

I. Nationalism: The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion in Nepal

This research reads Rajeshwor Devkota's *Journey's End* (2011 A.D.), an English translation of Nepali *Dabali* (2002) as a nationalistic novel and analyzes the issues of nationalism that lies in the novel. The novel deals with the issues such as religious tolerance, ethnic co-existence, communal harmony, we-feeling, hospitality, sense of brotherhood, positive thinking, non-violence and optimism among others, which are directly and indirectly related to concept of nationalism. By presenting these issues related to the nationalism, Rajeshor Devkota has rejected hitherto exclusive nationalism practiced in Nepal which is against of the concept of nationalism presented by critics such as Anthony D. Smith, Mahendra Lawoti, Bashu Sharma, Susan Hangen, David N. Gellner and among others.

Rise of nationalism in Nepal was mediated by the dominant group to create a nation by homogenizing or excluding sections of a diverse population through the control of the state. A Nepali sociologist Mahendra Lawoti writes:

The emerging trends of a play-ethnic nationalism, multination state and inclusive polity indicate increasing levels of accommodation. This new Framework of the state and nation will address some of the demands and grievances of marginalized groups while at the same time protecting rights of dominant group. (251)

When we observe the history of Nepal, the formation of nation-state became possible only thorough marginalizing and excluding certain religious, ethnic, lingual and cultural groups. In this context, Lawoti writes:

The Nepali elite attempted to form a nation-state after the conquest but it was not based on political inclusion, equality and justice among various people and nations living within the territory. It was rather

through assimilation of various groups under the hill Hindu values and norms. It resulted in an increase in CHHE power as the state consolidated while other groups were excluded and marginalized.

(103)

So that there is always exploitation, discrimination in the name of caste, religion, culture, and language between and among the Nepali people because of which injustice has been prevalent all over the Nepali societies. Because of this, Nepali society is burning in the flame of discrimination, domination, exploitation, injustice challenging peace prosperity, development of Nepal and dismantling the sense of unity, brotherhood, we-feeling equality and freedom among Nepali people.

Rajeshwor Devkota stands on the side of justice, peace, equality and freedom of all Nepali people through his creative writing. In this novel, *Journey's End*, Devkota has created an imaginary geographical space Dabali, which has been used as a geographical trope for the nation by showing his inclination towards equality and freedom, the main principles of democracy. The culture and philosophy practiced by hill people and Dabli Dwellers is classical example of inclusive nationalism which opposes exclusive nationalism practiced in Nepal.

Due to the exclusionary tendency of Nepali nation-state, the Nepalese society was victimized since the unification era of Prithivi Narayan Shah. There were no representations of marginalized ethnic, religious and cultural groups so that they were totally excluded from the state power mechanism. The culture of ruling clan that is culture of Bahun and khas was overimposed upon the other cultural groups. Hinduism, Nepali language (khas kura) and customs of hill people became powerful destroying culture, religion, customs of marginalized groups by inserting the politics of homogenization of all Nepali people. In this regard, Joanna pfaff-czarnecka writes:

The diversity has been translated into inequality: positions were increasingly ascribed to different ranks that corresponded with caste/ethnic divisions. Rather than seeking to establish a national unity through a vision of a culturally homogeneous population, the rulers sought to define a national identity which allowed for cultural variation but which had Hinduism as its major pillar. (426)

The Nepali culture was formed on the cast of other marginalized cultures and the successors of Prithivi Narayan Shah followed the same politics exercising and imposing power upon other marginalized groups. In 1854, the Gorkha government, however, promulgated a single hierarchical system of interdependence between species (Jat) that was valid through-out its entire possessions through Muluki Ain.

Muluki Ain became instrumental to the rulers to create a demarcation line between and among Nepali people in the name of caste, religion and culture securing higher position to rule over them. In this regard, Mahendra Lawoti and Susan Hangen writes, “The ground work for the construction of the idea of homogenous Nepali nation was laid during the mid-nineteenth” (15). This document classified the peoples within the state territory and positioned them in a Hindu world order according to the principles of caste hierarchy. By subsuming all peoples like ethnic groups, madhesi within a caste hierarchy, the Rana state represented Nepali society as fundamentally Hindu. This can be clarified through the statement of chief minister Jang Bahadur Rana in his preface to the 1866 regulations on religious endowments. As Richard Burghart’s writes:

We have our own country, a Hindu Kingdom, where the law prescribes that ‘cows shall not be slaughtered,’ nor women and Brahmans sentenced to capital punishment; a holy land where the Himalayas, the

Basuhi Ksetra, the Arya tirtha, and the refulgent Sri Pashupati Linga and Sri Guhyeswari Pitha are located. In this Kali age this is the only country in which Hindus rule. (95)

During panchyat era (1962-90) different policies were formed in order to create cultural uniformity where Nepali language and Hinduism were at the center. The education system only highlighted hill culture, customs, Hindu religion Hindu monarchy and history of high caste Hindu heroes.

The issues of identity, culture, language custom of marginalized groups were suppressed by the state mechanism through legal code and conduct. There was discrimination, inequality, injustice in the Nepali society among Nepali people. People were not allowed to demand their rights under the one party system. The voices of marginalized groups were suppressed by the state mechanism in the name of making “EK Bhasa, Ek Dharma, Ek Bhash, Ek Desh”. In this context Joanna pfaff-czarnecka writes, "In official rhetoric the Nepalese nation was now presented as made up of equal citizens sharing a common culture that is, ‘sharing’ cultural elements of the reigning parbatiya Hindus. Hence equality was proclaimed but apparently it could only be achieved by suppressing differences" (434).

As such state centric or official nationalism could not become inclusive thereby the people could not come together under the umbrella of Nepali nationalism. It means the state centric nationalism could not unite all the people from diverse ethnic, religious, cultural and lingual groups to promote national unity, peace, development equality and freedom to the people living within the bounded territory of Nepal. Here Kristian Stoke and Mohan Das Manandhar state that “The King also promoted unity by undermining the diversity of the population through his slogan of “one language, one custom” (12). In this way exclusionary tendency was practiced by

King Mahendra and tried his best to form a nation state without acknowledging the voices of other marginalized groups. Similarly arguing on the sameline, Lal Babu Yadav and Deepa Gurung write:

The party-less panchayat (1960-90) upheld the old symbols and practices, even though the new civil code (1963) recognized that all people were equal. It abolished caste-based discrimination but it was never enforced. The Panchayat Constitution (1962) promulgated by king Mahendra declared Nepal a HinduState. There after the King and Hindu religion were retained as core components of Nepali nationalism. Ethnic politics was banned soothe voices of indigenou people were suppressed. (70-71)

In this way panchayat democracy could not provid all the people equality, freedom and justice so that people could not unite together under the umbrella of Nepali nationalism.

With the restoration of democracy in 1990, the Nepali polity provides more space for different identity groups, to assert, organize, mobilize and formulate demands by rejecting the concept of state centric nationalism. Karl-Henz Kramer writes:

Nepal's ethnic groups still lack integration and participation in the modern democratic state. But their situation has, nevertheless improved which compared to the time of the panchyat system. The guarantee of fundamental rights is much stronger today. The rights of freedom of opinion and expression and the freedom to form organizations (articles 12) have helped the ethnic elite to make their arguments beard among their own groups and in the general public.

