totality exists before the individual. A great work of literature is that which manage to present the contradiction between reality and appearance” (*Critical Theory Since Plato*1038).

Adorno is not in the favor of cultural critics or criticism. For him, cultural critics are not for the workers or have not people. Therefore, they do not do anything to do social transformation. He utters, "Cultural criticism is bourgeoisie in nature" (1040). So, it does not advocate in the favor of proletariat and social transformation. Because of 'bourgeoisie in nature', they deserve vested interest. They have the vested interest to established name and fame, earn the money and maintained their status quo by publishing art and creation. Therefore, it does not want to change status quo. People, who belong to the status quoism, do not change their status and attitude.

In cultural criticism, artists and critics want to popularize their art, want to publicize their creation. What they want is money and popularity. It is because of their strong pursuit in money; they cannot produce better art but produce the 'cheap' art. Adorno claims, "Artist in bourgeoisie society becomes being for something else" (1033). In his claim, 'something else' refers to money and clearly depicts the artists in bourgeoisie society, who want to be commercial being. To compete in the market and to gain popularity, they give too much emphasis on the organs of female in their art.

### **Transcendent Criticism**

The word 'transcendental' itself means 'beyond culture.' For him, transcendence criticism is the criticism from outside of the society. Therefore, it is beyond culture. In this way, transcendence criticism is idealistic criticism made from outside the culture or society.

From the outside, definitely cannot see about that particular area or society. Therefore, critic fails to know 'what is going on, what is happening in particular area'. It is not possible to see the real picture of society and culture from the outside. Transcendence criticism cannot able to show the real picture of society or culture.

From this criticism, there can be impartial. Because such types of creation are far from the related subject matter. Adorno writes:

The transcendent method can still appeal to the fact that it employs reified notions only as far as society itself is reified. Through the crudity and severity of the notion of casualty, it claims to hold up a mirror to society's own crudity and severity, to its debasement of the mind. But the sinister, integrated society of today no longer tolerated society of today no longer tolerates even those relatively independent, distinct moments to which the theory of the causal dependence of superstructure on base once referred". (1040)

Transcendence criticism, creator, critique makes image from the sitting far from the society or culture. They make their view and judge from the outside. Therefore, they are not touched with society or culture. They cannot carry real emotion of culture. It has no so close relation with the society. It cannot represent to society or culture. Such types of judgments and criticism are from the secondary data, they may not real society. They are created from the secondary data. Without observation, any criticism and creation never become actual. So, their views and observations use to be far from the reality. In this way, such art, literature is not real. They are hypothetical criticism" or "outside criticism" (1036).

### **Immanent Criticism**

It is opposite of the transcendental criticism. Generally, it means, "confinement to see the society or culture (1037)." It uses to see the inner parts and most of activities of society or culture. Therefore, for Adorno, this criticism is "criticism from inside the society of culture (ibid)".

Artists are closer to the society or culture. They bring up in the society. When he goes to the society and related to them, all things are generalized, and s/he cannot separate them as a reality. However, there is also some error when the critique and writer goes very close to the society then they never talk about the drawbacks. It becomes biasness. In addition, yellowed critics become weak and cannot carry out the real picture of society. Adorno puts his ideas:

Immanent criticism of culture, it may be argued, overlooks what is deceived: the role of ideology in social conflicts. To suppose, if only methodologically, anything like an independent logic is culture is to collaborate in the hypothesis of culture, the ideological proton pseudo. (1037-38)

Immanent criticism is very much close to the culture or society. Such types of works are product of the society. Critics and writers who writes, observes from the society involving with people, it may lead to become more in close proximity to the society.

It is more authentic and scientific. It is field oriented. Critiques reach field. However, it cannot go far the biasness due to of intimacy. So, drawbacks are not seen. Although it is close related to the society but it becomes the favoritism. It becomes the victim of narrow-mindedness. Society is made by full of contradictions. He following view clarifies this issue:

Immanent method is eventually overtaken by this. It is dragged into the abyss by its object. The materialistic transparency of culture has not made it more honest, only more vulgar. (1040)

Moreover, immanent criticism has the very close up to the reality .But from this side, drawback is always been prejudiced by the intimacy. Therefore, it is also dreadful from the neutral one.

### **Dialectical Criticism**

Transcendent criticism, which mainly focuses "outside of the culture "and immanent criticism "confine themselves to see the culture or society". However, in real sense, Adorno is against both criticisms. A cultural criticism, according to Adorno, both does not know what is happening in the particular. In addition, they do not carry the real picture of society or culture.

What can we do after then, real criticism? Adorno says if both criticisms blend each other and then it may take real picture of the culture and society. Moreover, then only, after merge of both, they can take real picture of society or culture. He purposes the blending name of "Dialectical Criticism." It is taken as the middle path or we can interpret it as relativity's methodology. We can utilize them according to time and space. If we take them dialectically, it may reflect the real picture of society and culture. So, Adorno advocates the dialectical criticism "both outside and inside at the same time" (1032). He describes the dialectical criticism as "we must keep moving dialectically. Great works of art and philosophy have always stood in relation to the actual life-process of society from which they distinguished themselves" (1032).

For Adorno, when both come close each other, then only can be drawn real picture of society or culture. How can we reach near and near of the society? He says:

It is obliged to be mindful of the duality of the moments. It must relate the knowledge of society as a totality and of the mind's involvement in it to the claim inherent in the specific content of the object that it be apprehended as such. Dialectics can't, therefore, permit any insistence on logical neatness to encroach on its right to go from one genus to another, to shed light on an object in itself hermetic by casting a glance at society, present society with the bill which the object does not redeem. (1040)

In the conclusion, Adorno following notions further strengthens the dialectical method to evaluate cultural literary works:

No theory, not even that which is true, is safe from perversion into delusion once it has renounced a spontaneous relation to the object. Dialectics must guard against this no less than against enthrallment in the cultural object. It can subscribe neither to the cult of the mind nor to hatred of it. The dialectical critic of culture must both participate in culture and not participate. Only then does he do justice to his object and to himself. (1040)

In all, Adorno does not believe strongly in any one criticism. At the same time, he "refuses to abandon a utopian social vision" (1032). He opposes the closer implicit in any fixed utopia as well. His central focus is on dialectical make use of immanent and transcendental criticism to explain cultural criticism.

