

I. Women's Participation in People's War in Nepal: Introduction

This project is a study on the participation of women in People's War. It based on the articles published in *Nepali Times* during the time span of 058-063 B.S. It analyzes altogether twelve articles from the perspectives of Marxist feminism. Mainly the project discusses about the main cause behind the women's oppression and their struggle against Patriarchal domination. During the period of People's War Nepalese women were convinced that gender problem is a part of class problem and they took part on it. The research observes the issue from the Marxist Feminist lenses. "Marxist feminist however argue that in class society such right can only benefit from the middle class women: most women like most men, will remain oppressed until the capitalist economic system is replaced by communism" (Valerie 3). It focuses mainly Marxist feminism especially that of Valerie Bryson and Sheila Ruth.

The situation of women is pathetic and they are living without individual identity. The main reason behind such gender discrimination is the system that runs from centuries. On the one hand, the feudalistic centralized unitary system did not give women to raise their head. On the other hand, patriarchy system has always suppressed them, as a result, Nepalese women raised weapon to fight against the feudalistic, patriarchy, system. The project is mainly concerned with the causes of women's oppression and their situation. It also explores their struggle against the system.

Nepali Times national weekly is published from Kathmandu. The main concern of this paper is to investigate social issues. It covers all the scenario of the society. It is found that the paper became successful to capture the time of People's War of Nepal from its initial phase. Columnists of paper have analyzed the event from both negative as well as positive aspect. Most of the columnists, writers, have visited

the affected area by People's War. Most of the feature covers the remote area and the bravery of female in the war. It had aggressively analyzed the People's War with bare eyes.

Features of the top leaders of People's War, human right activist, reporter, victims report give the flashback of the war. As, the study is concerned with the participation of women in People's War of Nepal, the participation was that it was half of the total PLA. In the collected features it is found that really Nepalese women are victim of Brahminical Hindu patriarchy system. On the other hand, Feudalistic Centralized Unitary System had not allowed women to uplift the society. As the struggle was against the Feudalized Centralized Unitary System the victim of the system and marginalized people actively took part in the war. They show their bravery in each war front. Their each and every activity was captured by the reporter and columnist of *Nepali Times*. Most of the feature was success to capture the event that was shown by the women rebel. If we analyze deeply in the articles social and economical problem was the main cause behind women being People's Liberation Army.

As women got no chance to uplift them in the so-called democratic system, they found People's War only the way of freedom. *Nepali times* had analyzed their role in PLA. Most of the pictures captured by the paper are really the historical document of war. As the war started by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) from 1996, it continued for ten years. During the time of ceasefire the reporters and the columnists of the paper visited most of the affected places of Nepal. They had the real experience of the war because at that time they were touch with the war participants. The field visit of the writer showed the gleams that as if it was happening in front of our own eyes.

As Nepalese society is Hindu feudalistic patriarchal women were mostly suppressed and the paper had focused the issue of women and their activity minutely. The involvement of women in People's War was the main attraction of the national as well as international media and agencies at that time. In most of the place the paper is successful to give the incident as it is. Communist took women's active participation as the part of class struggle. As a result, the female participant was encouraged to involve on this historical movement. Maoist became successful to capture the power of women which even the state was not able to use such power in the force till that period. In this sense, it is positive to give the equal right in each place and to uplift the status of women. In our society, women were taken as submissive, emotional, weak, and so on. It is at this time women had shown the real power by joining their soldiers with their male counterpart in each war front. Women were back in every sector such as in the political sector, economic sector and in social sector but after People's War we found that they had shown courage to leave their home and family and they involved themselves in the war. It is only because Maoist was successful to give enlightenment about their freedom from the long feudalistic system.

As we went on reading the feature of the paper we came to know that economic problem is another cause behind their involvement on the war. Nepali society where women are not allowed to go out from their houses without guardian at the same time same women showed courage and involve themselves in the war. This can be taken as the historical change in Nepali society. In this sense People's War can be taken positively. But on the other hand it has negative part as well. It is said that war is not good at all. It is the main cause behind the destruction of the property as well. We know well that Nepali society is semi-feudal and semi colonial. Gender discrimination is very high in Nepal. Women took part in People's War only because

they saw the way of their emancipation in that direction but as the culture is same they were even suppressed within their revolutionary party. This type of negative picture is also the main concern of the *Nepali times*. It is found that the female cadres were exploited sexually as well as physically by their own male counterparts during the war period. It means the so called revolutionary male counterpart were also not free from the culture of feudalistic patriarchy system.

It is said that women covers half the sky. Maoists who claim themselves fighting for the marginalized communities, is not found within the party structure. There were only few women in the Central Committee of the party and non in the Standing Committee. It proves that they were just used in the war front. Women were not given chance to involve themselves in the decision making level. We cannot find the participation in the Dialogue Committee during ceasefire with the government as well. This issue is mainly raised by the women leaders of the party and the columnist and the writer of the paper as well. It is found in the paper that the women were victimized directly or indirectly by the war. If we observe the then state policy towards it was not changed. It was as usual as the feudalistic system.

An armed People's War was initiated in Nepal from February 13, 1996 under the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). The main aim of the party was to end the feudalistic centralized unitary system and to establish New People's Republic. It was believed that the system was the key to suppress the marginalized communities. It is believed that with the establishment of New People's Republic, all kind of discrimination will have an end. So, the general public joined hands with the Maoist and they themselves involved in the People's War. They saw their emancipation in it. Mostly the suppressed and oppressed communities involved themselves in the war. But what should be understood about the background of Nepal

is that Nepal as the semi-feudal and semi-colonial country predominantly feudal economic which is reflected in *The Worker*:

With 88% of the total population living in the rural areas and 81% of the total population engaged in the agriculture sector, with agriculture holding 42% of the total GNP of the country. The feudal land relation can be judged by the fact that 65% of poor peasant own only 10% of land while 10% of rich peasant own 65% of land". (Yemi 12)

This is reinforced in gender biasness in the production relation between men and women. Women are barred from inheriting their parental property. If we deeply analyze the causes of women's suppression, we can categorize into three groups. They are as: economic suppression, social suppression and political suppression. Hence, women want emancipation from the suppression. As Karl Marx has stated that "Anybody who knows anything of history knows that great social changes are impossible without the feminine ferment". It is clarified that changes in the society are not possible without women's participation. Realizing the importance of women in every change in the society the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) captured the women's power. Though the women in patriarchal feudalistic society are often relegated to the margins, exclusive, submissive, others, second sex and so on. They are vitally important as they illustrate the contradictory representation of the feudalistic society for their liberation and freedom. In this regard, Comrade Prachanda in his article, "Problem of the Women's Emancipation and Need of Today" writes:

In a semi-feudal or semi colonial Nepal, which is based upon the feudal Hindu patriarchal culture the fact is that the women fall under the most disgraced and oppressed one by the state power of feudal bureaucratic and comprador bourgeois class is a reality, virtually

Nepalese women have been reduced to a second class citizen. No to speak of their gaining of right of women is so called democracy of the reactionary class of the, women are more disgraced due to further intensification of women trafficking, rape murder present ruler who takes of women freedom away from practice have been unable to dray an equal law. In fact they will not write the law and even if they do in practice they will not provide that right to women. It is because the present state power stands on the concept and tradition of making women their slaves. (257-8)

Prachanda's view shows the pathetic condition of women in Nepal. The feudalistic Hindu Brahminical Patriarchal society and culture is the culture to dominate women. This system is continuing till date even in so called democratic system. They are not treated as the citizen of the nation and they are even deprived from parental property.

Moreover, they are treated like animal and are sold for sexual satisfaction and for physical labor as well. In such situation emancipation was necessary to uplift from the traditional living style for which suppressed women came in the war front. Edited by Dipak Thapa *Understanding the Maoist movement in Nepal*, Shobha Gautam, Amrita Banskota, and Rita Manchandra in there article writes:

Gender discrimination in Nepal has actually increased, despite the kingdoms accession to the convention on the elimination of (all form of) discrimination against women and other instrumental instruments. Women suffer from twenty three discriminatory laws in Nepal. Nepal tops south Asia's gender inequality ratio at 1:6 and way above Sri-Lanka at 2:3 in Nepal. Women's life span is shorter by two and half years. Maternity death is the highest in south Asia. Abortion is illegal.

Work burden of women is four times of the adult male. Literacy index is 54.3% for male and 21.3% for female. (99-100).

The analyses above shows the pathetic condition of women and the way the state behaves with them. In such critical situation, it has become essential to fight for emancipation. The revolutionary consciousness against the so called reactionary feudalistic Patriarchy system becomes the major question. CPN (Maoist) showed the way of emancipation at that time. Comrade Prachand highlights the importance of women's participation in the People's War:

The issue of women's emancipation is inseparably linked with the issue of the emancipation of the whole society. Behind the success and failure of any societal order and social revolution lies the extend and level of women's participation. In a definite country time and circumstances, the victory in the in the light of broader masses against economic, political and cultural exploitation and oppression, on one hand depend upon women's participation and that become the path of women's emancipation, on the other. (257)

Marxist takes gender discrimination as a part of class struggle. The above idea of Prachanda encourages women to march forward the civil war. Women showed their courage and bravery as they had shown during the time of Nepal-Anglo war in Nalapani when Nepalese society treated them as others, second sex but in this context they are seen to subvert their role. They showed their bravery in each and every war front of People's War. From the initiation of the war, they showed their strong participation. They gave their real identity. Comrade Rekha in her interview with *Janadesha weekly* says; "it is surprising and electrifying. Most of the young women prefer joining the PLA rather than joining mass organization or doing government

work. Many women fighters believe the real way to resist oppression is by defeating the enemy in the battle field” (5). Really if we deeply observe comrade Rekha’s remark on the participation of women in the People’s War, it’s surprising and electrifying. Those who got afraid of war now came in the war front realizing the fact that it is only the means of emancipation. The report presented by the PLA also shows that more than 40% of PLA was covered by women fighters.