(28)

As a result of this space, marginalized groups demanded equality, freedom in representation in the state mechanism so that arguing for the multination state is against of politics of homogenization to create nation state. In the same article Kramar further writes:

The introduction of the new constitution in 1990 offered a chance to reconsider the state-politics of nationalism. How did the ruling elite use this opportunity/ article and of the constitution declares that all ‘Nepali people, irrespective of religion, race, caste or tribe collectively constitute the nation rastra’ . . . This sounds positive since no section of the population is excluded. But this positive aspect is revoked by article 4(1) which, on the one hand, concedes that Nepal is a multiethnic and multilingual state but at the same time, defines the country as a Hindu Kingdom. (32)

In this context, Maoists launched armed rebellion in 1996 and identity issues received more attention and legitimacy. Maoists argued for the reformation of structure of state thereby providing equality among gender, caste, ethnic groups, religious groups etc.

Mukta Tamang arguing on the same line writes:

In 2001, the Maoist made public their policy proposal on ethnic and caste issues in which they stressed equality and freedom of the oppressed ethnic groups, rights to self-determination and abolition of caste-based untouchability together with a list of their 14 point program (CPNM 2001). The rapid adoption of programs to address ethnic issues appears to coincide with the Maoist realization of the need and importance of indigenous nationalities in advancing the

armed struggle as well (Prachanda 200). (287)

Because of this inclusive polity of Maoist party people war was supported by the marginalized groups who were excluded by the state mechanism.

In that situation, the people of Nepal were divided in the name of political ideology, religion, gender, culture, caste thereby Nepal was under the vicious circle of conflict, violence uncertainty, destruction. The communal harmony, ethnic co-existence, religious tolerance, peace, brotherhood became dream for the Nepali people. In that situation there was enmity between and among the Nepali people who were demanding new social, economic, political structure by rejecting exclusive and discriminatory social, economic, political structure of nation-state which is formed on the basis of concept of homogenization of all people, culture, religion who are living in the territory of Nepal. The interests and demands of different groups were encountered and overlapped with each other so that enmity, hostility and conflict arose threatening unity among them. In such situation there was loss of nationhood, which had weakened the Nepali national identity. People were living with terror, violence, uncertainty because of loss of brotherhood, unity, religious tolerance, ethnic co-existence, optimism, equality, freedom among Nepali people.

In such condition, Rajeshwor Devkota through his creative writing has constructed Nepali national identity on the basis of equality, freedom, ethnic co-existence, religious tolerance, non-violence, positive thinking to promote the sense of unity within the people from different ethnic religious, cultural and ideological groups. Devkota has rejected hitherto exclusive nationalism practiced in Nepal appealing inclusive nationalism for peace, equality, freedom and justice among Nepali people.

In this regard, this thesis tries to explore, why Devkota has created an

imaginary place i.e. Dabalil with harmony, peace, development practicing religious tolerance, ethnic co-existence, hospitality, we-feeling, positive thinking and optimism through his writing when Nepal was burning in the flame of civil war. In the novel, from the very beginning to the end, the emphasis has been given to the freedom and equality where the imaginary space and the inhabitants are governed by the philosophy of Pawan and act accordingly. There is no discrimination in the name of caste, culture, religion and political ideology so that uniting all the diverse group of people by the sense of we-feeling and brotherhood. This research minutely observes and analyzes the politics of Rajeshor Devkota who indirectly responses to the then social, culture and political structure of Nepali society. Moreover, this study throws light upon the question by observing the elements of novel, why unity in diversity is necessary to the multicultural, religious, lingual country to construct national unity? How such country having diverse population can maintain peace, development, prosperity to form civilized cultured society in order to form national identity in the world. How such country can make her independent, individual, sovereign, democratic existence in the geographical map of the world order. In this way this research not only tries to explore the politics of Devkota to create imaginary geographical space with unity in diversity but also covers broad area questioning why unity in diversity is important in this global multi-cultural world.

This research stands on the idea that inclusive nationalism only can strengthen the unity in diversity, heterogeneity and plurality through equal treatment, acknowledgement of voices of diverse groups. For that reason it avoids clashes, division and violence in the name of caste, culture, like Nepal, having multi ethnic, multi-religious, multi-cultural and multi-lingual groups. So inclusive nationalism promotes the sense of unity, religious tolerance, ethnic co-existence by providing

equality, freedom, self-respect to the people thereby peace, prosperity, development is possible in the country sidelining violence, conflict, division, discrimination from the border of the nation. By observing the standard elements of nationalistic components which are against of mono-ethnic nationalism in Devkota's *Journey's End*, this research assumes that Devkota not only rejects any affiliations to particular religion, caste, ideology, culture and geographical space but also proposes to practice inclusive nationalism for peace, prosperity, unity and development. By creating an imaginary geographical space i.e. Dabali with peace, harmony, religious tolerance, equality and freedom among all people, he has stood against of exclusive state centric nationalism practiced in Nepal by challenging inequality, discrimination, exploitation, violence prevailing in Nepal. He proposes to raise the sense of unity among the people from different ethnic, religious, ideological groups to suggest the Nepali national identity has always been and should also be grounded on the acknowledgement of heterogeneity, plurality and diversity. The imaginary geographical space i.e. Dabali has been used as a geographical trope to refer Nepal suggesting important of inclusive nationalism so to argue Nepal as a multination state in the place of nation state.

Equality and freedom should be given to the people by the state for development, unity, brotherhood, self-respect, peace and justice. This novel centers around these two main ideas of democracy which were missing in the Nepali history from the ruling period of Prithivi Narayan Shah to 1930's restoration of democracy. Jaya Raj Acharya, literary critic, in his article "Beauty in Freedom" highlights that beauty and freedom are two major elements to unite humanity. He states:

He talks about the past tow millennium that saw conflicts and wars in the name of religious faiths and politicalism. Sarcastically, he says.

"war ended, no one side winning or losing". What a profound satire on

human folly/ and how relevant to the situation in Nepal where the decade long Maoist insurgency has come to a close, without any sense of actual resolution, and where we still stuck in the gridlock of a unending “peace process”!. (7)

In this way, Acharya has praised the ideas presented in the novel which have connection to the then socio-political condition of Nepal. Violence, division, discrimination, marginalization have been rejected by Acharya and sees the power to unite all the Nepalese people for peace, equality, freedom, justice, development and national identity through the philosophy practiced in the Dabali. So, Devkota has stood on the side of cultured Nepali society with harmony, unity, peace and development by rejecting unhealthy social, cultural and political practice which have weakened the Nepali national identity.

In the same article, he writes:

It is said that Bolshevik Revolution of Russia was also derived by such ideas, but in the USSR, freedom was lost and the socialist system divided before it celebrated its 75th anniversary. The revolution that ostensibly aimed at equality and justice denied freedom to its people.
(7)

The importance of equality, freedom and justice has been shown by Acharya in the absence of which the political system practiced in USSR became unsuccessful. The people who have powerful and important role to play fothe formation of any system have to be understood, included in the state mechanism, and should be given equality, justice and freedom for the national unity and prosperity.