### **III. A Decade Long Nepali People's War**

Even though there might be some negative aspect of any war, but war brings positive aspects as well. War does not only refer to unproductive facet, but productive as well. We can scrutinize Nepal's one decade war on the basis of this theoretical assumption. Nepal is familiar internationally because of this war. It has also become subject matter in United Nation. Alliance of Maoist and parliamentary parties became -2, success to uproot monarchy and feudalistic structure and establish Nepal as a republic nation and going a head of processing to be a federal republican. Many subaltern groups raised their right and fought against the RNA, NP and APF forces. In Nepalese political history, at first time, many ethnic groups, women, Madheshi, Dalit, Karnali and Seti-Mahakali 's regional exploited group raise their cultural identity and awareness. Deep-rooted feaudalistic monarchial system never dare to address their problems.

In war, around 15 thousand people- People's Liberation Army, Police, Army, Maoist and other parties' leader and well wishers - contributed their lives. Due to the war, so many people were displaced from their homes and around one thousand people are kidnapped and disappeared as well. Around one thousands peoples were injured.

In the background of PW, Joint People's Forum had presented '40 Point Demands' to the tenure prime minister Sher Bahadur Deuba. At that time, those demands were not addressed by the government. So, CPNM had waged a military people's war named PW, since 2052 Fagun 1, declaring to establish a neo-democratic republicanism. Maoist had raised such issues which were interlinked with the have not people or exploited group. They became success to behave direct link with their



life style. As a result, they achieved popularity from the 'have not people' in the remote areas.

When Maoist war is spreading all over the country, then government access was limited only in the district headquarters. They got great chance to exercise their own local government to achieve popularity from exploited group. Dr. Baburam Bhattarai chaired Joint Revolutionary People's Forum to threaten the centre government from Maoist side. They captured educational and administrative sector as well. Really, at that period, Nepal experienced two government conditions simultaneously. Chaitanya Mishra explains:

It is spearheading a resistance movement against, among others, absentee and rent-based and oppressive landlordism, exploitative labor relations in the agricultural and other sectors, gender-, caste-, ethnicity-, religion-, language-based oppression, enforced the loss of regional and local autonomy, the imposed limits on the exercise of popular sovereignty and imperialism and hegemony. (*Essays on 134*)

Maoists started to fight with just taking a stick, but at last, they fought with RNA, NP and APF forces with 303, SLR, AK-47 to 81 kind of launcher. They captured Ghorahi barrack in 2058 Mangsir 8, then in progress to fight with RNA. And attacked on Myagdi, Dolpa, Arghakhachi, Achham, and Jumla and so on many district headquarters. When Maoist party became successful to capture many district headquarters, Maoist leadership realized to reform feudalistic monarchial country through PW ideological conviction. Nepal's whole social, political and cultural system is unjustifiable for grassroots people. So, war was necessary just like computer have to format when it is victimized by virus. In this context, Maoist leader, Dr. Babu Ram Bhattarai expresses his views as follows:

[h]istory compels us to dispense with the feudal, comprador and bureaucratic capitalistic classes hindering the development of Nepal and hand over the responsibility of organizing a new and higher form of social system (the New Democratic system) to the progressive classes (that is, workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie). The people's war is the inevitable instrument of this historic New Democratic revolutionary transformation. (103)

Due to the people's war, all the grassroots level people became aware to know their natural rights. And they used to raise their voice as a national, class, regional, sex domination slogan. In the end, Constitutional Assembly slogan was highlighted to resolve all national, class, regional, sex domination problems through republican federalism restructured Nepal.

Outwardly, it seems that PW achieved popularity based on Marxism, Leninism, Maoism and Prachanda Path ideology, but my view is that its popularity reason is basically it highlighted social, cultural, and regional, sex, and race and class issues. Chaitanya Mishra highlights:

Oppressive structure of caste, gender and ethnic, religious, linguistic and regionalist dominance have also been frequently marked as continuing the structural causes of the Maoist struggle. The caste system while often regarded as a cultural feature of Hindu society, nonetheless bears highly pronounced political and economic significance. This significance is particularly salient in relation to the 'upper-cast' groups and ethnic groups, on the one hand, and the 'untouchable' dalits, on the other. ...Political, economic and cultural

structure are also highly 'gendered' and oppressive and discriminatory against women. (108)

### **People's War and Its Influence on Literature**

In general, literature is understood as a reflection of society and its reflection is based on social conflict. Even though people's war was based on certain ideological notion, but grassroots' people have no such caliber to understand the Maoist philosophical and ideological complexity. To be rooted among exploited group, Maoist party cultural group made songs of glorified people's war. Maoist highlighted cultural issues even through their folk songs to be popularity among those exploited group. Janabadi Songs was nominated for such folk songs. Those Janabadi Songs not only became the catalyst to wage people's war, but also for to be flourished among have not people.

At that time, other literary genres such as short stories, poems, dramas, novels and essays were also created. In this context, we can connect the idea of Michael Foucault's power theory. Lois Tyson minutely describes this idea of Foucault as follows:

[M]ichael Foucault, whose ideas have strongly influenced the development of new historicism, power circulates in all directions, to and form all social levels, at all times. And the vehicle by which power circulates is an never-ending proliferation of exchange: (1) the exchange of material goods through such practices as buying and selling bartering, gambling, taxation, charity, and various forms of theft; (2) the exchange of people through such institutions as marriage, adoption, kidnapping, and slavery, and; (3) the exchange of ideas

through the various discourses a culture products. (*Critical Theory* 281)

When the PW gradually started to flourish, then its shape took Foucauldian power theory, which highlights that power influences all sector of society like economic, social, culture. Through this concept, Maoist war influenced literature too. As a result, in ten years' period, Nepalese literature's main subject matter centralized on war. Most of the literary genres -poetry, songs, drama, novel, and short stories- were focused on this war issues.