It shows the subversion of traditional gender role in the People’s War. The bravery shown by women in the war was much praiseworthy. Women in Kalikot showed bravery in the jail. They successfully broke the jail. Their bravery shows that People’s War was able to subvert the gender role with its Marxist ideology. It can be taken as the revolutionary movement in the feudalistic centralized unitary system. Here, we can quote the words of comrade Lenin “without revolutionary ideology there cannot be revolutionary movement.” To subvert the traditional values and thinking revolutionary ideology plays the significant role. Let’s see how women become able to raise their hand in the society. What make them march forward their emancipation, how they were mobilized during the war time. Comrade Parvati in her article “Women’s Participation in People’s War in Nepal” published in *The Worker* explains as:

It was only after communist party of Nepal (maoist) started the people’s war those women from grass roots, mainly rural women, started getting mobilized. Today they are professional fighters in guerilla war. The traditional wars such as stones, sickles, and sticks which women hurled on enemies on earlier movement have now been upgraded holding guns, rifles and gun power. Earlier they were looked upon as mere helpers or as reserve force for political movements, but

today they are leaders of guerrilla squad's constant of men and women.

(5)

As Comrade Parvati analyzed the role of women, their way to use traditional weapon and the modern one prove the subversion of traditional gender role in the sense that traditionally they used to use stones, sticks, and sickles to defend themselves but after they involved in the People's War, they started to use modern ones. Besides being PLA fighters, they also played vital role in other war front as well. They faithfully involved themselves in each and every activities of the party. And women are not directly involved in fighting guerrilla war force; they became the support force in the war. They functioned as organizer and propagandist, as cultural activist, and logistic suppliers, as nurses, and other. The war was against Hindu Brahminic Feudalistic Unitary System and Patriarchy as well. They sought freedom from such boundary and they found people's war as the means of emancipation.

At the time of People's war, Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) was underground and the Women PLA fighter and Women cadre were also underground as well. Let's see how some of the women cadres were suppressed by the then Royal Nepal Army. "Lali Roka was one of the social activists and health assistant in a remote district. She was pinched up from the health post and shot dead. Her fault was that she actively exposed the reactionary role of a local NGO of her area" (6). Sunsara Budha was tortured before her two year old child. When she did not reveal whereabouts her husband, her child was tortured but she still did not buckle. The police then brutally killed her leaving behind the injured child (6). Devi Khadka represents the living symbol of barbaric state repression. She was repeatedly raped in police custody leading to laceration of her womb. She was raped because she did not yield to police pressure in signing in death certificate of her brother who was

languishing in jail. Today she is alive and actively engaged in party (7). The representative cadre of women rebel shows the pathetic condition and the struggle of the female warrior during People's War. The question of human right was on zero condition at that time. The cadres of Maoists were treated in such a way that it can hardly be imagined. But it is not surprising that the state was in the hand of feudalistic power. As the rebels were fighting to subvert the ruling system they became the victim of the suppression by the state. It seems as if there were no any words of humanity and human right in the dictionary of the government at that time.

It is said that how much you suppress the movement it takes its shape wider. It is seen when the state adopts the policy to suppress the movement brutally, it reaches in its climax. Dipak Sapkota writes in his book on this issue like this:

The attack on the Jelwang Police base camp (Rolpa) in may 1999; six women were in assault line. This number increased to 21 when PLA attacked a Police post in Taksera (Rukum) in April 2000. Likewise, 25 women soldiers had participated in the attack over the police striking base camp in Panchkatiya (of Jajarkot) in June 2000. When PLA attacked the RNA barrack for the first time in Ghorari (Dang), in November 2001, 68 women were in the assault line. (291)

This proves that the women number increases with the time in PLA. These all are the positive aspects of the involvement of women in the People's War. We can find the radical change in women if we deeply analyze the People's War of Maoist But it will be justified only when we analyze the negative side of it as well. It is true that women were marginalized in the society. Feudalistic Unitary and Patriarchy system always suppressed them.

As women were fighting for freedom from centuries, they got appropriate chance to make themselves free from the boundaries. But it is not worth to analyze the suppression of women within the party as well. They have believed CPN (Maoist) as their emancipator but even in the party they were suppressed sexually, physically and mentally. In most of the cases within the Communist Party women were boycotted when the question arises about the leadership. They were just used in the war. Patriarchy did not give women chance of leading the party. In this case we can take idea of Enaemaekiw Tupac Keshena:

It is seen that revolutionary communist movement have always unleashed women's fury, but they are not able to channelize this into producing enduring women communist leaders. The question has been raised again and again as to why there are so few women leaders in communist parties when Marxism offers such deep penetrating analyses and solution to women oppression. (3)

The idea of Marxism in the above quoted line clearly describes that Communist Party is not able to utilize women power effectively. The impact of such activity is responsible why there are few women leaders in the Communist Party. Women's oppression can be solved through the deep analyses of the system that is deeply rooted in the Communist Party of Nepal.

With respect to the theory, Communist talks about Cultural Revolution within the party but it is not seen in the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). It is only because of petty bourgeois ideology. The main characteristics of petty bourgeois ideology are that they cannot stand on the revolutionary line nor can they stand on the capitalistic line. They stand on the middle way. Hence they are the black hole of the Communist Movement. Outwardly whatever they pronounce about the marginalized

communities it does not matter at all. The main thing is that how much they change themselves according to the Communist Ideology. During People's War many women lost their husbands, sons and brothers and sisters. Most of them lost their life as well.

Maoists call themselves the emancipator of the marginalized communities but in the war time, women became the main victim. It is said that women were the real power to change each and every movement in the history of Nepal. Their role in the Nalapani is immemorial. They fought bravely against the East-India Company during Anglo-Nepal war. We find the voice rose against women's suppression even in the history of Nepal. Yogmaya is taken as the first revolutionary women in the history of Nepal. She fought against the Ranarchy in Nepal for the rights of women. At last, she was compelled to commit suicide along with her 80 supporters.

As Nepal is one of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal states, Nepalese society is bound with the feudalistic ideology. Hindu Brahminical Patriarchy System is the main problem in the state. Gender discrimination, caste discrimination, and class discrimination is still in practice in Nepalese society. Hindu Brahminical Patriarchy society is based on the policy to suppress women. It can be seen in our society that in each and every family there is gender discrimination. Even in the 21st century no any remarkable change has been seen. During the period when there was Ranarchy there, was Sati Pratha. Later Rana Prime Minister abolished the system. Even After the establishment of democracy in 2007 B.S, there was no any change in the life style of women nor could Panchayati system do anything. So called democracy restored after 2047 was also the same for the Nepalese women. In the sense we can say that the content is same but the brand is different. It means the leaders who were ruling during the time of Panchayat turned their face into congress and UML, so it is worth to believe that they could do anything for the nation. The status of women was not

improved. Gender discrimination was so high that women felt only People's War could do anything for the general women.

At the same time, Nepal Communist Party (Maoist) started armed struggle. Nepalese women took part actively and marched themselves towards the way of emancipation. War itself is devastating One has to kill one another. It is not good for the society. When normal people afraid to die, the women came in the war front. Traditionally, women were observed as weak, incapable, submissive, and inferior and so on. This was the identity of women in the Nepalese society, when they became successful to change the traditional concept towards them. They came out of the boundary which was created by the Hindu Brahminical Patriarchy System and involved them in the war. Especially in the remote area of the country it was surprising and electrifying of the involvement of women in the People's War. The main reason behind the involvement of women in the war was that they were suppressed by the system from the centuries. In People's War they got opportunity to show their courage and capacity. Slowly and gradually the number of female cadres increased to 40% in the PLA. Though it was difficult to come out of the boundaries but Nepalese women challenged traditional concept and superstitious belief and involved themselves into the historical war.

It was not expected that such radical change may seen in Nepalese women within short period of time but it became possible. It is only because of the Communist Ideology who knows the real importance of women. Communists take gender struggle as the part of class struggle and women took part on it. They joined their hands in hands with their male counterparts to end the Feudalistic Unitary System. Those women who were illiterate came to know everything after their involvement in People's War. They came to know the structure of the society, human

civilization within very short span of time. So it can be taken as the radical change on women.

The research is connected with the cause behind women becoming People's Liberation Army. It is also concerned with the consciousness of the general women about their right. The researcher is concerned with the female's exposition of bravery in the ten years long People's War in Nepal. The present researcher also wants to research why the females extended their hands with the male rebels in the battle field? How the women's liberation is linked with the class struggle? How their participation is linked with the anti feudalistic and anti patriarchy in context of Nepal?

It has been hypothesized that the exposition of bravery and participation in the battle field by the female is a rebellion to challenge the contemporary Patriarchal society for their identity, so that they can be emancipated from the male quagmire society. Gender discrimination is very high in the Nepalese society. As, it is clearly known that women were treated as the second sex and others in the society. Hindu Brahminical patriarchy system has suppressed them. Economical and cultural oppression is another main cause of the women oppression. The traditional concept to look women can be changed if they take part in the process of social change. As communist party always takes gender problem as the part of class struggle, Nepalese women were mostly influenced by the Marxism and they have always linked the feminist movement with class struggle. They actively took part in People's War. It was necessary to challenge the traditional concept to look women even in the 21st century. When the CPN (Maoist) started the people's war and they women became aware about their suppression in the society and they came in the line to stand against the system which was revolving round the society. They show their bravery in each and every war front. But it must be well known that why those female warrior joined

the war? Is the feudalistic patriarchy system is the main cause of the oppression in the society? If we deeply analyze the fact it can be clarified that the social, economic and patriarchy cause were the main form to suppress women in the society. Therefore, they might have taken part in the historical People's War. It is at this time it will be justified to bring the reference from the text:

Where there is oppression, there will be revolt, since women have suffered class and sexual oppression; they have doubled the capacity to revolt. That's why communist party of Nepal (Maoist) recruited them. After our third expanded meeting nine years ago, we made it mandatory to have two women in each of our fighting, security and voluntary teams. Unlike the royal Army's scheme to attract females with money, position and facility, our women are recruited on the basis principles and ideas. (Yami 18)

The lines mentioned above shows the double oppression of women from the centuries. Feudalistic Centralized Unitary Feudalistic System has oppressed them from the initial phase of the state. It means they are oppressed within the state by both system and class. This statement clearly states that they have to struggle against the system. We can see the history that the women have played vital role to preserve the sovereignty of the nation but they are not recruited in the National Security Force. CPN (Maoist) at first recruited women in the People's Liberation Army. The extended meeting of the party had decided to recruit women in each war front. When Maoist recruited the women in the People's Liberation Army, Royal Nepal Army also started to recruit women in the National Security Force. As the subject matter is linked with the class struggle and class struggle with Marxist ideology, it saw the possibility of their emancipation through it. They took gender discrimination as a part of class

struggle. Though, there are many reasons behind gender discrimination and it will be justifiable to observe the point through the lenses of Marxist feminism. The term feminist refers the belief and aim that women should have the same right and opportunity as men. But Nepalese women have not got as defined in the above definition. They are just struggling for the same opportunities. This struggle is continuing from the centuries.