Discrimination, division, narrow minded thinking are the obstacles for the establishment of civilized human society. Devkota has imagined such society where

there is no demarcation between people in the name of caste, culture, religion and any other political and economic isms. He has created an imaginary space with diverse population maintaining ethnic co-existence, religious tolerance, equality, justice and freedom. So Nepali literary critic and the translator of the *Dabali*, expresses his ideas in translator's note that *Journey's End* is the novel of ideas foregrounding the message of importance of freedom on behalf of their past promises and to speculate about the promises of the future well being of whole humanity. In this note, Hriseekesh Upadhaya writes:

Journey's End moves around the futuristic social development model dreamed by Pawan, a Yogi who subscribes to no religious faith but honors the original intents of major faiths such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam and political and social philosophies of great thinkers.(VI)

Upadhaya, arguing in the line of Acharya, focuses that division, discrimination, inequality, exclusion are the source of violence, poverty, injustice. So, he praises the philosophy of Pawan; the hero of the novel. Devkota is not on the side of particular religion, caste, culture and ideology but emphasizes the importance of ethnic co-existence, religious tolerance, unity, equality and freedom in the novel. By doing so, he has tried his best to construct Nepali national identity highlighting the importance of inclusive nationalism for the nation like Nepal having multi-cultural, multi-lingual, religious and ethnic groups.

As theoretical perspective, nationalism remains the basis of this research. Concept of nationalism is very controversial and does not have single meaning that is why, the concept of nation and state should be discussed. The concept of nationalism is directly related to the concept of nation and state. For that purpose, this research has

clarified and discussed the concept of nation firstly. If we define nation, certain elements like common history, culture, geography, language, can't be excluded. Nation is the cultural artifact in which the people have shared consciousness and history or past within certain geographical boundary. Benedict Anderson argues that "nation is an imagined political community- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (6). Here, by talking about nature of nation, Anderson says that nation is imaginative because they have no one to one relation among the people living in a certain territory. They imagine and come under the one shared consciousness or history.

Eventhough, there is no disagreement about the nature of nation as claimed by Anderson, we can find two types of nation's modality: civic and ethnic. In this regard, political theorist Anthony D. Smith argues:

As a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myth, and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economic and common legal rights and duties for all the members, the nation is multidimensional concept, an ideal type that provides a standard or touchstone which concrete examples imitate in varying degrees. (43)

When we study given definition of nation, we come to know that civic model or nature remains at the center of concept of nation but at the same time, there is another concept of nation which is ethnic in nature or ethnic model of nation.

Smith further writes, "A named unit of population with myths of common ancestry, shared memories and culture, an association with a homeland and sentiments of social solidarity" (191).

Basically, these two models or concepts of nation, ethnic and civic have been

taken as useful for this research to explore the concept of nationalism and national identity. Civic model of nation is democratic in which all the people within bounded territory treated equally. Equality, freedom and justice remain at the heart of this concept. But on the other hand ethnic model of nation goes far from the concept of democracy claiming hierarchy, inequality, restriction and injustice. From this discussion, we come to know that the concept of nation is closer to the history, culture so it is cultural in nature.

On the other hand, commonly we understand that state is authority having bounded territory, population, government and sovereignty. By defining state, Steven Grosby writes, "The state may be loosely defined as a structure that, through institutions, exercises sovereignty over a territory sing laws that relate the individuals within that territory to one another as members of the state (22). Hence, we can say that state is political in nature, which claims sovereignty over population and territory. It protects the boundary of territory and life of people and forms independent identity in the world. Now let's talk about relation between nation and state. From history we can argue that nation can form state for the independent identity and sovereignty and at the same time state can form nation for the same purpose. In this context Steven Grosby states; "the determination as to whether the nation forms the state or the state forms the nations is beside the point, as, to varying degrees, depending upon the nation in question both complicated processes are involved" (26).

Now, it is clear that the process of formation of nation-state can be through two ways: either state can claim or form nation or nation can claim or form state. In this process of formation, nationalism can play vital role. In our common understanding nationalism is consciousness or love of people directed towards nation claiming unity and sovereignty. Antony D. Smith writes:

The notion that every nation must have its own state is a common, but not a necessary, deduction from the core doctrine of nationalism, and it tells us that nationalism is primarily a cultural doctrine or more accurately, a political ideology with a cultural doctrine at its center.

(74)

From above lines it becomes clear that nationalism is an ideology more cultural mixed with political ideology which seeks to form nation to state or state to nation. In this researcher's analysis, if nation forms state then obviously ethnic nationalism plays a vital role and if state forms nation, official nationalism or state-center nationalism which has also ethnic quality plays vital role.

Both types of nationalism seek autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of population in a given geographical area. In this context both nationalism can't be inclusive, democratic but practicing exclusion, inequality, injustice and restriction tries to create homogenous culture population to create nation. Such nationalism does not help to promote peace, unity, brotherhood, development instead it brings conflict, disintegration, enmity and backwardness in the society. In this connection, Susan Hangen and Mahendra Lawoti writes:

The state centric, homogenizing form of nationalism assumes that there is only one nation or attempts to create one nation through assimilation, exclusion or even genocide. As opposed to these efforts to create a nation-state, some marginalized groups attempt to create multinational states, where multiple nation exist within a state.

However, other marginalized groups who aim to establish separate states seek to replicate the nation state model. (8)

So both process of formation of nation-state can be based on exclusion, inequality,

injustice, exploitation and assimilation. Their search for autonomy, unity and identity can bring destruction, disintegration and loss of identity.

In this context, Anthony D. Smith argues, “I shall define nationalism as an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation” (73). Nationalism having cultural nature seeks to form nation. But here we should not ignore the fact that within a state there may be multi-nationalities.

There may be different types of nationalism according to its nature. In this research, only two types of nationalism will be discussed: ethnic or state centric and people centric or civic nationalism. People centric nationalism seeks equality, freedom and justice of all people but on the other hand ethnic nationalism creates hierarchy, discrimination, inequality. In this regard, Bashu Sharma, a Nepali sociologist writes:

Two types of nationalism are often discussed in the context of national movements; civic and ethnic. Civic nationalism underlies the ideology of the nation as a community of equal, rights-bearing citizens. It gives sovereignty to all regardless of race, gender, language or ethnicity. On the other hand, ethnic nationalism assumes that a nation is a community of common descent. It is exclusive in comparison to civic nationalism. (2)

If so, in the context of Nepal people centric nationalism can be the solution to address the voices of marginalized groups. In this parameter we can establish equality, justice and freedom to the all diverse population. Unity in diversity is possible in multicultural country through people centric nationalism.

In terms of Nepali nationalism, we can say that we are practicing ethnic

nationalism from unification era of Prithivi Narayan Shah. Prithivi Narayan unified Nepal geographically and ruled over diverse population imposing the culture religion and language of Bahun and Khas ethnic groups. In this way, the practice of ethnic nationalism excluded other cultural, religions, ethnic, lingual groups and created inequality, discrimination and injustice. Because of power in state mechanism, Bahun and Khas clans inserted ethnic nationalism so that state centric nationalism by nature ethnic became Nepali nationalism. Here, state sought or formed nation through the politics of homogenization, exclusion, discrimination and assimilation. In regard of Nepal, state sought nation for autonomy, unity and identity by practicing exclusion, discrimination, exploitation and assimilation. Even though Prithvi Narayan Shah acknowledged the existence of multi-nationalities in his dibya upadesh, practically he did not become able to unite all the nationalities. He tried his best to homogenize the diverse population, history to form nation-state imposing Hindu religion and Khaskura. The diverse population were pushed in margin so that they could not come under the broad umbrella of nationalism. The Nepali nationalism was state-centric nationalism so ethnic in nature. Certain ethnic groups were in state mechanism with full authority like Bahun and Chhetri who forced other cultural groups or nationalities to assimilate their culture, language and religion. Krishna Hachhethu, Lal Babu Yadav and Deepa Gurung argues:

The Hindusation process was followed by “castism”, which was introduced in pre-unified Nepal by Jaisthiti Malla (king of Kathmandu valley in 1382-1395) and Ram Shah (king of gorkha municipality in 1603-1636A). as the ideology of Hindu religion and polity provided legitimacy to the Shah regime, the rulers tried their best to spread Hinduism in the country. (69-70)

Because of this Hindu polity of ruler, slowly and gradually other cultural groups lost their culture, religion, language and identity. State centric nationalism, ethnic in nature could not unite all the people so that exploitation, discrimination, injustice were practiced suppressing the voices of marginalized groups.