### **Cultural Criticism in Nepali Context**

Nepal is not only diversity of climate, but culturally as well.. Nepal small in size, but diversity in culture. Mountain to Terai, Mechi to Mahakali -various indigenous cultures are existing. Even though our country has been -few years ago, politically -established democratic republic, but still heavily suffered-culturally - semi-feudal and semi-colonial surrounding. Maoist leader Prachanda further clarifies:

Nepal is semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. [M]ore than 85 per cent of the population live in the rural areas, and the people are very poor—they are oppressed. Feudal relation—the feudal forms of exploitation and oppression—are very severe in the rural areas...

[Because of specific nature of Nepal's relationship with British India] Nepal evolved into a semi-feudal country. When the British left India, Nepal became a semi-colony of Indian expansionism. (*Essays on 102*)

Nepalese specific diversified culture has been interpreted by the eye of NGO's, INGOs and their ideology. So, their face and interpretation of ways are guided by dollar. In reality, dalit, indigenous, women, Madheshi issues are related to social or cultural movement, but unfortunately, their research and movement are largely

influenced of dollar cultivation. Such cultivation not only has restricted to resolve the problem of target exploited group, but there has been created great illusion of reality. Those problems are interpreted by the eye of Western. Western interpretation of third world countries- like Nepal -is vulgar, emotional, poor, and so on. They have negative perception on dalit, indigenous, women, and madheshi.

My understanding is that there should be interpretation on them, according to Nepali national geographical and cultural context rather than negative foreign guidance. Well-wishing and humanity purpose of foreigners should be accepted in our country's dalit, madhesh, woman and indigenous group's problem. But in the name of freedom of dalit, madhesh, and woman and indigenous, most of the NGO and INGOs are deviating the reality of their problems. It is bitter reality that most of the intellectuals, NGO and INGOs are outwardly advocating issue of those exploited group, but in real sense, they are commercializing for their own personal benefits.

On another side, today's information imperialism and globalization age has also created a vast predicament to identify the actuality of those exploited group's genuine mores. Dr. Rishiraj Baral observes:

Cultural imperialism is against the value of historical, societal and cultural possession, and it supports imperialistic politics and assumption. This helps to expand own selfishness by using new forms of information and technology and INO, INGO or multinational companies as well. (*Suchana Bhumandalikaran 13*)

Most of the big media houses and information agencies have not been inspiring their genuine customary, but they are commercializing their traditional cultures. For example, many indigenous groups is many cultural songs, dress, etc are

remixed to sell in the national and international market. Many mimicking, parodying and pastiche cultural trend has lost the legitimated mores of those groups.

Interconnected Hinduism and feudalism, which is hundreds year deep-rooted in Nepalese society, is also another problem to recognize the Madhesh, indigenous, Dalit and woman's issues. Long time deep-rooted monarchism was also prejudiced to find out the problems of them. Feudalistic monarchism was in opposition to multiculturalism. Because of its yellowed mentality, monarchial system never allowed to respect the diversified Nepalese cultural ground reality.

Nowadays, it seems that commercialization mentality has brought a great blow within ethnic groups' cultures .As a result, their genuine mores are confined in the danger zone. Because of their high influence of commercialization and globalization, 'show piece' trend has misrepresented the ground reality of exploited group's originality. Many so called indigenous advocated agency, and even government sector also far away to represent the realism .When they go in international seminar and conference to recognize indigenous group's cultures , they just only inspire 'show piece' customary. The upshot is that Nepalese cultures- life-style, dance, songs etc - are in danger zone.

In addition, there is a great challenge to safe the genuine cultures of exploited group. In this context, Adorno's thought of 'money' and 'popularity' is really suitable (*Critical Theory 1034*). Many so-called Nepalese indigenous cultural critics are deeply rooted from this mentality .The reason behind scarcity of pure cultural criticism, in reality, is crystal clear in Nepalese society.

In spite of this huge crisis, there is rising of some lines of silver in cloudy sky of Nepalese cultural campaign. Nowadays, some writers are searching their root. Specially, in Limbu culture, myth has been aesthetically experimented in literature.

Bairagi Kaila is leading for this movement, which is really praiseworthy business. Rajan Mukarung's novel *Hetchhakuppa*, is an exemplary of this literary experimentation. 'Colorist' literary group (Dharmendra Bikram Nembang, Swapnil Smriti and Chandrabir Tumabapo)- in Nepalese literary movement –is also doing so well for this marching. Likewise, we can see the Karnali, Far-Western, Madhesh and so on cultural issues, which have been thrown in the dustbin, has become main hot debatable of this research transaction. As a result, awareness of this cultural identity is going to boost up among various indigenous exploited groups.

In this context, we should not also keep away the role of ten years' People's war. This war brought a great awareness to search own cultural identity. When we turn the history of Nepalese political movement of 2007, 2036, 2046 BS, it considered that there is real reflection in literary works. Parijat's *Anido Pahadsangai* is one of the most triumphant literary works of 2036 people's movement. Likewise, Ahuti's novel *Nayaghar* also represents the movement of 2046 BS. Many literary personae are not aware to aestheticize the cultural reality. Even Parijat and Ahuti's *Anido Pahadsangai* and *Nayaghar* are also highly dominated by ideological limitation rather than cultural reality and identity.

It is apparent that the literature on various political movements and even in ten year People's War is guided by 'popularity', 'money' and 'ideology' mentality. As a whole, there is really dearth in archetypical literary works of ten year People's War in Nepalese literary movement.