Feminism tries to find out the root cause of women oppression in society and its way out. Marxist feminism is a sub type of feminism which sees the oppression of women and seeks its solution from the Marxist point of view.

In context of Nepal, the main cause of women oppression is the social, economic, and political cause but social issue is raised more. If we seriously analyze the fact, economical and political cause are also oppressed by the social issue as the social issue is not changed by the time. As this is the age of Capitalism but the pre feudalistic hang is still there in the society. Feudalistic society always suppresses women but Marxist Feminism always links this issue with the class struggle. For Marxist Feminist gender oppression is class oppression and women's subordination. It believes that women's situation in the society cannot be understood in isolation from its socio economic context. Mainly the theory is connected with capitalism. It always counters the capitalist ideology. As we know that Nepal is one of developing the country and it's on the initial phase of capitalism. The struggle against the system is only the way out. It is on this context it will be justifiable to bring the idea of Valeria Bryson about Marxist feminism:

Marxist feminism however argue that in class society such right can benefit only a few middle class women; most women like most men will remain oppressed until the capitalist economy system is replaced

by communism. From these perspectives the key to women liberation is their entry into the paid labor market and their participation in the class struggle; it is only the communist society that the economic dependency that is based on women oppression will disappear, and communal child care and housekeeping free them from domestic drudgery and allow them to participate fully in productive life. (3)

As the system in the whole world is exercising capitalism, there are some rights for women which have been enjoyed only by the limited number of women. The elitist family women and the bourgeois women have been able to enjoy the system but majority of the women are still deprived from it.. They have not been able to enjoy the freedom of democracy in this system. Until and unless the Communism is established they cannot enjoy that freedom. It is only the communism which can guarantee the rights of women. Women can get the economic dependency and this system can only end the domestic drudgery of women. But getting Communism is not so easy. They have to struggle for long time. As, Valeria Bryson stated further: “Such change cannot be achieved simply by demanding justice, for they are the product of a particular stage of economic development; sexual equality cannot therefore be achieved at will, but only in specific historical circumstances” (3). What Communism has thought about the equality of all the human beings has not been achieved. It takes long time. We have not been able to have the social structure that we should have. We need to have long struggle against the present system as it has deeply rooted in our society. It can be changed with the historical circumstances.

It is necessary to understand the deep relation between Patriarchy Power and the Mode of Production. At this time, it will be appropriate to bring the idea of Engels, He has clearly stated that the feudalistic property in is in the hand of Male

from many generation. In his famous book entitled *The Origin of the Family, Private property and the State* he writes:

The egalitarian situation was changed by the development of new sources of wealth in the male sphere of activity, through the domestication of animal and the breeding of herds. As some men gain property and power over other there position within the family was strengthen, and they want to pass their property to their children; to do this they have to over throw the traditional order of inheritance and ensure strict monogamy. (70)

The lines of Engels, clearly shows that women were made propertyless in the past. It is male who control all the property and hand over it from generation to generation. It means in the initial phase of society all the property was under control of women. But later on men claimed control on it. They also captured all the means of production and at last all the women started to struggle against the patriarchy system.

The research carries mainly three chapters; first chapter includes introduction, which is entitled “Women’s Participation in People’s War in Nepal.” Second chapter carries textual analysis from the perspective of Marxist Feminism, which is entitled as “Subversion of Traditional Gender Role: A study of People’s War.” And third chapter concludes the entire research project and its findings briefly.

II. Subversion of Traditional Gender Role: A Study of People's War from Marxist Feminist Perspective

The project focuses on the subversion of traditional gender role; A study of People's War from Marxist Feminist Perspective. It searches on the features of *Nepali Times* that were published during the time span of 058-063. As People's War started from 2052 B.S, women took strong participation in the movement. In each and every war front they were in the front line. As it is well known fact that women are taken as inferior, submissive, other, marginalized, and weak. But during the period of war, they showed their bravery, which can be taken as subversion of traditional gender role. So, it is significant to study the event from Marxist Feminist Point of View.

Feminism is taken as a movement which studies and defines equal political, economic, and social right for women. Feminist seek to establish equal opportunities for women in education and employment. Feminist theory which emerged from the feminist movement, aims at understanding the nature of gender inequality by examining women's social role and lived experience; now feminists have developed the varieties of theories. These theories advocate for work place rights including maternity leave and against discrimination against women. With the emergence of feminist theory, their campaigns have changed societies, particularly in the concept of patriarchy. As Feminists have developed varieties of theories, the ongoing project is concerned on Marxist Feminism.

Marxist Feminism is a sub-type of feminist theory which seeks the way of women's emancipation. Marxist Feminist states that private property, which gives rise to economic inequality, dependence, political confusion and ultimately unhealthy social relation between men and women, is the root of women's oppression in the current social context. The foundation of Marxist feminist was led by Engels. In his analysis of gender oppression in *The Origin of the family, Private Property and the*

State, he claims that women's subordination is not result of her biological disposition but of social relation and that the institution of family as it exists is a complex system in which command women's services.

Marxist theory claims that the individual is heavily influenced by the structure of society and people's interest, class structure; their needs, wants and mode of production are heavily influenced by the surrounding. Gender inequality is ultimately determined by capitalist mode of society. Marxists take gender oppression as a part of class oppression and relation between man and women in society is similar to the relation between proletarian and bourgeois. Women's subordination is seen as a form of class oppression, serves the interest of ruling class.

Radical Women, a major Marxist feminist organization bases its theory on Marx and Engels analysis that the enslavements of women was the first building block of an economic system based on private property. They contend that elimination of the capitalist profit driven economy will remove the motivation for sexism, racism, homophobia and other forms of oppression. If so a question arises how the feudalistic and capitalistic economic system can be replaced. Marxist Feminist argues that only few middle class women have benefit right and most women like most men are oppressed from the existing political system and it can be replaced by Communism. Marxist claims that women's emancipation is possible through the participation in the entry of paid labour and through class struggle. Sometimes those scholars claim the independent organization of women which advocates in favour of women. But on the contrary some Marxist feminist claims that Communist Party is enough to solve the problem that exists in the society. They said that independent organization of women should be under the control of Communist

Party. These scholars always attack the political theory for excluding or marginalizing women.

Marxists study about the evolution of human civilization. Initially there was egalitarian society where men and women used to be equal. There was no any class and gender discrimination. But later on society was changed. Engels in his book entitled *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the state* writes; “The overthrow of mothers rights was the world historical defeat of the female sex. The men took command in the home also; the women was degraded and reduced to servitude; she became the slave of his lust and the mere instrument of the production of children” (70). The analysis shows that initially women had right on property but later on it had seized by men. The men took command in home and women were forced to become slave. Women were made instrument for sexual satisfaction and merely a machine for producing children. They were not taken seriously. They were oppressed and made slave to work in their home. If we deeply analyze the root cause behind such miserable condition of women, it is only because women lost control in the home and became economically dependent upon men. Engels further writes in the same book, “Female oppression has no other material cause, it is a part of class society” (70). As Marxists divide society in two groups proletarian and bourgeois, here women can be taken as proletarian because their condition in the house is no better than working class people, they have no economic status; it means economic part is on the hand of men. Therefore, men are taken as masters in the society. It is only because of their economic supremacy. If so a question arises, Can economic supremacy be ended? Marxist says that abolition of private property can only end the supremacy of men and all kinds of discrimination between men and women. As it is well known fact that Marxism is extremely complex theory, it analyzed gender

problem from historical perspective and advocates the restructuring of the existing society. Restructuring the society is not possible until and unless revolutionary organization through the existing system through class struggle.

Gender discrimination is a complex problem in the Nepalese society. Nepalese Marxists have also defined the problem as class problem. It is mentioned in the above paragraph that can be ended with the abolition of private property and it can be done through class struggle against bourgeois society. As sexual discrimination is high in Nepal and it is not addressed by any of the system, Nepalese women were compelled to join the People's War that was started by CPN (Maoist). From the initial phase to the end of the war, they have strongly taken participation on the war. Traditional concept of women was destroyed by women at that time and established their identity that they were also no less intelligent and brave than men. It is said that almost fifty percentage of the total PLA was covered with women. On the other hand, party activists were also no less than men at that time. It is well known fact to all that women were not allowed to go out of home. They were not allowed to talk to others. But at that time how they joined people's war is the major question and investigation for all people. Nepalese women were oppressed from centuries with Hindu Brahminical Patriarchal system. They were oppressed from all sides i.e economically, politically and socially. The research is concentrated on the cause of oppression and the way they have followed to come out from it. It will be appropriate to analyze all the form of oppression one by one and the way of emancipation they have followed.

Women's economic oppression is deeply rooted in the Nepalese society. Means of production are on the hand of men in the house. As women are facing dual oppression within the family, their condition is miserable. Feudalistic land owner

relationship has become the main cause of women's oppression. Nepal being one of the agricultural country is still semi feudal and semi colonial.

88% of the total population living in the rural area and 81% engaged on agriculture sector with agriculture holding 42% of the total GNP of the country, in which women's role is vital. The feudal land relation can be judged by the fact that 63% poor peasant own only 10% while 10% of rich peasant and landlord own 65% of land. (Yami 12)

This can be taken as gender biasness in the society. Women are also barred from inheriting their parental property. As such economic oppression cannot be isolated for a long time, they involved themselves in People's War. It can be further clarified with the feature that was published in *Nepali Times* on 14-20 February 2003 entitled "Walks the Talks" by Durga Pokhrel, "A woman prisoner told us why she joined the movement, "We had been left alone to die. Most of us have no farm land, no employment, no roads, no business. "Nothing." Another added it is waar ki paar" (3). These lines reflect the fact of Nepalese feudalistic economic system. These lines clarify the fact that women have no farm land even to cultivate for livelihood. No any kinds of facilities are provided to them. They have no employment opportunity and no any business, they are just made mere creature to enjoy in the male sphere society. They want to be independent economically but Hindu Feudalistic Patriarchy System does not allow uplifting their head in the society. It is clear that they had joined movement just only because they would be emancipated one day and would be able to enjoy freedom. Anger is seen in the eyes of those women against the system "Waar ki Paar" illustrate it.