The same path of Prithivi Narayan Shah was followed by his successors practicing state-centric nationalism. In Rana ruling period, the same Hindu polity was imposed through civil code in the country. This civil code made hierarchy among Nepali people introducing and legalizing the caste hierarchy system. Mahendra Lawoti states:

The 1854 *Muluki Ain* attempted to encompass people of different socio-cultural orientations and ethnicities under the Gorkhali Hindu rule as subjects of lower status. The various non-Hindu indigenous nationalities were lumped together as Matwali and were treated as 'low' caste under the Bahun and Chhetri instead of as nationalities. The Dalit were excluded even from the caste realm as untouchable. (84-85)

In this way Hindu polity was far from democratic values of equality, justice, freedom so that all diverse groups of Nepal could not come under Nepali nationalism. They could find their position, right and authority in state mechanism resulting into loss of identity, poverty and exclusion, marginalization and exploitation. Through that approach Rana rulers sustained their power over state. It could not acknowledge the voices of diverse population instead reinforced the Hindu culture over other cultural groups.

Even after the end of Rana autocracy, the Nepali nationalism could not unite all the Nepali People. Newly established democracy could not long last because the centrality of Hindu monarchy was established with the dissolution of elected

government by the king Mahendra in 1962, the monarchy ruled directly for the thirty years in the name of Panchayat democracy. The Hindu polity was continued and the state most forcefully attempted to create a homogenous national identity by promoting the Hindu religion, the Hindu monarchy and the Nepali language as the signifiers of the national community. A national identity constructed on the basis of the dominant culture and religion projected aspects of marginalized groups' culture as deviant and undesirable. The state became blind and restricted other cultural groups' activities labeling them communal and anti-national. A Nepali sociologist Harka Gurung writes:

The intent of the empire model was the creation of Hindu theocracy by subsuming diversity with social stratification to consolidate and centralizing power. The ideology of the panchayat and immediately preceding periods was homogenization according to parbatiya Hindu culture with some modernization imperatives. (502)

This official nationalism, ethnic by nature became hindrance for the equality, justice freedom and development. Such as repressive state mechanism could provide people self-respect, identity, sense of brotherhood thereby weakening national identity. People could not unite together for the development activities that is why development program did not become successful.

With the restoration of democracy the voices against such state-centric nationalism were raised for the justice, equality and freedom. Even though, constitution of 1990 acknowledged multi-nationalities, it privileged Hindu religion and its followers. A sociologist Mahendra Lawoti argues:

Instead of progressively extending power to the people the legal codes enhanced the socio-cultural and political power of the ruling group.

State consolidation resulted in the institutionalization of dominant values and interests in the state that contributed to the exclusion of marginalized groups in the twenty-first century. (104)

The same politics of homogenization was repeated after the restoration of democracy. The domination of certain elite groups remained in the state mechanism so there was no asses of other excluded marginalized groups.

Constitution of 1990 had provided space for marginalized groups to raise and claim their rights so that the long state-centric nationalism came to be challenged from different angles. People started to demand equality, justice and freedom rejecting hierarchical power division, social exclusion, exploitation and domination. Kristian Stokke and Mohan Das Manandhar writes, “Advocacy against social exclusion and discrimination and demands for rightful representation and inclusion marked the 1990s but the political parties and successive governments largely ignored the demands” (13). So the constitution of 1990 could not address the voices of excluded groups as a result Nepali Nationalism could not unite all the people. The two hundred fifty years long state structure was challenged by the marginalized groups. In this context Maoist launched ‘people war’ demanding restructure of state mechanism. Stokke and Manadhar further write that, "The Maoist insurgency encourage participation of suppressed and marginalized communities both their fighting forces and also as heads of “people governments” formed during the conflict” (13-14). The marginalized groups were involved in the people war for the justice, equality, identity and freedom. In this way Nepal was in the vicious circle of war as a result people were living with terror, violence, bloodshed, uncertainty resulting into loss of Nepali national identity and sense of brotherhood among Nepali people. People were divided in different ideologies so that unity of Nepali people became dream. In that situation,

Rajeshor Devkota through his creative writing presents his ideas by supporting inclusive nationalism that is people centric nationalism in which equality, justice and freedom can be protected for the peace, unity, brotherhood and development rejecting exclusive nationalism i.e. ethnic/official/state-centric nationalism. Devkota has rejected hierarchical power structure practiced in Nepal and argues that this system itself is the cause of injustice, inequality, restriction and resulting into conflict, destruction, death and backwardness.

In this way, people-centric nationalism can create unity in diversity in multicultural, religious, lingual country to construct national unity and identity. It can address the voices of diverse population being based on democratic values like equality, justice and freedom. People-centric nationalism only can sustain religious tolerance, ethnic co-existence, communal harmony, we feeling, hospitality, sense of brotherhood, non-violence, optimism in multi-cultural country. In this regard, people-centric nationalism can bring peace, prosperity, development to form civilized cultured society for the national identity. Obviously, people-centric nationalism can be the best approach of multi-cultural country to claim her independent, indivisible, sovereign, democratic existence in the geographical map of world order.

In the context of civil war, Rajeshor Devkota through his creative writing constructs Nepali national identity supporting people centric nationalism. Components like ethnic co-existence, religious harmony, sense of brotherhood, freedom, equality, hospitality etc. are presented through different characters to construct Nepali national identity incorporating peace, development and prosperity.

The primary objective of this research is to bring the issue of Nepali nationalism into literary discussion by examining the novel. Similarly, it also throws light on the constructing components of unique Nepali national identity and

usefulness of inclusive nationalism for equality, freedom and justice to the people of country with multi nationalities. Moreover, this analysis also shows that the way out of all types of violence is possible by raising the sense of unity within the people from different ethnics, religious, cultural and ideological groups.

Although this study takes nationalism as a tool to study the constructing components of Nepali nationalism, it does not go thorough analysis of history of Nepali nationalism. Rather Nepali nationalism as concept remains the primary tool of analysis. Through the light of Nepali nationalism it aims to discuss the constructing elements of Nepali nationalism in the novel. Furthermore, even though taking information from interview, it does not discuss about whole political and literary career of Devkota.

This research paper has been divided into three chapters. The first chapter is the general introduction of the dissertation. It introduces the context of the research on the basis of which the thesis claims inclusive nationalism has been supported by the author to construct Nepali national identity rejecting exclusionary nationalism. Similarly, it discusses the theoretical modality of the researched paper. Firstly, it briefly explain the process of formation of nation state either from nation to state or state to nation and shows the role of nationalism and claims that ethnic nationalism is the main cause of hierarchy, exploitation, exclusion discrimination resulting into conflict, bloodshed, backwardness and identity crisis. In this context, this research paper claims that until 2002, AD Nepali nationalism is ethnic in nature. So that it has brought conflict, violence, backwardness, uncertainty and identity crisis in the nation and claims people centric nationalism is only one way to establish equality, freedom and justice among the people having diversity interms of culture, language, religion, custom and people.