### **Textual Analysis of Three Representative Works on People's War**

After peace agreement, there has been published numerous literary works on people's war. Here I have chosen only three representative works. *Aandhisanga Khelda*, battle field's memoirs of a PLA, Ajaya Shakti. This book is relatively more

better than other works from hard core group. This memoir is based on his real experiences of war, where a member of PLA fought with the 'haves' (Gaule Jali) to RNA force.

I've chosen Mahesh Bikram Shah's short stories collection, *Chhapamarko Chhoro*. Professionally, Shah is a police officer who fought against PLA in the Rolpa. This work is basically based on anti-Maoist ideology and strongly supports the government policy against People's War. So, I have chosen it from the anti People's War literary school.

From the middle path writers' work I have chosen the memoirs of the *Sohra Sanjhaharoo*, by Gobind Bartaman. He is a renowned poet, travelogue writer and journalist as well. This book is based on victimized common peoples' horror, intimidation, and killings from both sides- Maoist and the government. So, I have chosen this book from the middle path writers' school.

### **Ajaya Shakti**

Ajay Shakti himself involved in the so many battle fields against RNA and Police. And he was injured, disappeared by RNA, imprisoned and he was released after more than one year. When he was released, then he involved in the battlefield. Now he is in the PLA cantonment.

Ajaya Shakti is a PLA member, from Rukum, Maikot -3 Khaldunga. In the beginning, he joined in 'rural class struggle' in his local village Rukum. After some time, he took part in police camp attack programmed. His many experiences in People's War, he got great chance in to attack military with new firing weapons like SLR, AK-47 and 81mm mortar. He engaged in the Salleri attack (2058, Mangsir 10) and was severely injured. He was kept in dense jungle alone by his comrades because his colleagues had no chance to come for his rescue from that jungle because



there was too much risky of possible attack by RNA .At that time, he compelled to drink his own urine to be an alive. Then, he went to the Tamang family with crawling. Tamang family cared him. To save from police and army, they brought him to Gumba .After three months, he returned to his colleagues, but they had already declared him the 'martyr'. When he knew that his party and colleagues had already declared martyr, he felt amazing. After meeting of his comrades and organized a public programme and Moist party cut his name from the martyrs' list.

He was sent India to treatment. Unfortunately, he was captured in Simara by RNA and kept in RNA custody with severe punishment. After 14 months jail life, he was released because ceasefire was declared by party. His passion of Maoist party politics was not fulfilled, so he joined in the PLA and fought in Beni, Khara, Butawal, Palpa against the RNA. Now a days he is kept in cantonment of the Rolpa , 5<sup>th</sup> division of PLA. Now, he is a Battalion Commander of PLA.

In fact, he deserves real experiences of people's war. His war feelings really touch the readers because his memoirs and bitter experience is reflection of battlefield. Because he himself was involved in war, injured, imprisoned, and at last, now he is in cantonment.

### **Aandhisang Khelda**

This book is divided into 5 parts. 'Man of Corner' (Kunako Manchhe) is first part of this book, where he describes his socio-political background and why he joined the PW from the remote eastern part of Nepal, Rukum. From his experiences, we know the reality that why remote areas' people involved in the war. The government negligence toward rustic areas' people, their exploitation and suppression has been depicted so nicely. In this part, he has described the so many political, cultural and social exploitation and compulsion of his revolt against the old state.

In this chapter, he further describes the dream of a Maoist (militarist) and how he joined in Security Dal of Maoist. When Kilo Shera Two and Romeo oppression were going on, he fought so courageously against Nepal police that it cannot be ignored in the history of people's war in Nepal.

In the second part, he describes the further experiences of battle fields against RNA and police in various parts of the western Nepal. Maoists captured high level police officer DSP Thule Rai in Rukum, Mahat. In that incident, he became injured. In this context, here, Ajay Shakti is victimized by Adorno's immanent notion because he has totally ignored the negative effect of PLA's attack against police and their family. On another side, he has uncared for the violence war's dreadfulness and frightening among common and innocent people. Arresting of DSP and capturing weapons of police has become glorification for him. The following lines prove his immanence nature in his writing:

Before attacking, raining continued. After attacked also rain was not stopped. At midnight, extreme war of both side was going on... killed many colleagues ...Some police corpses were lying on the ground...At last, DSP and his police force surrendered with our PLA. Our commander comrade delivered a political speech to surrendered and injured police. PLA made those surrendered police 'war prisoner' (Yuddhha Bandi). [R]eally, not only in my war life this was the first victory upon high level police, but also great victory in the Maoist people's war history. Even though I was severely injured, but I was so happy in our party and PLA's achievement. (19)

He describes Dolpa attack, which was very much terrible. There is a nice description of how PLA forces reached in Dolpa. Numerous predicament had to face

by them. Dunai attack has been summarized. In the Dunai battlefield, he lost his own intimate and colleague. He was so panged with his colleague. Pathetic feeling on lost his colleague. He again glorifies on Dolpa attack. Here he only expresses pathetic feeling only killing and lost his own comrades, not police and RNA:

We soaked a handkerchief with night dews and dripped water from it into his mouth. But that was far from enough. We were tired due to the nightlong battle and carrying the wounded to safety. The sun appeared on the horizon; dews evaporated. We were sad for not being able to give water to Shakunt who was struggling for life. His left hand had broken. A helicopter landed at Dunai at 8 a.m. Comrade Shakunt was already dead. (30)

Another battle field experiences of Kalikot, Ghartigaun, Pachakatiya, Rukumkot has also been described. Somewhere he does political analysis also. 2058, Asar PLA attacked in Holeri second time. 71 police captured and one is killed. After that incident, GP Koirala wanted to move RNA but was not support him by King. Koirala resigned. In this situation, Ajay Shakti is more dominated by ideological and political view of his party.

The insurgency started with a few guns, sticks and stones in 1996. Small groups of insurgents attacked police posts, and scoundrels. Later the insurgents had started wielding SLRs, formed an army and attacked district headquarters. We reached Ghorahi to raid an army barrack (36).