Marxist Feminists take gender problem as class problem and Nepalese women have also taken the issue in the same way and they have joined their hands with their

male counterpart. Class struggle against the capitalist society is the ultimate solution for Marxist feminist. At first women should involve themselves in the area of production where they can get some economic independency. Maoist leader Hisila Yami in *Nepali Times* dated 27th February 2004, in her article “Girl Power” introduce the ground reality of women’s economic status in semi feudal and semi colonial Nepalese society. “Women are most deprived in the existing feudal system, despite their vital role in Nepal’s agro economic. They are denied from parental property although they run their households on their own when their husbands are away earning money” (18). It is seen in the screen that Nepal’s agro economy is on the hand of women but they are deprived from everything. They are not given chance to get education and social status. They are compared with the animal in the house. They are taken as other’s property. Hence, they are deprived of parental property. Their role in agro based economy is praiseworthy but discriminatory law has always suppressed women. This is also one of the reasons behind women being PLA. Marxist Feminist claims that until and unless private property exists, the existing system cannot be changed. To change the existing system and to establish socialism struggle is inevitable.

Capitalistic social system is the main cause of women’s oppression in the society and its way out is to dismantle social system; Capitalism gives rise to economic inequality, dependency, political confusion and ultimately social relation between men and women, which is the main causes of women’s oppression. Here, it will be appropriate to bring the idea of Tyson from *Critical Theory Today* “how economic forces have been manipulated by patriarchy law and custom to keep women economically, politically, and socially oppressed as an underclass” (93). In capitalistic system law and customs are made in such a way that helps in oppressing women not

only economically but politically and socially as well. The situation of Nepalese women is so miserable that they are compelled to leave their nation and go India in search of employment. It's only just because of their low economic status. Such miserable situation is seen in the feature of Surendra Kafle, in his feature "Women in Exile" dated 12-18 March 2004 he writes; "The number of Nepali Women migrating to India for security and employment is growing with the intensity of the conflict in the mid-western hills" (7). Unemployment problem is the main problem of Nepal. Agriculture provides seasonal employment and it is difficult to get employment in rest of the time. It's difficult for the people of hilly remote area of Nepal to survive. Most of the men move towards foreign land to earn for their family. Traditionally women used to stay in home and look after their babies but after People's War. They become more conscious about the socio, economic and political situation of the nation and they started involving themselves in the area of production. As the means of production is limited in the hilly remote area of Nepal, they started to go on the foreign land for employment opportunity. In such a way, Nepalese women became successful to change the image of women that exists in the present Nepalese society. In a sense it is also a subversion of traditional gender role in Nepalese society.

Marxist Feminist takes the relation between patriarchy, men and women as a means of oppression. As Patriarchy, has constructed the image of women as an object to satisfy sexual desire of male. They don't like any kinds of social status of women. They want women to take domestic responsibility and outward work is supposed to be done by males only. That's why women are treated as weak, "Women's domestic responsibility mean that they are less able them to defend their own economic interest." (Bryson 241). It shows women's interest, capacity, are neglected by male in the society. Marxist Feminists defends such issue and they focus the participation of

women in economic activity actively. Economic status is all in all, it is one which determines social and cultural aspects as well. Nepalese society is made in such a way that men is taken as the life guard for women. If men die, everything dies for women. This is the image for women reflected in the society. Article of Manisha Aryal in *Nepali Times* dated 28th October 2005, entitled “Nepal War Widow See Red” explains the miserable condition of women due to social and economic status: “Death wiped out everything in the life of 25 years old widow, Debi with her husband gone, she lost not just her right to wear her wedding beadi, glass burgles, tika and clothes in different shades of red but also her social status, economic security and legal protection” (11). There is no legal protection for women except in the shadow of men in the existing social system. With the death of husband, everything dies for women. They fell insecure in the society.

As women are not allowed to go out of home they are deprived from standing on their own tools economically. It prohibits women from taking part in economic activities. If a young man dies his wife is deprived from his property. Even if she has children, she is not given a penny in the name of property. Binod Bhattari writes in *Nepali Times* dated 17-23 may 2002 an article entitled “Rebel with a cause,” as: “In Kathmandu Hasu Devi discovered her father-in-law and brother-in-law had already filed separate claims. Airlines officers had decided the money should perhaps go to the men, because the woman was young and likely to elope” (3). If women are alone, she can elope. This is the image made in patriarchy society. Patriarchy does not like women to involve in economic activities. Here Hasu Devi whose husband was killed in air accident is alone. She needs economic support from Airlines Company to raise her children but it is difficult for her to get money because her relatives are claiming same.

Marxism feminism helps us understand the issue of women economically, politically, and socially as well. Thus, the primary task of Marxist feminism “ is to create a kind of world in which women can experience themselves as whole persons, as integrated rather than fragmented or splintered being” (Tong 45). In the patriarchal social system women are confined within domestic and household atmosphere. Since they do not have wide range of experience, they cannot revolt against the patriarchal ideology. Domestic duties prevent women from seeing the outside world. Gender discrimination will continue until and unless women take part in economic activities. It is seen in the world history that the women of world have gone through great struggle to involve them in economic sector. Let’s examine some of the glimpse of women’s struggle in the world. Kaven Sacks in her article writes; ‘Class root of feminism’

The separate trend in the women movement drive for legal and economic equality, middle class women’s push for educational opportunity and full legal and economic equality, middle class women’s push for educational opportunity and full legal membership in their class and working class women drive for economic progress.
(488)

During the nineteenth century the women’s movement in United State of America, women’s movement started not only for economic equality but for social as well as legal equality. Even in so called democratic and developed nation, there was no legal status for women. But it should be understood from the Marxist point of view because they are demanding equal legal status, which the emerging capitalism in the than America had not provided to them. Actually industrial working Class women’s movement for economic improvement and equality which began from the United

States spread in other countries as well. After being independent from Colonial Rule there was no improvement in women. Neither is it seen in middle class women.

As Nepalese women are also oppressed with feudalistic patriarchy system, they exploited are also in People's War. Nepalese women played vital role in the movement. Importance of women in the movement can be clarified from these lines:

Again in 1848 the Pennsylvania workers went out on strike, and again it looked like defeat. This time the women armed with axes, stormed the factory, took on a company of police, captured the strike breakers and then closed it down again. The leaders were arrested but the strike continued. Though they finally won a ten hour day accepting a wage cut, it is not clear whether they soon increased their wage to what they had been for twelve hour work. In any case these early textile hattles shows the militance and leadership women gave to the early labor market. (492 Sacks)

It's only women when they took the leadership of movement for the increase of wages and decrease of working time. It shows that Militancy Women Movement become success to achieve they wanted. Women, who are taken as inferior, weak, can change their attitude if they need and the hands which holds needle can hold gun if they need and change the society. In the context of Nepal also women are treated like animals. They are living miserable life from the centuries. They are waiting for appropriate opportunities to take revenge with the feudalistic patriarchy system. If we deeply observe the history of Nepal we find great contribution of women but they are not treated as the citizen of Nepal.

People's War which started from 1996 with the purpose to establish new democracy in the nation was hoped to bring equality among people. And end all kinds

of gender discrimination, Class oppression, and regional discrimination. Marginalized communities along with women oppressed by the system sacrificed their life for the sake of new democracy. Durga Pokhrel in *Nepali Times* dated 14-20 February 2003 writes on the article entitled 'Walks the Talks': "40 percent of the militia are female, most are Magar with Kami and other dalits. It is easy to see why the war started here, it might not be one of the remotest districts but it sure is under developed, Parameter in Nepal and entrenched feudalism" (4). Due to feudalistic nature of states, women could not get chance to uplift themselves along with other marginalized communities. On the other hand the state did not give priority to develop this region due to which these marginalized Communities involved themselves in Maoist movement.

It is true that after the end of Ranarchy in 2007, democracy was established but within very short period it was collapsed by King Mahendra. He started party less Panchyat system but this too could not do for these communities. Democracy was restored by the movement of 1990 but people's blood went in vain. Politician didn't value the role of women in the movement. All in all, the so called democracy was no worse than Panchayat System. Women militia clarifies the system in the article of Durga Pokhrel, 'They are convinced that Proletarian rule will come soon and they complain bitterly 'what did multi party system do for us? The leaders worse than the panchas'(4). No any reform was seen after the establishment of democracy. Oppression on the working class people continued. As communist give slogan 'Let's working class people be unite' it is only the option that can end the existing system and helps to establish Communism.

As women are the part of struggle they are highly convinced that Communism is inevitable in Nepal which ensures their right. As they are scarifying their life for new democracy in people's war. They have shown their bravery

subverting traditional gender role. Let's see their opinion on war in the same article of Durga Pokhrel, "I asked aren't you tired of fighting? Answer' 'No really' without exception, prisoners felt they were there for a just cause, as though it was just a question of days until their cause would be won. Those outside jail expressed pride at having Rolpa almost totally under their control" (4). These lines clarify the fact that women who joined movement are fighting against feudalistic unitary system and they are proud to find themselves in jail. It is written in the Communist Manifesto that Proletarian have nothing to lose except physical body. These warriors are struggling for the egalitarian system (stateless system). It is well known fact that Rolpa is the district from where Maoist started their movement and they became successful to control it within very short period of time. If so, a question arises what is the reason behind Maoist's victory over Rolpa within a short period? The obvious fact is that it is one of the under developed and most of the people are living under the line of poverty. No employment opportunities. No infrastructure of development. People engaged in movement and Maoist utilized the power. Due to illiteracy and ignorance people believed that the new democracy is only the way for their emancipation. And the one who involved in the movement are women and marginalized communities.