Being based on the theoretical modality mentioned in the chapter one, second chapter analyzes Devkota's work by exploring the components of people centric nationalism to construct the Nepali national identity. It brings the supportive ideas from different theorist to analyze and claims ethnic co-existence, religious tolerance, optimism, hospitality, harmony are the outcome of people centric nationalism which is based on democratic values like equality, freedom and justice. Furthermore, it claims that people centric nationalism can be the solution to the multination state for the unity in diversity sidelining hierarchy, exploitation, discrimination and injustice from the country.

Finally, the third chapter concludes this research paper on the basis of Rajeshor Devkota's work *Journey's End* in chapter two based on the theoretical modality of chapter one. It, in fact, comes to the conclusion as the sum-up of the observations, explanations and arguments as presented in the previous chapters that proves Devkota's work as construction of Nepali national identity. It ultimately gives the shape to the research work as the finding of the thesis.

II. Dabali as a Metaphor for Inclusive Nationalism in *Journey's End*

Journey's End presents the story of Dabali region highlighting the elements such as religious tolerance, ethnic co-existence, equality, freedom, peace, hospitality, sense of brotherhood, justice among the diverse ethnic, religious, cultural, political groups. It draws the attention of readers towards people centric nationalism to create unity in diversity for the peace, development, equality, justice and freedom. This research aims to explore the elements of people centric nationalism for the construction of Nepali national identity. By presenting the Dabali and culture practiced in the Dabali as geographical and cultural tropes, Rajeshor Devkota has tried his best to address the then Nepali socio-political condition asserting the need of people-centric nationalism with the rejection of exclusive state-centric nationalism. Through the emphasis on freedom, equality, justice; the fundamental elements of democracy, Devkota is against of inequality, injustice, restriction which are the causes of conflict, division, backwardness challenging peace, prosperity, development and identity of nation. Devkota, through this creative writing construct the Nepali national identity incorporating the components of people-centric nationalism when Nepal was under the vicious circle of conflict, violence, injustice, inequality, backwardness and identity crisis.

Through this politics of construction of Nepali national identity emphasizing the elements of people centric nationalism, Devkota has forwarded the message of need of people centric nationalism as antidote for the injustice, inequality, conflict, backwardness, exploitation in this twenty-first century global multicultural world. *Journey's End* draws attentions of global multicultural world by presenting the story of journey towards freedom for the peace, prosperity and civilized human society. It cover the broad areas such as religion, ethnicity, political ideology, terrorism, conflict,

power politics in which human beings have been engaged since the two millennia and forwards the lesson that unity in diversity is possible in multicultural, religious, ethnic and lingual society with the practice of freedom, equality and justice.

Unity in diversity is necessary for the development, peace, prosperity and identity in multi-cultural, religious, ethnic and lingual country like Nepal. To create unity in diversity, there should not be inequality, injustice, exploitation among the people of the country. Nepali state should provide equal space for the all diverse people so that, they feel ownership in state mechanism and come under the broad area of Nepali nationalism. The protagonist of the novel, Pawan asserts:

But I find it is easier to win thousands of followers than to make two persons walk together. It seems easier to follow one another than to share the walk together. Up to now mankind has walked this essay track. With the new millennium as our witness, let's take a vow to walk together and make everyone join together. (143)

Eventhough, Nepal is multicultural, ethnic, religious and lingual country, all the diverse people should come under the one big umbrella for the national identity. All the Nepali people should walk together for the single purpose being irrespective of gender, caste, religion and political ideologies to create civilized Nepali society. We should respect each other and establish the unique culture where diverse population come together for the development of nation. State should provide equal opportunity for the people to create unity in diversity. In this way by focusing on unity, Devkota has forwarded the need of people centric nationalism for the peace, prosperity, development and national identity of Nepal.

To analyze the constructing components of Nepali nationalism in the novel, this researcher has applied the theoretical concept form nationalism in general and

people-centric nationalism in particular. While analyzing the text, this researcher has taken related and relevant excerpts from the novel and critiques from the different critics. To address the voices of diverse people of multicultural, ethnic, lingual, religious country in order to form unity in diversity for the national identity, nationalism plays vital role. There are different types of nationalism according to its nature. But here in this research only two types of nationalism: people-centric and state-centric have been discussed. People centric nationalism is more inclusive and can address the demands and voices of people than state-centric nationalism. By nature state-centric nationalism creates hierarchy, inequality, discrimination among the people resulting into disintegration. One prominent Nepal political thinker; Bashu Sharma forwards his argument in regard of people centric nationalism and asserts, "There are forms of nationalism known as positive and negative nationalism. Civic nationalism is considered positive because it often brings people out of ethnic nationalism and bestows rights and privileges to all citizens on an equal basis" (3). Civic/people-centric nationalism rejecting hierarchy, discrimination, restriction and exploitation provides equality, freedom and justice to the all people. In this regard people-centric nationalism is more inclusive, democratic than state-centric/ethnic nationalism. In this context, Nepal has been practicing state-centric nationalism as a result Nepali people could not unite for the national building project. Such state mechanism could not provide equality, justice to the all Nepali people so that certain groups were marginalized and could not feel that they have also share in state power mechanism. They raised voices against discrimination, inequality demanding their rights. In this condition unity in diversity became dream so national identity was in crisis. Devkota, through his creative writing, has constructed Nepali national identity focusing on need of people-centric nationalism.

Inclusive people-centric nationalism does not discriminate people in the name of religion. It overcomes from the boundary of religious fundamentalism and treat all the people as a human being. It creates religious tolerance among different religious groups. So in multi-religious country like Nepal people-centric nationalism can only bring all the diverse religious groups together. Nepali people follow all the major religions of the world such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Christian, Muslim etc. It is necessary to unite them together to form unity for the national identity. If those groups could not unite together for the single purpose of nation building conflict in the name of religion may arise. To eliminate this possibility of division, state should be fair and provide suitable environment where they could feel their existence and presence. State should not be discriminatory. Rajeshor Devkota dreams such place where all the religious groups unite together for the single purpose of establishing civilized human society.

In the novel, Dabali region is peaceful despite of having mixture of different religious groups. The philosophy of Pawan in terms of freedom for the coming future rule over the land. The Hill region with full of religious tolerance can be taken as an epitome of people centric nationalism where people are treated equally and respect each other. They are united for the common goal. The mutual understanding of each other can be justified with the idea expressed by the Goldsmith, who asserts, "I am a jeweler. Like gold, the artist too shares one virtue: to be a singular quality. Right now, I am at the workshop. I extend the same hearty welcome in my workshop to all persons of all faiths" (18). Goldsmith of Dabali region does not see difference among the people and treat them equally. Obviously, if we make demarcation between and among the people in terms of their faith, unity is impossible. Equality, justice and freedom can't be practiced in such environment. People should overcome the

boundary made by religion and should welcome all the people equally. If our culture can't cross the thinking of religious fundamentalism, we will be divided and conflict, violence in the name of religion will occur in our society. In the world history, human beings are fighting with each other in the name of religion. Civil war within state may arise in the name of religion. In such condition, to address the problem, equal treatment to all the religious groups should be given by the state authority. One religious faith should not be over imposed over other religious groups. All the groups should feel that the state is fair in terms of treatment to the all diverse religious groups.