Shakti expresses his own storming attack in army barrack at Salleri, Solukhumbu district headquarters. How is war cruel? When he is injured in Salleri

war and left from his own comrades in a dense jungle near the Salleri headquarter. He suffered alone there.

He further describes how he made his own path to rescue from that dense jungle and predicament situation. He writes:

It was already 8 a.m. My colleagues should have arrived by this time to rescue me. The sun started blazing. I began to be restless and thirsty, as I had not drunk water since 2 a.m. I came to realize that human beings are ready to do anything for the preservations of their lives. I urinated into my empty water bottle and drank it. I remember the moment I drank my own urine, but don't remember anything afterwards. I even don't remember how the urine tasted. I had already fallen unconscious. Now I believe it saved my life. (47)

When he reached to Party contact after his long disconnection with his colleagues, at that time, he knew that party had already declared Martyr of the Salleri war. Because his colleagues assumed him lost in war .This incident shows the typical culture of war time. But his colleagues request him to cut his name by own self from martyrs' list. He says:

"Cut your name from the list of martyrs, comrade," asked Comrade Pratap. I cut my name from the list of the great martyrs. I suddenly became sentimental and my sentiments spilled. 'Comrades, I could not be lucky enough to be a martyr. I could not spill my blood in the land of Mt Everest. I could not spill half of my blood in the battlefield. I will spill the rest half in another battlefield or for some justified causes if need be (68).

When he was going India for treatment, but he was arrested by army in Simara. At that time, he was disappeared so long time. After his arrest, how they tortured him, he writes following ways:

The alarm bell rang at midnight. They talked to each other that it would be better to dump us alive in a ditch on the way. They hurled us into a ditch. After that? The army began filling the ditch with soil, and stopped after the soil came up to my waist. Then they took us back. Blood was spilling from mouth, nose and ear. Blood and pus was spilling from the bullet injuries (95).

They detained us in room no 17. I and comrade Rast talked for some time. There was a blackboard at one side. We removed it and saw a prisoner smiling at me, and I smiled back. Probably he had smiled for the first time in a month. (98)

When we read his memoir, most of his feelings are related to his political ideological view. It means that he is more dominated by party politics rather than to catch the spirit of Adorno's cultural dialecticism. After 14 months, he was released and joined PLA again and fought the RNA. He puts further his ideas:

The battalion office gave me a pair of uniform and a rifle. I became sentimental. I had missed my rifle back in Salleri. I did not know whether I would survive. I had told Dharambaba and Kanchhi Tamang the same thing. But I was lucky. I joined the PLA again. I touched the uniform and kissed them many times. (144)

Ajay Shakti portrays the Beni battlefield .He is centralized the community feeling among the PLA members. Sorrows and pains were shared among his own colleague rather than his own family members. The significant of Nepali family

structure has been undermined. Because of the war he was isolated from family members. But he does not follow our conventional family structure. In battlefield, he was surrounded with the most difficulties situation, but he even took pleasure in such condition by assuming that war is essential part. This is his more indulgence in immanent ideas rather than dialectical perspectivism. The following line portrays his blindness of immanent ideas and does not depict any drawback of war:

We got a sack of rice as our share. We cooked the rice. We did not have plates. we put it in plastics among ten or twelve persons and ate collectively .(140)

Those shifted from PLA to YCL and those in villages were working with empty stomach, while we are enjoying the government facilities. It made us feel that another class was born within the party that was fighting with proletarian causes. Many friends would spill their sorrows in the letters. When they asked for food in a village, they were told to ask to the government. They have been compelled to live with empty stomach. (153-168)

Ajay is so indulgence in his ideological notion that he never raised the question to his colleague who left him alone in dense jungle and did not rescue him. In the world, any ideology is not perfect in practical life. Dialectical criticism not only raises the positive aspect of any ideas, but also scrutinizes the negative parts. Because of the Ajay's immanent notion, he even did not raise the issue punishment to his colleagues who did not assist in war time. He never questions against weaknesses of party politics and his leaders. He further presents his one-sided and parochial ideas in following ways:

It was already 10 a.m. I had not brought my friends, so no one was coming to live there. I kept on lying to put up there. Where are your friends? I kept lying Lama. I pretended that I had been disappointed for not coming. I told him that they would either come in the night or next day. He again asked: where are your friends ? (54)

### **Mahesh Bikram Shah**

Mahesh Bikram Shah is a renowned short story writer, Madan Prize winner for his *Chhapamrko Chhoro*. By profession, he is a police officer. In the People's War time, he had spent his tenure in the 'Maoist Base Area' in Rolpa. He is one of the most renowned authors from anti-Maoist group. *Sataha* (2053), *Shipahiki Swasni* (2059), *African Amigo* (2060), *Chhapamarko Chhoro* and *Rajdhanima Comrade* (2066) are his short stories collection works. His short stories *Khuma*, *Chihan*, *Chokhauni* and *Punaragaman* have been dramatized too.

His some stories represent the real and touchy lifestyle of Karnali and Far-Western Terai locality. Tharu and Far-Western life-styles are portrayed very effectively. But his some stories based on people's war in Rolpa locality are seen more superficial. Even though he has portrayed and aestheticized so nicely using some images and catchy incidents, but he is more indulgence in Adorno's transcendental notion. As a result, he always shows the cruelty or negative aspect of people's war. He has demoralized the culture of war locality. Some where he has tried to depict almost Maoist cadres are uneducated. 'Khuma' is a such story, which proved that how much he is uninformed and unknown about the PW and Magar culture in Rolpa, where is a centre of people's war activities. Khuma does not represent any Magar girl. This refers to the Aryan name and culture. Thabang is a Kham language and pure Magar society. His such kind of weaknesses in writing clarifies problem of

transcendentalism. It seems that he evaluated Magar culture and society without even general knowledge.