Roots of women's oppression must not only be sought in economic structure but also in social cultural structure. Similarly, sources of women's exploitation must not only be sought in her productive life but also in her reproductive life. Women's oppression in Nepal is firmly rooted with Hindu Brahminical Feudalistic Unitary caste system. It is one of the reason behind women living there life with no identity. Before marriage they are identified as someone's daughter after marriage they are some one's mother and wife. It is just because of patrilinear inheritance law. As gender discrimination is high in Nepal's sons are given high priority. It is found that 'Nepal

has one of the highest indices of son preference in the world' (2 Yemi). This makes women face discrimination from womb to tomb. Women are facing high mortality rate due to lack of education. On the other hand due to high preference to son, women are compelled to multiple pregnancies. Health condition is deteriorating day by day. Women are taken as means to beget to inherit the private property. It means that women without their son are mostly abandoned or socially ostracized. Min Bajrachrya in *Nepali times* dated 16-22 January 2004 writes:

Why do so few girls go to school? Why do so many mothers die at child birth? The answer lies in the law status of women in Nepali society, discrimination against the girl child, sometimes even before they are born. And these disadvantages and discrimination are not being addressed meaningfully and with the insurgence it means the solutions of Nepali girls and women's is not getting better. (8)

This alarming fact shows the miserable condition of Nepalese women. Due to Hindu Brahminical Patriarchy System girls are not given opportunities to get education. They are taken as other's property. That's why people do not want to invest for them. As a result, girls are compelled to marry in early age. Due to early marriage they are facing early pregnancy and it has increased mortality rate.

This is obvious fact in one hand and on the other hand girl children are killed in the womb. This problem is increasing only because of the discriminatory law. Laws which are made by men are not in favour of women. Legally, men are stronger than women. Laws, which are in favor of women, are also not serving the interests of middle class women. Working class women are facing problem with those laws. Karen Sacks writes on the issue in his article "Class root of Feminism" in *Issue in Feminism* in this way:

In the middle class movement, collective action focused on those aspect of domestic laws which prevent married women from having an independent economic status. Women right to own inherent property was petitioned for and won without much opposition. But such a law has little relevance to working class women. (490)

As domestic law is strong in Nepalese society, state laws are discriminatory. Women are not given Paternal Property. Women's movement in Nepal is marching on that way. People's war is one of them. There are some reactionary women's organizations that are not in favor of women's right on parental property. This is one of the problems for Nepalese women to get right. The collective movement has helped to achieve something. But it has no any relevance to the working class women.

One of the Marxist Feminist scholars Gabriel writes about the legal system of Nepal in patriarchal society in her book *Women of Nepal March Forward* in this way:

The feudal patriarchal oppression function up to this day on the basis of an entire system of law, religious tradition, everyday custom and idea about morality' it has also become apparent that in particular the Nepalese congress party, the reactionary government party was a keen advocate of these reactionary tradition regarding women. (68)

Religion, old belief, customs and traditions, morality are the weapon of patriarchy and reactionaries to run the state according to its will. This is one of the causes behind marginalized communities being oppressed in the society. Nepali Congress who called itself as a mother of democracy in Nepal is also not in favor of women's right. It became reactionary after it came in power in 1990. So is the reason it was victimized by Maoists Movement during the period of People's War. It is only because it took the place of Panchas and could do nothing for the general people. It

could not take initiation to change the discriminatory law. As a result, women and other marginalized communities involved themselves in people's war. Min Bajrachrya in *Nepali Times* writes about the discriminatory law:

There is a persistence of a strong patriarchal culture that emphasis traditional role for women and 137 discriminatory provisions in the law. For instances, Nepali women cannot confer citizenship to the children or husband, although free education for girl has been announced these hasn't been notable increase enrollment practice like which craft and dowry are still prevalent. (8)

Socio cultural aspect has become one of the main causes behind women's oppression. There is strong presence of patriarchal culture which gives emphasis on the traditional role of women. To preserve the patriarchal norms and values, reactionary government has imposed various discriminatory laws. To shed the eyes of international communities they have announced the right of equality but in reality it is not seen in the ground. Women are not given authority to inherit citizenship from their name. Government has announced free girl's education but it has been not implemented effectively yet. Many girls have not seen the face of school even today.

Dowry system is still in practice due to which hundreds of girls are burnt alive. Instead of controlling such practice government is encouraging such mal practice. It can be seen in the marriage of high class officials. The worst belief that is existing in our society is women are announced witch. They are treated no less than animals without having any faults. Society compelled them to leave their places. Even they are tortured physically, mentally, socially and sexually. This is the living symbol of women's oppression in Nepalese society. This kind of miserable condition of women opens the way for movement. It also proves that people's war is inevitable.

Women of Nepal are struggling through various means and it is reflected in Gabriel's voice:

We saw a lot of poverty but, above all we saw people who fight this poverty the often still feudal tradition that discriminate against women and who fight for the liberation of women. We saw many women and children who did not collapse under the burden of oppression but who courageously believe in and want to fight for a better world. A world in which there is no more exploitation and oppression. (175)

Ideology of Marxist feminism stands on the ideology of Marxism, which looks gender agenda from the lenses of class oppression. It focuses on the resolution of gender problem through class struggle. The history of all "process of historical development was neither random nor smooth, but was expressed through class conflict and revolution" (68 Bryson). It does not matter how strong the laws of the state is to preserve the existing system, there is conflict in the society until and unless proletarian and bourgeois remain in the society. But the structure of the society is not so smooth that one can change it within a moment, it takes long time. It is not too impossible that we cannot change and there will be statuesque in the society. It is sure that any of the society can be changed as it is proved in the historical development of society. It means that revolution is inevitable. It is scientific fact that the more you suppress the more it revolt. Oppression of women in Nepalese society has proved that women took part in People's War only because of the discriminatory behavior of our society and the state.

Women's movement in Nepal is marching in the way to implement those provisions regarding women. They are marching through classless state where there is

no discrimination. Liberation of women is also the liberation of all proletarian. Hisila Yami in her article 'Girl Power' dated 27 February-4 March writes:

It is leading the new revolution to implement ideas as like equal rights for parental property and tillers as land owners. Women's are fascinated with this change. The people's war has liberated women who otherwise had to spend their lives solely on domestic matters. Because of Hindu philosophy girls are married off at an early age. They became grandmothers even before they reach menopause. (18)

People's War was launched initially for the egalitarian society (stateless) society. As it was started by the working class people, it works on behalf of proletarians. During the period of People's War people's court was made, which used to provide legal right to those of marginalized communities. Due to Hindu Patriarchal System property is inherited to son. Equal property right can only ensure the right for women. Therefore, women are attracted with this movement. Women crossed their domestic boundary and involved themselves in the liberation. It can be taken as the achievement of People's War that moved women towards the movement. And it was necessary for women to march forward the movement of freedom because girls were married in early age and they became grandmother even before they reach menopause. It is one of the reasons behind high maternity rate in Nepal. Due to which hundred of women are dying.

Women's movement aims at stopping such exploitation and start movement for equal right on reproduction as well. As mentioned above Hindu philosophy had helped male dominated society to suppress women. Valerie Bryson in this regard writes, "All form of organized religion was, she argued, hostile to women. The Hindu women on the funeral pyre, the Turkish women in the haven, the American mother

refusing chloroform in child birth because she must suffer for Eve's original sin- all were victims of male dominated religion" (45). It is not only Hindu religion but other religions are also hostile towards women. As religions are made in favor of male they undermine women. Religions have become powerful force to control women's activities. She further quotes from Dubios; "Men had manipulated religion to legitimize their power" (225). Roots of feudalistic system is so long that it takes long period to overthrow, as capitalism has replaced feudalism but its shadow can be seen in the society.

Capitalism is progressive in comparison to feudalism, but even capitalism is not able to throw the social structure and reconstruct new. It has become necessary to marginalized communities to raise their voice against the system. One of the women militia says in Matrika Paudel's article entitled Women warriors in *Nepali Times* dated 11-17 November 2005; "The road of the liberation is difficult but we will reach one day" (9). Women have come on the road of freedom and they are on the way to emancipation, which is very difficult and there are cliffs and Rocky Mountains in the way. But in front of their desire of freedom, they are nothing. They have taken oath to liberate women from the oppression and they are marching towards that direction. Discrimination on education has become one of the main causes of the backwardness of women in our society. Min Bajrachrya in *Nepali Times* dated 16-22 January 2004 writes:

Although there is an 80 percent enrollment rate for boys in primary schools in Nepal, the rate for girls is only 60 percent although girl's enrollment is rising. Women's literacy is still 34 percent compared to 75 percent for men and this gap is widening. The maternal mortality rate in Nepal is 540 for every 10,000 most of which can be prevented

with better nutrition and accessible mid wife, service. Three quarters of Nepalese women who are pregnant are anemic and there is huge epidemic of prolapsed uterus among women in western Nepal. (18)

The situation is going worse as the concerned authorities are not giving their attention towards this miserable situation. As Nepalese society revolves rounds the feudalistic culture there is still hangover of it even in the democratic system. Thousands of women are dying due to lack of nutrition and food in the one hand and on the other hand women are facing the problem of various diseases due to which their health condition is deteriorating. Due to lack of education, their condition is becoming worse day by day. Education status in above lines also clarifies the fact that they are lacking education though girl's enrollment in education is rising. The fact cannot be isolated which is also one of the causes of women's movement. The deteriorating condition, compelled to rise women their voice against the system. It means that women are not socially secure. Society has not given attention towards the miserable condition of women. Feminist movement has raised the issue for their social security from the state.

Marxist Feminist finds similarities between male and female in the family and bourgeois – proletariat in the society. Husband father or male member in a family is like bourgeois in society and wife in a family is like a proletariat in society. It does not mean that women are suffering only within family but family itself is the initiating point for women's domination. Women are being exploited in the society on the bases of patriarchal norms and values which are constructed from power and position. "Man's control of women is rooted in the fact that he not, she control the property the oppression of women will cease only with the dissolution of the institution of private property" (Tong 49). As property is on the hand of male, women are unable to

practice their freedom and desire. From this it is clarified that beside social oppression economy is also important. It means that social oppression take place due to economic dependency;

Women are taken as mere instrument to satisfy male's sexual desire.

Patriarchy notion expects women to be 'others' and 'object' and male is considered as 'self'. It is not real but a social construction that is based on male domination, which treats the women as commodities. By creating the binary oppositions male takes advantages' (De Beauvoir 995). During the time of People's War women were the main participations in the movements directly and indirectly but at the same time they were also the main victims. They were sexually exploited in the name of love by the Security Personals. Durga Pokhrel writes in *Nepali Times* dated 21-27 march 2003 in her article entitled "Nepal's War Babies"

In Bardia alone at least 300 security forces personal have eloped in 'gandharva bibaha' with local girl's. The young women don't seem to want to know whether the men are already married nor do our sepias revel their existing marital status. The lucky one are picked up by unmarried soldiers. But even them, the problem in this kind of marriage is that they can nether register with the local authorities which in most cases are non-existent or non functional- nor can have a traditional marriage. Then there's a sudden surprise when the girls wake up one morning to find that their secret lovers have been transformed. Most of them are left behind making pregnant and they have no idea where their husbands have gone. (2)

This incident is just an example of Bardiya. These lines show the condition of girls.