But in Nepal national integration became dream due to state-centric nationalism. Marginalization of certain religious groups became the cause of disintegration. Exclusive state-centric nationalism privileged Hindu culture. A prominent sociologist Susan Hangen asserts:

The organizations and political parties that comprise this ethnic political movement, known as the Janajati andolan, was to change the policies, institutions and symbols of the state, which they see as upholding the dominance of high caste Hindus especially Bahuns and Chhetris from the hill region. (105)

Devkota focusing on equality, freedom and justice creates imaginary place Dabali where religious tolerance can be felt among different religious groups. Peace, harmony, freedom, justice, equality can be found in this region. By providing such place infused with religious tolerance Devkota has constructed Nepali national identity urging need of people centric nationalism in Nepal.

In the Dabali region, all the Dabali dwellers respect all the major religious leaders and scriptures of religions. They welcome all the people with open heart. For

them Jesus, Mohommed, Buddha are equally respectful. They honour them and offer puja offerings. They do not make distinction between them and live with co-operation and sense of brotherhood. The integration and unity among various religious people make the Dabali peaceful, harmonious and cultured society. The narrator of the novel narrates, "The crucified image showed the figure nailed on the cross – the ordinary people intuitively found that image extraordinary. The devotees began offering flowers to lord Jesus as well" (51). The Dabali people respect Jesus and show great devotion towards him. They respect the message of Jesus for mankind and see beauty in the image of Jesus. For them Jesus has great contribution who had sacrificed his life for the well being of the mankind. This mutual understanding and respect of each other among Dabali people has created unity in diversity, component of people centric nationalism.

The Dabali people equally respect the Koran and Mahommed. They do not make distinction in terms of religious faith. They want to walk together by joining hand with various people who have different religious faith. They have understood the need of equal treatment and mutual cooperation for the unity. The narrator of the novel further narrates, "Ishmael on his part pasted on the wall some verses of the Koran in golden letters-nobody bothered to read what the Koran said, but the red tika marks were placed on the beautiful pages" (51).

Pawan, Urvi and all the common people of the Dabali respect all the great religious saints and show their devotion towards them. They are peace loving and have intention of journey together being irrespective of religious faith. They want to unite together to establish the culture in which no one will be discriminated in the name of religious faith. Equality, freedom and justice can be seen in the Dabali region. The Dabali dwellers have freed themselves from the narrow boundary of

religion practicing as well as establishing humanitarian values in the society.

We mankind have been imprisoned in the jail of religion. We want to be free following religious faith but the same path of freedom chosen by mankind has blocked the path towards freedom. We separate each other in the name of religion. We have been living in narrow space and thinking. Religion has transformed us into animal so we are losing sense of humanitarian values. We can't think that we all should respect each other and cooperate to establish peace, harmony, prosperity in the society. A prominent Nepali literary critic Jaya Raj Acharya states:

Religions are like buildings. The open sky and the free wind may be enclosed inside the buildings that we create. Once the buildings are demolished, however, the sky becomes one with the infinite void.

Time and space are infinite but we try to divide them as finite. This is one of the many ideas that Devkota propounds in the book. (1)

Devkota has appealed us to be free from such chain of religion. He has focused on unity, co-operation, mutual understanding among the people rejecting division, conflict and discrimination. In the novel, he has created such place where people are free from such chain. They are independent and equal so that sharing the walk together for the establishment of civilized, cultured society.

Religious tolerance is the only one way to achieve peace, harmony, prosperity in the multicultural country. In order to create religious tolerance among followers of different religions, state should be fair to all the people. State should not discriminate people in terms of their religious faith. To create unity in diversity people should come together for the single purpose which can be created through people centric nationalism in which equality, freedom and justice are practiced. In the novel, Devkota has imagined such state mechanism in which all people are well aware about

the importance of unity. The protagonist, Pawan delivers his speech showing the importance of unity for the human well being, Pawan states:

Institutions have been set up, supreme scriptures have been installed- self-styled sages speak out what pleases them as if the great saints of the past were their blood brothers. The Buddha and Jesus teach us about human well being, they are compassion and renunciation incarnate. Mohammad is closer to us. He provides for reward and punishment as well. He is the last of the messengers – there shall be no other apostal. Yet mankind is not disciplined. The teaching of the great souls shall be our tools and resources. We have barely made use of them – inexhaustible storehouse is awaiting us. (158)

Pawan stands against of division in the name of religious faith. He emphasizes on the single purpose of all great religious leaders that is human well being. He rejects conflict, violence, bloodshed between human being and emphasizes peace, harmony, cooperation, understanding among human beings. He believes on freedom, equality and justice; democratic values which can be flourished in the people centric nationalism.

Religious tolerance, one of the fundamental elements of people-centric nationalism has direct relation to ethnic co-existence. In the novel, Devkota has presented different ethnic groups such as white Black, Arabian, Hill people who live respecting each other and become active for the establishment of new culture not only in the Dabali region but aim to circulate this message throughout the world. In the Hill region, the pastor and Maulvi live very happily because they donot make distinction regarding ethnicity or root. Maulvi and pastor both are welcomed by the hill people and provide them warm hospitality. In the beginning of the novel they were divided

but later due to the culture of hill people and philosophy of Pawan, they cross the bar within which they were living and wish to live there respecting each other. They quit their goal of making church and mosque for the unity respecting each other's religious faiths. The bands of visitors from Arab have come to take Maulvi but they cannot make distinction between pastor and Maulvi. They say: "The time has changed. The Maulvi and pastor have become united and we are clueless." (195) Devkota has made such story where different people with different root have united for the single goal. Ethnic co-existence is beauty of the Dabali region which leads to the path of prosperity. Unity in diversity is the special culture of Dabali which has formed different identity of the Dabali. Due to such culture, where difference is respected has made the Dabali peaceful, harmonious and progressive. There is no sign of discrimination, inequality, injustice which have been up-rooted through equal treatment of all diverse people.

Discrimination, inequality, injustice are main causes of ethnic conflict and disintegration in multi ethnic society. In this regard, Mahendra Lawoti, a leading sociologist of Nepal argues:

It is this dynamic that we refer to as ethnic conflict. As we use the term ethnic conflict includes peaceful contestations as well as violent incidents that are centered on issues ethnicity and identity. In any society with ethnic diversity and inequality, ethnic conflict will always exist at least at a low level, but it may periodically occur at a heightened level and entail violent activities. (8)

Ethnic co-existence can be achieved through the establishment of democratic norms and values providing equality, justice and freedom for all diverse groups by the state. For that purpose, state should play vital role to bring all the diverse ethnic groups

under the one common goal. In the novel, all the diverse groups have realized the importance of unity for the successful journey of establishing civilized, cultured society.