Almost his short stories are intertwined with artistically, but his great mistake is that positive aspect of people's war has been totally undermined. Politically, his stories are 'For' the status quoism rather than progression of the society. In his stories have been presented the Maoist cadres and PLA are dehumanized. His stories were highlighted by big media houses when Maoists were banned. Dr. Gobind Raj Bhattarai writes the preface of *Chhapamarko Chhoro* by distorting the positive aspect of ten year People's War. Bhattarai says:

After the reading of stories, seems clearly how much loss and destroying of one decade people's war. Weapons created romance by killing ten thousands people. Today is tortured and panged with useless, meaningless, fruitless wounds and bruises. (*Preface of Chhapamar*)

### **Chhapmarko Chhoro**

There are eighteen stories, collected in the *Chhapamarko Chhoro*. *Badhashalama Buddha*, narrates the mythical story of Buddha and going to show how peace has been missed from Buddha's country Nepal. The Nepalese term, Badhasala, is known as slaughterhouse in English. In slaughterhouse, many animals are killed. His intention of using such image and symbol is to show the cruelty, inhuman and terror of Maoist cadres and PLA. It is his effects of transcendental perspective. We know that this perspective always overlooks with prejudice upon oppositional ideas from the outside. Then its result become more far away from the reality. It's okay that this war is not hundred percent right, but it is not wise to neglect the positive aspect. The chief cause of the uprootment of monarchy and feudalism became people's war.



Why is Shah silent on this reality ? Shah's such transcendental features of unfair, one-sided and wrongheaded notion are verified by the following lines:

When police asks the man where he found the head, he answers that he had found it in the jungle.

'The head was found in the jungle, the body hasn't been seen.'

'This means your son was killed by the Jangali (Maoists). These days the Jangalis are killing people almost every day. It has become normal to kill people than animals.' The police officer replies as though he knows everything about such incidents. (*Babuko Kanadhama 21*)

In his another story, *Badhasalama Buddha*, also seems Shah's similar thought of as shown in his *Babuko Kandhama Chhoro Sutiraheko Desh* story. This story explains the barbaric, bloodthirsty, atrocious, heartless and hellish nature of people's war. He elucidates:

While slashing people's heads with his sword, he had never thought that would have to die (this way) one day. This was the same slaughterhouse where he had played football with the heads of people had hacked to death. [H]e was dragged to the slaughterhouse in chains like an animal. There he saw naked people tied behind their backs about to be slaughtered. He was taken near the anvil. (*Badhalama Buddha 3*)

*Gaunma Geet Gunjadainan* seems the writer's own autobiography. Sanubabu goes in his own village from city after a long period by disguising his own identity because he assumes that Maoists may kidnap and kill. When he reaches there anybody is not in their home because most of the his Tharu colleagues have gone in People's

War. He feels alone in his village. At night, gun is also fired. Because of great horror, he runs away from his home to return city as soon as possible.

In this story, Shah has become more fantastic because all village dwellers youth had not left their home. Why author is so prejudice with Maoist and their cadres? All youths had not left home in the war time. Who went home from city to rustic area in war period, did not disguise. His narration is more exaggeration than reality because of his partisan and ill-match outlook. His bigoted understanding confirms the following lines: "I fled the village terrified. I am trembling if my mother, who lives in the village, has been hit by terror."

*Yuddhabiram Jindabad* is based on ceasefire issue. When Maoists are attacking to police camp, at a time, there is informed the ceasefire. The setting and narration of this story is more dramatic and artificial. Therefore, the presentation of this story is not so well match because Shah has overestimated the reality of battlefield in war time. When the war is going on, ceasefire is not announced so dramatically. This illustrates that author is so far away from the real life of war surrounding. It is one of the transcendental characterizations of writing. Because transcendental writer never goes in battlefield to catch the real life of the atmosphere and his writing is based on secondary data of big media houses rather than of primary data of field. The below given lines verifies this fact:

Everyone's faces lit up on hearing the old man. They started clapping. Everyone present there looked at the faces of the two injured; they were glowing with smiles and happiness. The two soldiers suddenly raised their hands and shouted together, "Long lives ceasefire" (29).

*Chhapamarko Chhoro* is based on child psychology, where PLA's son has been imprisoned with his mother. In police camp area, that child shows the PLA's

cruel and destructive nature by playing with guns, attacking police and running a way to hide from police. My point is that this child does not represent the whole child psychology in war. Shah is more unfair to aestheticize the war because PLA and Maoist cadres were not so destructive and cruel. They deserved the humanistic nature as well in war time. But this story undermined totally to depict even some humanistic and benevolence deeds of Maoist party and cadres. It is great mistake of the author that revenge feeling with father is not to victimize innocence child. The following some lines show such arrogant thought of the author:

At the custody, the police officer asks the son of the PLA, 'Do you feel afraid here?' Shaking his head, he replied, 'No.' He was eyeing the pistol on my waist. Suddenly, he raised his hands and said pointing to my pistol, 'Father also has it.' (51)

*Pasu Abatar* depicts that humanism is converted into animalism due to war. This claim of author is also anti-dialecticism because every war has no such cruel, inhuman, unproductive, and wrongheaded characterization. Shah is totally negligence towards productive aspect of war and puts his ideas in following ways:

The people of Manavpur who were in the process of transforming to animals, moved ahead from the place. There was only one basic difference between them and animals: animals stood on four legs but they were on two legs. They were devoid of wisdom. (65)

*Euta Arko Khadal* tries to show the extremist tendency of PLA and Maoist cadres. There may be, in some extent, Maoist cadres force to involve in battle. As a whole, villagers, who went in war, were not forced. Their involvement was their own desires as well. So Shah has generalized the particular case. His such generalization can be found in below some lines:

'why s/he died as an insect ? No purpose after death? What gain his/her parents' (70). He has lost counts how many such graves he dug in the past. He also doesn't know how many bodies he dumped in such pits. Neither does he remember the faces of those slain insurgents, nor the numbers. He only knows that he had dug scores of pits in the past, and they were filled in by the dead bodies of the insurgents. So far as he remembers, his father was dumped in the first grave he had dug. (69)

*Sadakma Ghandhiharoo* narrates the weaponless movement, which is seen more idealistic rather than practical. Lenin, Mao and Ho Chi Minh are symbols of warmonger in this story. And Gandhi has been shown as a symbol of pacifist. It is his great mistake of author in the sense that communist leaders-Lenin, Ho Chi Minh and Mao- were not warmongers; they fought for exploited group and peace as well. His misinterpretation of those communist leaders is not suitable to attack People's War. In this context, Shah is very much indulgence in transcendentalism. He describes:

He hit his grandfather's gun with great force with a hammer.