Various ages of different girls in towns and villages express sympathy for men in

uniform. As women are emotional by nature men take advantage of the situation. Very suddenly women fall in love but they don't think that they are being scapegoat for sexual satisfaction. Due to illiteracy and unawareness they sacrifice their life for the sake of so called love. And at last they are left behind by their secret lovers. In this way they are not secure. It has become the question of emancipation for those victims. They involved themselves against the male dominated society. 'Female participation is increasing in the People's Liberation Army. They are also growing because of repression and physical violation of the so called Armed Police Force and Royal Army.

As movement was on climax thousands of women took part on the movement. Influence of women's in People's war can be seen in the article of Matrika Paudel entitled "Women Warrior" in *Nepali Times* dated 11-17 November 2005:

The proportion of women in the Maoist rank in eastern Nepal appears to be higher than in the west,. There is growing influence of female member of the Kirat community in the war, says Astha district sectary of Khotang, "there is no discrimination against women in these area which is why there is more women guerillas. (9)

Eastern part of Nepal is more developed then the west. Women of this region are aware of their oppression from the patriarchy. In ethnic community it is find that women are less discriminated then Brahiminical community which also help those women to involve them selves in People's War. It helps to increase the number of women guerillas in the war. They are also in the high rank of the Party.

Where there is discrimination there is revolt, since there is gender discrimination in our society women are taking part in People Liberation. In this regard Gabriel says:

Men and women in principle are equal by birth. But they have been discriminated and victimized for long on different views. They are almost on the stage of slavery. It's therefore our historical responsibility to liberate from such a grave situation with view to giving them their long due self respect and rights. Women's salvation is not an isolated issue, as it has its roots in the exploitative socio-political system. They can be liberated only when an exploitation free society is created by eradicating the discriminatory system which deprives the working people the fruit of labour and sacrifice. (31)

As movement was directed towards exploitation free society and it has become necessary to liberate against them patriarchal values which is the main obstacle for women's liberation. Due to its nature they have been discriminated and victimized for ages. As it is the main root of oppression and it can be wiped out through liberation movement. And realizing the fact women actively took part on the movement.

Women didn't take part in People's War for their personal benefits but for the freedom of women. They have sacrificed their life for liberty which is reflected in the article by Hisila Yami, "Women's are not forced into the People's Liberation Army. They don't join for any practical or short term reason. The fact is the women make the biggest segment of the population in down trodden communities. They are found in every community, families, houses, regions, religions and languages" (18). Where there is discrimination there is revolt. Since women have been suppressed from centuries they found People's War as the means of freedom. They were not forced to take part on the movement rather they themselves involved. They thought that communism could only end all sorts of discrimination.

In family or religion women are taken as others. It means they have no identity in the male dominated society. People's War became means to raise their voice for their identity as well. They found appropriate time to subvert their traditional gender role and showed the people that they were also equally eligible as men. As Nepalese society is not fully developed it is on the initial phase of capitalism. It is clear that Feudalistic Centralized Unitary System is the main cause behind women's oppression. But it should be kept in mind that behind the social oppression it is economy that influences.

Political oppression is also deeply rooted in Nepalese society as the structure is Hindu Feudalistic Centralized Unitary System. Males are ruler and women are ruled in the society. This picture is even reflected within the house. Like social oppression, political oppression is also caused by economy. As women are economically dependent upon others they are not allowed to take part on politics. Besides economy, social system is also the main cause behind the exploitation of women politically. In politics, women are just made vote bank to utilize in the election. 'The present parliamentary system which require money and capital to win the election become a big hindrance to women' (Yami 3). There are some women in the politics but they are either wife or daughter of the already known politician. Politically, women are unconscious till today. People's War was able to make women conscious about their right and discrimination in the society. As women involved themselves in women liberation movement, they became politically conscious and even they became successful to come in the law making body. Dipak Thapa in his book entitled *Ten Years of Upheavel* writes:

One of the historical achievement of the People's war was the arousal of political consciousness and participation of women. Nepali women

who took part in the people's war joined all the fronts: the party fronts, united fronts and the PLA. Women become professional full time revolutionaries for the first time in Nepali history. They also worked as policy makers, organizer, militias, brigade producer, health worker, radio anchor etc. They learnt that feudal state apparatus was an instrument of class and gender oppression. Nepali women got the opportunities to fight against the feudal state with men counterpart.

(101)

It was CPN (Maoist) who utilized women's power and became successful in each and every war front. With the help of revolutionary ideology Maoist became successful to bring women in the main stream politics of Nepal. As a result, women took part in People's war. They not only fought in war front but in other front of the party as well. For the first time they became the whole timer in the party. If we deeply analyze, we find very rare cases in Nepalese Women being whole timer in politics. Then they got appropriate opportunities to fight against the feudal states. Importance of women in the revolution is reflected in Karl Marx's opinion, "Anybody who knows anything of history knows that great changes are impossible without the feminine ferment" (2 qtd in *The Worker*). It highlights the importance of women in the movement. As the main aim of the movement was to overthrow feudalistic monarchy and to establish new democratic system, the role of women became vital. Hisila Yami shows the importance of women in People's War like this, "After our third expanded meeting nine years ago we made it mandatory to have two women in each of our fighting" (18). From these lines it becomes clear that People's War has created some space regarding women. It was just an initial step of the party to recruit women in PLA but slowly the number increases and it reaches up to 40 percent.

Susan Gluck Mezen's view on *Issue in Feminism* by Sheila Ruth 'Women in the Political Process' clarify the fact; "The women movement which grew out of the basis of sex must be fought and grow level, is primarily concerned with the development of political power into influence in public policy making" (370). It is necessary to participate in policy making body to end the discriminatory law. If so, a question arises who makes such discriminatory laws? The obvious fact is male. As male are there in policy making body they always make policy which helps discriminate women. But in context of Nepal it was not possible to come in policy making level as they are economically weak. They cannot invest huge amount of money in parliamentary election. It means that they cannot represent themselves in policy making body due to which they were compelled to involve themselves in People's War, with respect to this; it can only end all sorts of discrimination. If we analyze the situation before people's war we find very low participation of women in people's war.

Women are behind the main stream politics of the nation. If they are found it is very low participation. The social system that we have is also equally responsible behind the minimal participation of women in politics. Sheila Ruth on this issue writes:

There is a variety of reason for women's minimal participation in the political process. Of course, a long history of enforced suppression, including disfranchisement and legal discrimination, has left a legacy of prejudicial attitudes and policies. Informal suppression, the effects of formal roles and gender stereotypes, functions as effectively. The negative image of authoritative women, the burden of child rearing and home making and the absence of social support for functioning of the

outside assigned “place” have all coalesced to keep women from organizing and unifying to challenge discrimination, exploitation and sexism in the political arena and the wider society. (328)

These lines critically examine the cause behind the low participation of women in politics. As women are suppressed by the patriarchal norms and values, it has left the legacy that is continuing till now in Nepalese society. The stereotype that is created regarding women has worked effectively. The negative image has also worked behind the low participation of women in politics.

The space that is provided for women is household activity. No family for outstroke activities is the main hindrance behind not involving women in politics. Organizations are required to fight against all sorts of discrimination, exploitation and sexism. In context of Nepal, there are many such women organization but they are not free from feudalistic norms and values.

It is only All Nepal women’s Organization, a party wing of Communist Party of Nepal (Masal), which is working against all sorts of discrimination in the Nepalese society. These organizations have only raised voice for parental property in the initial phase because as Marxist feminist claims that private property is the main sources of gender discrimination, as family property is inherited to son in Nepalese society. Women cannot claim in parental property. Struggle against such issue can be reflected in the feature of Durga Paudel:

At a suitable moment they unrolled their banners in parliament and called out their demands for property rights for women. The conservative parliamentarians were completely outraged; the women were immediately removed! A total of 105 women who were demonstrating outside parliament were arrested. But this did not deter

ANWA from continuing their struggle for the rights and liberation of women. (32)

Reactionary Parliament was not interested to provide women the right of property. When ANWO and ANWO (Revolutionary) used to raise their voice against such discriminatory law they were arrested. As conservative parliament was formed with reactionary party, it was sure that they would neglect such issue. In such situation it becomes necessary to involve in politics. "Men hold power and generally make decisions that they believe to be suitable" (Ruth 328). It was a great challenge in context of Nepalese society to involve women in politics. It is at this time it had become necessary to launch awareness programme as most of the women were illiterate. Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) started awareness programme in the rural area against traditional oppression realizing the fact. It helped to know the patriarchal oppression and the male discriminated society. Dipak Sapkota writes regarding awareness programme; "During the preparatory campaigns, many attempts were made to end the traditional oppression upon women. The ANWA (Revolutionary) brought a series of awareness programme to provide political schooling to the women" (95). It helps women to know about the oppression by the Hindu Patriarchal society. At that time awareness programme was necessary and as a result number of women in politics increases. It was the predatory. As armed struggle started, slowly and gradually the number increased. It was surprising and electrifying for Nepalese society. It becomes the time to subvert their traditional role and give new identity. They declared themselves party whole timer and part timer. They not only became party cadres but they also became successful to reach in decision making level of the party.

Due to petty bourgeois ideology and feudalistic patriarchy ideology among male comrades, women became victims. Though, the women have involved themselves in People's War to end all sorts of discrimination. They themselves become victims. They were sexually, physically and mentally tortured. Most of the female guerrilla's have faced sexual and physical tortured by their male counterpart. This is the negative side of the movement. Those who raised voice against all sorts of discrimination are themselves exploited by those who call themselves emancipator. In this regard, Matrika Paudel writes in his article,

Three years ago, the Maoist central women's departments started surveying women guerrillas to analyze, what kind of personal problem could come up. Female fighters answered question about sexual discrimination by male peers and about difficulties related to pregnancy, contraception's, and other problems. (10)

These kinds of patriarchal hang are still there in the male who raised their voice against gender discrimination. This is due to lack of Cultural Revolution within the Communist Party. Communist mainly give emphasize in Cultural Revolution within the party cadres and in the leaders as well. These kinds of behavior in Communist Party are the legacy of patriarchy.