When the society with ethnic diversity does not make distinction regarding ethnic root; peace, harmony, development and identity can be formed. In the novel, Devkota has shown mutual understanding and harmonious relationship between and among the diverse identical ethnic groups. The marriage between African black gentleman and Hill old girl on the one hand and Arab damsel and white gentleman on the other can be taken as examples of harmonious relationship between ethnic groups. Ethnic co-existence has become possible because they see some similarity among each other. The Arab damsel from Arabian region who is muslim accept white gentleman who is from western root as a life partner. Both are free, who have overcome from narrow cell of ethnic root and religion to establish cultured society where equality, freedom and justice will be the norms. The marriage ceremony between Arab damsel and white gentlemen in the presence of Dabali Dwellers breaks the narrow wall of ethnic root. The narrator of the novel narrates:

The public in the Dabali cheered them heartily with thunderous clapping. The home of the former chief was decorated from top to bottom. Present to greet the Arab damsel were Pawan, Urvi George, Ishmael, Comrade, Mizar, professional and artists of the Dabali. There was Shakya the Buddhist monk sitting on top chanting prayers on his rosary. Asking him to lead the way, the former chief entered the house. Looking at the throngs of people gathered there, the Arab damsel could do little more than act like a little girl. She realized that she herself had not known many of them present here. She also felt there was much

she needed to understand and learn before tying the material knots.

(186)

The people of Dabali treat each other equally with humanitarian sense. They see no difference in terms of root and faith they have. They are living with positive thinking, sense of brotherhood, understanding each other for the unity to establish cultured society. They are implementing in practice the philosophy of freedom propounded by Pawan and have become able to free them from the chain of narrow thinking. They are walking together to achieve common goal of uniting all the people against division, conflict, violence and backwardness. In this way, the Dabali people have become able to construct their own identity in the world map.

Furthermore, African gentleman and old girl of hill become one by accepting each other as life partner. Although they belong to different origin having different culture, religious faith and ethnic identity, they have overcome from it which has led their happy union. This inter-caste marriage highlights the equality among different ethnic groups in Dabali region. They become happy by accepting each other's difference as beauty. The colour, caste, religion, ideology could not separate them. The Dabali dwellers respect and understand each other because of which an African black starts to feel Dabali as his home. This union became possible due to acceptance of Blackman by youth's mother and father in hill who do not see any difference in African gentleman and treat him as their own son. Because of Dabali people's warmth hospitality and acceptance of his difference as beauty, African gentleman sees Dabali as his own country. On the other hand, old girl of Hill understood him internally and found purity in Blackman. She accepts him as husband. Even though she is Buddhist and her husband Christian, unity become possible breaking the wall of root, religion, colour and ethnicity. The narrator says:

The Blackman was getting ready to return to his continent taking with him a fair wife. The old lady looked to the joyous days ahead when leaving her home and embarking the journey with a continental husband without a definite home, a residence or a homeland. (218)

Devkota has shown a perfect society where people are united even though they have different origin, caste, occupation, culture and faith. By presenting such society, Devkota has offered a message i.e. unity in diversity is possible if society provides equality, justice and freedom to the people.

The culture practiced in the Dabali region has promoted the sense of friendship and peace among human being. The acknowledgment of other's difference as beauty has bound them together. George, Ishmeal, Maulvi, Pastor, the bands of foreigner are welcomed and treated respectfully in the Hill region by the local people. Their warm hospitality has helped to unite them together. Because of such hospitality, ill intention has been removed from the mind of George, Ishmeal, Maulvi, pastor and the band of foreigners. The mutual understanding and respect of each other have promoted sense of brotherhood, positive thinking, unity in the Dabali region. George and Ishmeal are welcomed by Thuli parbati in her home in Hill region even though they are muslim and christian. She serves them as sister and care them as mother. The narrator says:

The travelers received a welcome mat to sit on by the portico of Thuli parbati. Just like a trusting baby is taken care of by any one, the visitors too somehow saw 'themselves as dependent children. They succeeded in creating a bond of close relations – they transformed themselves to be seen as persons who were born and brought up in the region. (78-79)

The hospitality provided by Thuli parbati to the travelers has transformed them. Her care and respect has planted new relation between them. She does not make any distinction in regard of religious faith. The narrator of the novel further says: "Thuli made tea and served with equal care to them and to her husband" (79). The Hill people are free from narrow thinking, have achieved freedom because of which they are able to walk together for the single goal of establishing new civilization. They want to circulate this message of equality, freedom and peace all over the world.

Because of Hill people's warm hospitality, visitors do not return from there. Maulvi and pastor visit hill region but do not return back. Not only that, other person sent by Urvi to bring message about Maulvi and pastor does not return. The messenger ultimately returns late and says to Urvi; "once you are there, you do not feel like coming back – had not the elder sisters spoken of coming to the town, we do not know how long we would have dawdled there" (97).

They forget everything because of friendly treatment and warm hospitality of the hill people. In the Dabali region, mutual understanding, co-operation, love, care, humanitarian values rule over. So that, this land is like heaven where all muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, Christian are happy. Women are free and independent who are able to create their own identity. The unity of Dabali people has sidelined violence, conflict, backwardness. Maulvi, pastor, George, Ishmeal have got emancipation and enlightened themselves. They are able to see beauty in difference because of positive impact of culture practiced in the hill region upon them.

In the Dabali region, men and women walk together. There is no discrimination in the name of gender. They are contributing together for the establishment of new civilization. Equality among men and women has made Dabali region peaceful and harmonious. There is no sign of pain – all are happy. The former

chief elaborates the reason why every woman of Dabali region are beautiful and happy to the new chief of International union. He says, "Here every woman has her freedom, no one goes for self-inflicted chains for oneself and women here are marching ahead breaking down putrefied social customs" (163). Because of gender equality and freedom, Dabali people are able to work together for the common goal. Inequality in terms of gender is the main cause of backwardness, injustice, violence. The Dabali people are aware of such things and able to overcome from such curse of history.

Rajeshor Devkota, in the novel, has focused on the importance of freedom for the identity. In the Dabali region people are free and independent who can understand the circumstances. The protagonist of the novel, Pawan leads them through his philosophy of freedom. He has been successful to create unity in diversity for the identity to Dabali region. In the Dabali, International union has become tool to impose vested interest of outer force to divide and rule over them. The union which is directed by foreigner to fulfill certain interest of them appoints different chiefs for the union. But all the chiefs are transformed by the culture and philosophy of Dabali. Actually, the outer force wants to plant conflict, violence among Dabali people in the name of caste, culture, ethnicity, religion and ideology. In this regard the former chief clarifies the responsibilities and power of chief of International union to Urvi. The former chief says, "to plant discord in the Dabali will be her responsibility and to seek it's resolution will be her power" (161). In this way, there is great challenge to the Dabali folks to establish peace and unity among Dabali dwellers. But the philosophy of pawan and culture of Dabali region transform appointed chief of International union. They quit job in this institution and get freedom.

Pawan, the protagonist stands against both established order and terrorism for

the establishment of new civilization. Pawan says, "this is the dawn of the third millennium, whatever foundation we lay down now will shape the evolution of the unfolding millennium. Why would anyone be a follower of anyone? Everyone is equally free and able to judge for oneself" (137).

Pawan in the very beginning of the novel argues those human beings are not free. They are slave of ideologies, faith which have blocked the path of peace, prosperity and development. He says, "In time the followers were reduced to slaves and servants. Now humankind must free itself from those chains for servitude – a new dawn of beauty and freedom must arise" (3).

Pawan says if human beings are not free they can't see beauty in difference. Difference can be previewed as beauty for the unity, friendship and shared journey to establish order, peace, harmony and prosperity. If we make demarcation focusing on our differences, we can't walk together because of which unity in diversity is impossible. Violence, conflict, disorder, backwardness, disintegration will rule over the land which makes our identity in crisis.