Immediately gun turned to small pieces. He threw those pieces out the window. He then came out on the street. He joined a rally of Gandhis.

Soon he had turned into Gandhi himself. (104)

*Kidi Jiyale Karnalima Phalahalin* is very impressive story of Karnali. There is a woman, Kidi Jiya, who is displaced by Maoist. When she is not assisted by government and forces to suicide by jumping and diving in the Karnali River. Shah has politicized this issue because displacement cases are done more by government rather than Maoist and he has not mention the weaknesses of police and government. His exaggeration can be seen in following lines:

'Kidi Jiya jumped into Karnali.' Their voice was clear, 'She had already jumped into the river while we were trying to stop her. We have then come running to inform you.' They left after that. I sat on the ground clutching my head. I had lost sense as the news was sudden and unimaginable. (116)

### **Gobind Bartman**

Gobind Bartaman, a renowned progressive poet, story writer, essayist and critic as well. His birth place is in Chabahil, 2017 BS. His writing is comparatively more dialectical than other. He has aestheticized his writing with combination of both art and thought.

### **Sohra Sanjharoo**

Bartman's most of the ideas are more close with dialectical rather than other two authors-Ajay Shakti and Mahesh Bikram Shah, but his writing is not so harmonious relationship of ideas and aestheticism. He is more centralized to criticize both Maoist and state. As a result, he is seemed more pacifist and idealistic to establish peace and harmony in the society. It is universal truth that humanity always avoids anarchy, disorder and instability-all are created by war, but some time war also plays the positive role. Because of the People's War, many indigenous, Dalit, woman, Madhesi and other backward and marginalized group became aware in their own natural right. In this positive aspect, Bartman's writing is totally uninformed. His one-sided wishing of peace and harmony has become just only Utopean and more idealistic. In this sense, his literary work deserves some weaknesses to catch the spirit of Adorno's dialectical criticism.

Bartman narrates an event of severe and inhuman beating to a Tharu couple- Sukaram and Sita- by RNA in Kailali's Amaura village. Still he is disappeared and his

wife Sita was raped by them. She is still looking for her husband, but government is uninformed about him.

On the another side, author narrates another event of Tikapur, Kailali, where Surendra Joshi was killed by the Maoist in a barbaric manner. How Bartman is so prejudice and unfair with Maoist and RNA by raising and highlighting the dark side of People's War ? Even though, to some extent, narration of these two events seems little bit dialectical, but it does not merge perfectly to the Adorno's immanent and transcendental notion. The following dialogue of Sita and Dhananjay Joshi with author and his colleagues:

Sita says: they had already beaten my husband to unconscious before blindfolding me. Immediately they thrust sand in my mouth. Probably they did it so that I could not cry. They then dragged me to the place they were beating Sukharam (my husband). They threw him into Dehari (a large pot of soil for store paddy). I had seen my husband being beaten with his moth filled with sand. (176)

Sita says: they raped me when I was left without energy due to the torture meted out to me. It was raining then. Later they detained me in a police post. I had been blindfolded. Then another commander of police came and removed the clothes from my eyes. I did not know where my husband was. (174)

Dhananjaya says: I arrived at the scene hearing the cries. I saw him in a pool of blood. I was terrified. Both of his legs were broken. He was asking me to take to hospital. Then neighbors gathered. He was being taken to hospital in Tikapur and he died in Dhangadi on the way. (156-57)

In the other part, he describes the same type's story. Which is when comes in the PLA Bas ka lagi. Next day RNA, police comes then how cruelly killed a Tharu family of Amaura, Kailali. This incident was held in 2059 Bhadau 25. How Sukharam Chaudhary, his wife Sita and mom Shitali Devi were beaten.

Sita says: I was trembling with fear. They beat me again and blindfolded me and tied both hands on my back. They forced me to enter a large basket and come out. As I would have difficulty to come out, they would beat me again. They would ask me to take out the weapon hidden by the Maoists. I could not find anything as I had been blindfolded. More than that, I did not know if the Maoists had hidden weapons at my house. They caught my hair and beat up severely. (174)

A policeman, Hari Ram Chaudhary, 21, of Tikapur, Kailali, is Maoist after taken being from his home and killed. He was taken from his home on Kartik 17, 2059, at 6 am. Hariram's mother says:

Outside, I and daughter-in-law joined our hands requesting them not to take away Hariram. Hariram's father was at work somewhere else. But our request only fell on deaf ears. They took away Hariram. I followed them, but could not meet them. I looked for him across the villages and fields. It was already dark. I fell into a canal that had water up to the waist. I crossed the canal with much difficulty. But I never found my son. (152)

In the context of mentioning both side's weaknesses, Bartman highlights the pathetic and vulnerable condition of the victimized family. In Kailali district, Binod Chaudhary was kidnapped by RNA and still now he unknown. Chakra Bahadur

Dagaura, member of parliament from UML, was killed brutally by Maoist. Absence of a breadwinner in family, how their family members were ached and suffered has been depicted so emotionally and sensitively. Though such kind of pathetic event arises emotional humanistic feeling to the readers, but in real sense, both incidents lead his views toward sentimental over smarting. As a result, positive result of People's War has been undermined. Explanation of following lines proves this reality:

Krishni says: I do not have time to remember the whole day due to household chores. During night I remember him and think about him. My mother-in-law is more worried about him. I ask him not to worry. I say: 'You have other sons as well. You have sons, but I don't have husband. Why are you so sad? The police gives us trouble time and again. Sometimes I become angry with my own husband. If he really had to do politics, why did he get married ? (125)