Besides People's War there was also high participation of women in anti-Maoist and anti State rally. On the one hand, Maoists in village area were to compeled to join Maoist Party and to fulfill their demand of money and shelter. On the other hand, Security Force Starts killing innocent people in the name of Maoist. This forced general people to become dual victims. Suppression continued in the rural areas by both the forces. This made the general people raise voice against them. During the time of People's War it was difficult to live in rural areas. Males who called

themselves brave left homeland and took shelter in the urban areas. At this time only females were there in the village. Along with women, old ones and children were left alone in such places. These people become victims of both the forces. Most of the women at that time were raped by rebel as well as security forces. Most women were killed by government accusing them as Maoist. In such critical situation it was necessary to raise voice against both forces. In many parts of the country such groups were formed by women. Other women's organizations were also against such brutality with both force but they were silent because of the fear of both armed force.

One of the revolutionary women's organizations called All Nepal Women's organization a party wing of CPN (Masal) starts campaign against such brutality. CPN (Masal) is only one revolutionary party which was against the armed struggle of Maoist at that time. If so a question arises what is the cause behind the contradiction between these revolutionary parties? These two parties believe in armed struggle but there was contradiction on the issue of time, in which CPN (Maoist) start armed struggle. Masal claim that there is no national as well as international situation to start armed struggle. As its political line is not correct in the present situation it cannot emancipate the marginalities communities. It is only political line which decides the emancipation of marginalized communities. Maoist was not clear on communist ideology. Until and unless communist party became ideologically clear it cannot liberate people. The fact is seen in the other countries of the world as well. As Maoist cadres were not ideologically clear they make the movement to take revenge with their enemies. It is not seen that the party have adopted the path of Comrade Mao though they have named Maoist as their party. As a result, they started to destroy infrastructure of development. They started to suppress anti ideology. It creates tyranny in the village. When all of the women's organization has left rural area at that

time All Nepal Women's Organization stood against such brutality physically with their clear ideology. It was able to stand on favour of the general women at that time. It is said that iron cuts iron. Revolutionary women's Organization stood against ANWO (Revolutionary).

Especially in Mid- Western Development Region influence of Maoist was high. It is this area where free women's movement raised voice against rebel and government. Women of Dailekh showed courage to stand such brutality. Kishor Nepal in *Nepali Times* writes,

Down with Maoism' the demonstrator shouted at a big rally in Dullu in Monday. 'Down with Prachanda', 'most demonstrators were surprised at their own wondering how they got courage to be so defiant. The protest was started by women, the men joined in and some came from as far a day walks away. (2)

It is scientific fact that where there is oppression there is revolt. This is seen in the protest of Dailekh. As Maoist started suppression on people in the rural area demanding money and shelter they started strike against Maoist. There were women in the villages and they were suppressed by rebel group as a result women started campaign against such brutality which was reflected in the protest against Maoist.

Women showed such courage and revolt against both forces. It can be judged as the symbol of subversion of traditional gender role. Women taking part on the rally and starting protest is out of traditional thinking. It also proves that sickles are more powerful than AK 47. In this context Chitra Singh Gaule writes in *Nepali Times* dated 26 November- 2 December 2004; "It is time them for acknowledge that the sickles of the mass are more powerful than the AK47 of a few armed militants" (6). It was necessary to give birth of a revolutionary party which can work on behalf of general

people. It was necessary to challenge reactionary party. Maoist did it but it was not able to make its cadres culturally strong. It means that they lack revolutionary ideology. The then Chairperson of ANWO Surya Thapa interview with researcher says; “Maoist party itself lack revolutionary ideology. Its impact was seen on its cadres. Due to which it creates ground to go against Maoist in most part of the nation. It is not the right way to emancipate women or marginalized communities. There hasty generalization was the main cause behind women’s oppression in the party” (interview with researcher) it proves that revolutionary communist party should be clear on its way and ideology. It is true that Maoist were successful to utilize women power in the movement but they were not able to achieve their goal because of ideological immaturity.

After all whatsoever problems arose on the way of women in people’s war, they strongly took part on the movement. Nepalese society where there is Hindu patriarchal unitary centralized system is isolated from the capital. It means rural areas have not seen the face of development. Maoist took advantage and focused its movement on the rural areas of Nepal. It followed the way of shining path and starts the struggle from rural area. In Nepalese society where women are taken as weak and submissive started to hold gun to fight against the system. Matrika Paudel in Nepali Times writes article on this issue entitled ‘Women warrior’ entitled 11-17 November 2005:

The women fighter spoke in the revolutionary jargon but articulated clearly that they joined the movement to liberate Nepali women; many of the women may not know the intricacies of the political debate in Kathmandu but they appear convinced that by carrying a gun instead of Doko they will unshackle Nepali women. (9)

Traditionally, women used to carry Doko for domestic activity which is the symbol of the boundary of household. During the period they started to carry gun to liberate Nepalese women from patriarchy. Their revolutionary jargon showed their anger against the existing feudalistic system. Here in this context it is clear that the cause behind women being Maoist is to end existing system and to establish new democracy in order to liberate women. In this regard, Engels says that “the situation of women could not be changed simply by state enactment or provision but must also involve a change of consciousness” (136). It means that the consciousness on women during People’s War helps for the radical change on women in Nepalese society.

War itself is destructive. One is killed or one has to kill others in the war. Involving in war is to accept death in anytime. No parents like to send their children in war but traditional concept of war changed. If it has become to take part in war traditionally male take part on the war. Girls are not sending on war as it is believed that they are weak. Nepalese society which is exploited by feudalistic system go forward challenging the traditional belief and start to send their children on war to end the existing system and to establish classless society. People started to send their children on war which is reflected on the features of Matrika Sapkota, “Nima and Rima were fourteen and sixteen when their parents garlanded them and sent them off too join the Maoist militia two years ago, since then they have taken part in famous battle like Bhojpur and Siraha” (6). It’s surprising and electrifying that the parents themselves started to send their children in the people’s war. They had no fear that their children could be killed in the war.

What was more dangerous to be killed in the war is the exploitation of Feudalistic Monarchial Unitary System. Kioko Ogura writes in his article “Spring in the Heart Land” about the experience of 58 years old mother who has been

interrogated and tortured by the Police say's, "sake of Nepal's son and daughter. The emptiness in her eyes makes what should have been a patriotic sentiment sound hollow" (8). Such type of patriotism was seen during that time. That people become ready to sacrifice their children. It is found that the Communist background family is ready to make their children to involve in party activity. There is no discrimination between son and daughter. In interview with Jwala Sha former state minister and Maoist leader; "My family background was Communist. My parents always encourage me to involve in politics. Later, I joined CPN (Maoist) and underground. There was no any gender discrimination in my family even after marriage my husband helps to continue me in politics" (Interview with researcher). it shows that communism is not discriminatory. Everyone was given equal opportunity to take part in politics and in economic activities as well. It also creates ground to take part in communist parties for other common women in CPN (Maoist) but it was not too easy. it is complex problem. Regarding this issue Hisila Yemi in *The Worker* writes:

In regards to women's form commitment to people's war it has been generally found that they often take line to decide to join the movement, but once they are entered they strict to it much firmer than the male cadres. There have been fewer cases of surrender or running from war fields. They are also found less liable to disclose party related secrets. They are thus to found to greater preservance and patience then men. (Although they lag behind men in their theoretical knowledge). This may be due to the fact that women have more to gain from this movement than men. i.e. for them it is not only the question of escaping away from class oppression but also gender oppressions.

After all breaking double change requires greater strength and strong will power. (6)

To end all sorts of discrimination they showed great sacrifice. Their confidence helped them stand on the position of women's liberation. Even in critical situation they did not give their desire due to illiteracy they have lack of theatrical knowledge but politically they were more aware than male cadres. But this sacrifice was not given high importance from their own party. Though they were in Central Committee but still they are not successful to come in standing committee. Their Revolutionary party has not given space for them to come in party's decision making body, which is reflected in people's war.

During the time of ceasefire CPN (Maoist) formed dialogue committee but was not inclusive, no women were given place in such important part. Regarding this issue Aruna Uprety writes in *Nepali Times* dated 2003, 7-13 March entitled her article "Letters to the Maoist Leadership on Women's day"

Mao Zedong said women hold up half the sky but there is not a single woman, in your negotiation team with the government for the past seven years, you have tried to convince us of your enlightenment view on the role of women in society. You have tried to raise our status in various ways, especially in the mid west where gender discrimination is at its worst, you broke the taboos gave us a political identity and involve us in your movement. (7)

Discrimination is seen even in the revolutionary party who always advocate for the emancipation for the women. It also creates confusion among general women who are used only for the movement or who are the part of liberation. It can be expected from the reactionary government which neglects women but Nepalese women have

not hoped such from the Communist Party. It is said that women hold half the sky. It means without women's participation of women state cannot go ahead. Democracy after panchyat system was also not aware to end the discriminatory law.

Women were compelled to continue their traditional gender role. They were not given any opportunity to uplift. As a result communist party of Nepal utilized women's power in people's war. It is at this time women involved themselves in politics. They became aware of their right due to consciousness campaign of Maoist. They strongly take part on People's war. They actively take part in each and every war front.

For the first time women get opportunity to involve in national liberation movement with arms. They also get opportunities to take part in national security that is in Royal Nepal Army. In this issue Hisila Yemi writes in *Nepali Times* dated 2004 February 27- 4 march, in her article "Girl Power"

Now, that the Royal Army has decided to recruit female soldiers. The ideas have become a matter for discussion. The move came after the 'People's war' became a national issue and threat to the old regime. The first reason for the army's recruitment is to arrest the increasing participation of women in the people's war. The second is to use the ladies as a lure to control committed Maoist fighters and to either distract them from their mission or make them surrender. The third is to provide employment to women of the families who are against of these and have been displaced from their village. The fourth is in line with the global practice of having women in the army. (18)

The analysis shows that Royal Nepal Army recruited female soldiers only after Maoist recruit women in People's Liberation Army. Old feudalistic unitary system

feels itself threat from the Maoist women warrior and it has become necessary to recruit women in the national security force. Government decides women to include in the national security force and to make inclusive but with the threat of Maoist. This is also one of the strategies to distract women from the mission of women militia. Another reason is that it has become international practice to recruit women in national security and it is this time state provides opportunity to involve them in national security force.

The present form of family is also an obstacle to end such system. In fact family has been a jail for women. Women are limited to the domestic spheres. All religions, culture traditions and structure seek women to confine them with the four walls, and the effect of which can also seen in the psychology of women. In fact women reflect subordination gender inequality much more than anything else. In this situation without necessary to take the bold stem for the emancipation. They took part in each and every changes of the nation but they are not free from the patriarchal oppression. People's war gave them chance to uplift them from the male quagmire but after the completion of People's War the life of common women is still not changed. Some women are practicing freedom but majority of women's life is not changed in the present scenario. It is true that women's problem is also the part of class problem and stateless system can only ensure equality among men and women but they should struggle continuously without any agreement. But the achievement what we have gained should be preserved for further struggle.

Photo analysis of the People's war is also the primary concern of the research lets study the photos one by one.



Fig no. 1

The picture itself shows that the main cause of People's War is to subvert traditional gender role. In this picture Hisila Yami is shown standing with other Maoist leaders. Maoist chairman Prachanda, Dr. Baburam Bhattari and Ram Bahadur Thapa (Badal) are standing. If we take Hisila Yemi as the representative of Nepalese women she can be found joining her hands with male counterparts to end all kinds of discrimination and to establish new democracy. As Marxist Feminist join gender problem with class problem, it is sure it can be ended with the class struggle. Male are also dominated and exploited with the capitalist in the society, therefore male are struggling against the existing system. And it is at this time women also can play important role to end all sort of discrimination.

In Nepalese society women are confined within the four walls of the house like slave. They are not allowed to go outside that helped men exploit women. Women knew their traditional gender role and subverted their role with the help of Marxist ideology.



Fig no. 2

This picture itself speaks about women fighters in remote area. The background of the picture shows that these women are from the rural area. In this picture they are carrying gun in their hands. Hands which used to carry Doko and sickles are carrying guns. In Hindu Brahminical Feudalistic Unitary System it is believed that if women carry guns it cannot function. But People's War made it success to subvert the traditional gender role. If we deeply analyze this picture we can easily find that there is some hope of freedom through war in these revolutionary women.

People's war initiate with the class struggle. So women's representation is also the same part of the struggle. As Marxist feminist believes in all sorts of struggle.



Fig no. 3

In this picture women are seen in rural clothing carrying guns and covering their faces. These rural women took part in the people's war because of the time long oppression by the Patriarchy Feudalistic System that exists in our society. Especially rural women take part in People's War. It is because they are deprived from all basic things. If we deeply see the eyes of these women we can find that these innocent women want freedom from the time long oppression. In this picture women in traditional cloth represent traditional role in society on the other hands masks and guns represent subversion of traditional gender role. Here they want to shows that they are also capable to fight with the feudalistic system which have suppressed them from long time. The picture is also the symbol of rebel women which wants to end the discriminatory system.



Fig no. 4

In this Photo women fighter are seen in military uniform and carrying gun. Wearing military uniform itself is the symbol of being fighter and the anger seen in her face is the anger against the patriarchal system. Women who were confined within the four walls of the house were suppressed from the centuries. They were in dual oppression by the system.

State makes discriminatory policy and on the other hands patriarchal system has its own laws which do not give women chance raises their head in the society.

Hence they have joined People's War to end the so called democracy and to establish new people's democracy which can treat men and women equally.



Fig no. 5

Subversion of traditional gender role can be seen in this picture. Traditionally women's were not allowed to plough the field. Religiously and socially it was not believed to be right. Ploughing field is the job of men's in the field. Nepal is one of the agricultural countries. The main economic activities are agriculture. Women involve most of the time in this work but they are deprived to get the benefit of it. Ploughing field by men is also the symbol of men's superiority. It shows that the economic activity is on the hands of men. This picture subverts that traditional opinion and handles the agro based activities. This is possible after the People's War in Nepal. It can also prove that women are also as capable as men to do everything in agriculture. Women's in the background are playing traditional role that is they are planting paddy in the field. But heroically this woman is ploughing field challenging

the society. Work division in the name of cast and sex is also one of the main reasons behind the women's suppression in the society.



Fig. no. 6

Comrade Chianti who is also the commander of the 16th Battalion of the Eastern Division looks sick in this photo. She is in rest but gun in her hands in this critical situation is the symbol of desire to end the existing system. She is ready to fight even she is sick. Sickness of oppression is more complex than the common diseases. If we deeply analyze the photo we can find that she is the victim of feudalistic patriarchy system, which did not give her opportunity to develop her personality. She was confined within the four walls of house. She is now involved in the movement and is playing role of commander, which her society has never imagined. Comrade Chianti is only representative of all Nepalese women who wants equality in the society.



Victims of Maoist violence staged a protest demanding compensation, but as a result, rather than
 the Maoists got the work. This young woman is being arrested at Ratna Park after a rally in Kathmandu in 2005.
 Photo: The Himalayan Times

Fig no. 7

Bravery is seen in this picture. Subversion of traditional gender role is not only seen in Maoist women but in commoners as well. In this picture Maoists victim is seen. Women raise voice against Maoist for their monopoly in the rural area. In this critical situation male had left the villages and they have taken shelter in the urban area but women bravely raise their voice against them. Maoist victims who were on rally against Maoist in the Ratna Park in Kathmandu are controlled by the police in this picture. Picture itself speak about the bravery of women.

It is true that Maoist take gender agenda in People's War and successful to end the traditional gender role of women. But at the same time the one who become victim of war from both side is women. Both rebel group and the state behaved women like their enemy. Maoist make women compelled to involve in the war or

either to support their movement. There was no freedom to support the ideology they like.



Fig no. 8

This is the photo of newly recruited women military. This is the first time women got opportunity to take part in national security. Traditionally women are not believed to fight in the war but as women in Maoist army increase state are also compelled to recruit women in the National Security Force. But if we deeply analyze the action of the state to recruit women in the national security force, there is some reason behind this action. First thing is that they were recruited to control the growing influence of women in the PLA. Second thing is that to involve Maoist victims because to take revenge with the Maoist and third is that to show the international community's that their security force is inclusive. Whatever the subject matter is women got opportunity in the national security force which is praise worthy.

These photos were published in *Nepali Times* in the different issues during the time span of 058-063. The analysis of these photos proves that People's War was able

to success to subvert the traditional gender role of women in the society. In course of struggle against feudalism and for capitalistic democracy, the exploited and oppressed classes of people and other sections of people became conscious of their freedom, liberation and organization. Women were not exception to it. During the period of Renaissance in Europe, women showed their dissatisfaction over the traditional feudal restrictions, norms and values and took their initiatives in the liberation. With the completion of industrial revolution and the emerging wave of capitalistic revolution women came up with concrete demands for their liberation and also began to be organized. Later when Marxism was established as the ideology of liberation for the commoners Marxist found gender oppression as the part of class struggle. They saw the way of their freedom through class struggle. Participation of women in the movement is also the same to liberate them from the time long oppression.

The Bourgeois democratic revolution against feudalism had its impact not only on economy and politics but also on philosophy, culture and ideology. Along with other exploited and oppressed class of People, women became conscious of class and struggle against the system. With the gradual downward movement of feudalistic economy and the gradual rise of bourgeois democratic movement, women previously confined within the four walls, have begin to come out in public sphear. People's war is also take as the same part.

III. Conclusion: People's War and Question of Emancipation

People's War aimed to establish new democracy which ends all sorts of discrimination. New democracy leads the way towards socialism and lastly stateless society. Property less communism can only guarantee the emancipation of women. Inessa Armand has rightly said that if the emancipation of women is unthinkable without the communism, then communism is unthinkable without the full emancipation of women. Realizing the fact Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) launched People's war. They recruit women in every war front. Women also strongly took part in People's war. It is successful to subvert the traditional gender role. As Nepalese society is Feudalistic Hindu Brahminical Unitary, role is categorized according to sex, which ultimately helps patriarchal norms and values. Women were confined within the four walls of the house. They were dominated by the patriarchal system. The main cause behind the women's oppression in the Nepalese society is economic oppression, social oppression and Political oppression. Economically they have to depend upon others; politically they were dominated by state. They are not taken in the policy making body. Socially they are dominated by the traditional culture and values.. This type of period long discrimination is still continuing in the so called democracy. As Nepal is one semi-colonial and semi- feudal state it is not developed. Feudalistic hangover is still there in the leaders.

Women's Liberation Movement started from Ranarchy and still continuing. Politically women have become more conscious. Politically they are freer. During the time of People's War they became professional revolutionary by joining PLA, militia, production brigades. They also become policy maker in the party. This is the first time in the history of Nepal women being professional party whole timer and fighters. For the first time they knew feudal state apparatus as an instrument of class and gender

oppression. This is the first time they got opportunity to compete as an equal footing with men combatants in war fronts. It is only People's War in which they got freedom to married or remarried. Irrespective of caste, class, region and ethnicity, choosing a partner on the basis of love and ideology. If we deeply analyze we can take these radical change on women positive. It's impact is seen even in the common women as well.

Before People's War there were very few women leaders. They represented from the high class. Common women had no access on politics but people's war was able to produce one by one woman's leaders. It is to note that just as communist women knew that for every gain in the proletarian people's power, similarly communist men should know that the revolution and the gains of revolution can only be preserved when more and more women join and lead the revolution. So is the case that CPN (Maoist) recruited more and more women in the party. Especially in war front women have played vital role.

The Communist should politically aware that if patriarchal values are not checked periodically through rectification campaign then it may slowly breed bureaucracy in the party which ultimately distorts party from the mass. It also ends the gains of the movement. It leads party in the hands of the reactionary and reformist. They end all the achievement of the long movement. Women of Nepal have played important role especially in inter and external struggle in the party.

Women strongly took part in the movement but it is well known fact that the movement was not led by the revolutionary leaders. Petty bourgeois ideology and opportunist leaders have led the movement. Actually they were not involved in the movement for the liberation of the marginalized communities. Hence, women's freedom is also not possible. Women have to go forward for their liberation.

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