Khagendra Sangraula, Suresh Dhakal and Author, met Durga Prasad Upreti, displaced person by Maoist, and his son Hem in the Dhangadhi. Durga described the story of his displacement such way:

The old man says: The Maoists came in thousands. They said they should kill my youngest son Hem. But he fled. He hid himself in the sugarcane field. He was a bit tipsy. In the past, he had beaten some of those who had arrived to attack him. He had also handed over some of them to police. They looted television, 100 quintals of rice, four quintals of mustard and jewelries hidden in a salt sack. (132)

In Kailali's Pratappur, there was charred a house of NGO's library. Bartman describes the lost books by firing and tries to get sympathy from readers. His this



policy seems to promote NGO. What's the fault of NGO in Nepalese society ? He is silence on this matter. I think conscious reader automatically raise this question. Here he is failed to catch the dialecticism. Narration of Sunil Kumar Mishra demonstrates this proof:

Sunil Kumar Mishra: This is a heap of ashes. Here was our library. We had books amounting to Rs six to seven thousand rupees. Most of them were related to human rights, development and various national and international movements. Some of them were related to literature and philosophy. All of them were burnt. (147)

Bartaman bashes both government and Maoists for brining misery to people's lives, but without any deep understanding of the war dynamics. In his memoir *Shorha Sanjhharu*, he recalls a conversation with the kin of the people killed or disappeared during the insurgency in Tikapur Kailali. Here author's writing is seemed to more dialectical:

In the meantime, a few neighbors also turned up before us. When asked what they think of the security personnel and the Maoists. They replied: "We could trash both Maoists and the security personnel if we could. Alas we cannot". (164)

#### IV. Conclusion

‘We are red (Lal), but not expert (Nipurna). They (oppositional and middle path People’s war writers) are expert but not red.’ -Chaitanya

One day I had gone to meet Maoist senior leader Mohan Baidhya alias Chaitanya, who is well known as Marxist aesthetic thinker in Nepalese literature. My discussion with him was focused on ten years people’s war literature. When I raised the quality in war literature he agreed with me that there is still scarcity in the literary market of such qualitative, realistic and archetypical literary works.

As the Maoist insurgency was expanded and highlighted, many readers and well wishers anticipated the realistic, dialectical and archetypical creation depicting the devastation, heroism and ordeals of war. But, among the three categorical writers—hardcore, oppositional and middle path—no one has still created such works. When we turn the history of Bolsevic revolution, we can praise Maxim Gorky’s *Mother* and this is considered a representative and archetypical novel of labor movement of Russia. On the next side, when we enter in to Chinese literary history, Yangmo’s *Song of Youth* is assumed as the representative new democratic revolution of China. But in the case of Nepalese people’s war, unfortunately, we have no such praiseworthy literary works.

What are the causes of such conditions ? We can scrutinize many aspects. First reason is that Maoist cadres deserve more information; they know the real panorama of battle field. In spite of their information, they were victimized by immanentalism. According to Adorno’s immanent concept, who become the victim of this thought, they are related to party politics and ideology dominated. Most of the ‘For’ writers are senior leaders, hardcore ideological and political groups. There is lack such writers, who are in the field themselves and direct touch with people. Leaders and

commanders are not direct touch with people. So, they use to distort facts by ideology. From this research, I can say, they cannot spirit of dialectical writing's code of conduct because of the 'more ideological.'

At the same time, Maoist party did not become success to influence the expert writers of either city or academic or profession oriented writers. Middle class, intellectual, big media houses were against the Maoist ideology and People's War. The reason behind this is that all three category writers—'For' PW, 'Anti' PW and Middle Path—did not became field oriented. Comparatively 'For' writers were field oriented but their hardcore ideological rooted mentality become more hindrance. Other two categorical writers depended upon secondary data of published and broadcasted by big media houses. Anti PW literary group was more indulgence in transcendental. Some middle path writers try to merge immanent and transcendental ideas, but their some parochial, narrow minded and prejudice thought hinder to go ahead,

While the Anti PW works *Palpasa Cafe* by Narayan Wagle and *Chhapamarko Chhoro* by Mahesh Bikram Shah were awarded Madan Puraskar (it is regarded Novel prize of Nepal), these works are not illustrative and representative of the ten-year People's War. Both *Palpasa Café* and *Chhapamarko Chhoro* portray the Maoists as terrorists but remain silent about the government atrocities against the common folks.

Their writings take up bigoted and arrogant views toward the PW. In fact, these two works largely represent the positive aspects of the PW. The books were awarded the prestigious prizes despite the fact that these works grossly portray the positive sides of the People's War in negative light. Both novels are 'bourgeoisie in nature.', The writers have depended on the 'anti-People's War' information from media houses, NGO, INO's, secondary data, and driven by 'money' and 'popularity'.

Coming from different school of thoughts, these writers are habitually against the People's War.

Going by Adorno's argument, both writings do not give the real face of the People's War. Rather they were produced for 'popularity' and 'commerce.' Thus, both anti People's War and middle-path writings lack ground reality. Their writing depends upon the secondary data followed by anti-People's War big media houses and NGO, INGOs. But again, there is no literary work which has carried the actual face of People's War.

The existing People's War works have been unable to carry the real picture of People's War. They only gave distorted, misinterpreted pictures of the People's War. Those written for the People's War have also given distorted picture of the People's War due to their unwavering faith in 'Maoist ideology', and that has resulted in 'ideological biasness'. There will not come out a real story of the People's War unless a person who has been with the ups and downs (from grass root level) of the People's War writes one. The existing literature 'For' the People's War has been so far written by the PLA commanders and leaders.

In conclusion, Nepalese People's War literature is yet to be qualitative, representative, illustrative, archetypical, evocative, expressive and striking literary works. And, my strong point is that Nepalese literature is still looking for such effective ten year People's War literary works.

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