Pawan has emphasized the need of unity among mankind who are divided in the name of culture, religion, ethnicity and ideology. Unity is possible only if we can realize difference as beauty after achieving freedom. He says:

Those human beings who have been diverted from aesthetics by logic and didactic teachings have divided the whole of human society; they have been led astray from actual awakening. This may seem to suggest a steady decline of aesthetic sense in mankind, but it will not disappear. What remains potent in seed form, it sprouts; when it happens mankind will experience liberation. (13)

Pawan forwards the message of need of equal treatment for the shared journey. He

says if we do not share the responsibility equally we can't reach to our destination. We will live our life as slave just fulfilling the order without knowing it's impact. Pawan remarks: "Let's make the journey together, lets free ourselves from the curse of history in which some lead and others follow. Journeying together, all will reach the destination, all will bear the same and equal burden" (157).

Devkota, through the protagonist pawan, forwards the message that freedom and equality are necessary to form civilized human society where injustice, violence, exploitation, backwardness can't exist. Civilized human society only can treat all the people equally establishing justice and involving them in social activities. Peace, prosperity, unity are the result of freedom and equality among people. Diversity can be the beauty of society if the democratic values are practiced which creates unity in diversity.

The protagonist, pawan argues that established customs and norms should be judged whether they are good or bad for the individual and society. He states customs and rituals, which we practice, should not block our path of freedom so that we can actualize our dreamed society full of with order, justice, equality and happiness. The black gentleman transformed by the philosophy of pawan and culture of Dabali says:

In the last century, we also learned a bit about not to hear and not to follow everything that comes to our way. In order to make the third millennium free and beautiful, we would have to practice disbelief in many of things we come to hear. It is a matter of individual freedom whether to reject or continue to follow the ongoing customs; let the community not override the individual's freedom; let the customs too not suppress the individuals. (225)

For the unity of mankind, freedom is necessary. Freedom can be achieved if the

society and our customs are based on democratic values. If individual is free, he/she can judge what is wrong and right and act accordingly. Such person only can think and work for the well being of people and society.

The Dabali folks have achieved freedom, so they are united for the shared journey to establish cultured society. They are optimistic for the bright future. The protagonist pawan says:

Together we all need to liberate our society which is going to fall prey to the monstrous crocodile of pessimism. Pessimism reigns everywhere. Christian, Muslims, Buddhists, blacks, whites, eastern hemisphere, western hemisphere – everywhere it reigns supreme. Let not pessimism spread its tentacle in the third millennium; only then our lives can fulfill its purpose. (159)

Optimism has rule over the Dabali region. Dabali folks are optimistic for the new civilization. The culture and society of Dabali region have provided space for the individual freedom. Dabali folks are able to create their own unique identity establishing mutual understanding, religious tolerance, ethnic co-existence and warm hospitality in their society.

Because of unity in Dabali region, the role of international union become useless. The International force, assigns different chiefs to carryout assigned task but the chiefs of the union are transformed by the philosophy and culture practiced in Dabali. As a result of which, they get liberation through resignation of their respective post of International union. They understand the politics of foreign force which is against of common people of Dabali region. The Arab damsel who is assigned for the post of chief of International union says, "Since about a year I'm here, I could not effect changes in the Dabali which was my mission. The Dabali transformed me

instead. I reached a point – I have to put in my papers” (174).

The Arab damsel gets freedom and becomes ready for the shared journey initiated by Dabali folks.

The foreign force can't tolerate peace and friendship in Dabali region. International union is closed by them because the former chief has worked together with Dabali folks for the promotion of peace and friendship. The former chief says:

Whatever fame this Dabali has gained in promoting peace and friendship, this organization too had contributed to it. I also was a volunteer for this Dabali. A letter was received from the headquarters – we were excited that it might be the announcement of the award because it had come through a special courier. But as we read the letter it turned out to be the order for its closure. (127)

The autonomy, sovereignty, identity of the Dabali is challenged by the headquarter force. The International force tries its best to create disorder, violence to rule over Dabali region. But become unsuccessful because of Dabali folks unity, friendship, mutual understanding, co-operation with each other. They become able to create their own identity and want to spread this message all over the world.

While analyzing the components of Nepali national identity in the novel, *Journey's End*, as a methodology civic nationalism has been discussed contrasting with ethnic nationalism to created unity in diversity for the equality, justice and freedom among the diverse population living inside the bounded territory of Nepal. The novelist, Rajeshor Devkota, foregrounds the idea that inclusive civic nationalism is only one way to create national identity having heterogeneous population within a country like Nepal. Obviously in this twenty-first century global multicultural world to create unity among heterogenous plural population is very challenging task.

Rajeshor Devkota gives emphasis on democratic values like; justice, equality and freedom for the unity, peace, development and civilized human society which is possible if we practice inclusive people centric/civic nationalism.

If we broadly categorize, nation can be of two types; civic and ethnic. In the evolutionary period of nation, by nature all the nations were ethnic. In this regard Anthony D. Smith argues; "It makes sense to speak of nations' in the ancient world, albeit cautiously and on a limited scale marking the onset of a new pattern alongside that of the more common ethnic states" (111).

Ethnic nation can't include all the voices of the diverse population so that dominant ethnic group's interest remains in the centre sidelining the interest of minority groups in national states. It is exclusionary in nature. It tries to homogenize differences so to create organic wholeness on the cost of great loss of minority groups' culture, language, tradition. Ethnic nation can't provide equal ground to the all diverse people to flourish their culture, language and religion. Because of which these groups face identity crisis, exploitation, injustice, discrimination within their own nation. They do not feel attachment to the nation as a result national unity becomes day dream by challenging national identity. Obviously such ethnic nation gives rise to ethnic nationalism which is aggressive in nature. A Chinese sociologist Simon Shen writes:

Ethnic nationalism embraces ethnicity and primordial instincts. A common result is what Isaiah Berlin defined as 'aggressive nationalism' (in opposition to 'non-aggressive nationalism', which is largely compatible with civic nationalism). Apart from its biological roots, the origins of primordial nationalism have some sociological basis in

terms of a sense of judgment of right and wrong, or 'us' against 'the other'?. (17)

As we know that nation and state are complimentary with each other, nation seeks state for the protection of people boundary, culture religion etc whereas state power is received from nation. In this context Weber's idea on nation has been cited by Anthony D. Smith. "A nation is a community of sentiment which would adequately manifest itself in an state of its own; hence, a nation is a community which normally tends to produce a state of its own" (14).

If ethnic nation creates state of its own for the protection of its people, culture, religion and sovereignty, no doubt the ethnic group which has central position on state can be discriminatory, repressive, autocratic towards other minority groups. In such condition, the minority groups are colonized within their own nation. In relation to internal colonialism Anthony D. Smith forwards his ideas and writes:

It follows that the internal colonialism model is of limited applicability and represents a special case within the broader type of politically disadvantaged ethnic communities in national states. For the reasons why we are witnessing the revival of ethnic ties and nationalist movements in complex societies in the latter half of the twentieth century, we must look elsewhere. (63)

Nationalism can be defined as an ideological movement for the well being of nation. It is not merely expression of love of people towards nation. It is not exactly feelings of patriotism. Patriotism welcomes compromise within differences for the well beings of nation if is disagreement within nation. But nationalism does not welcome compromise for the wellbeing of nation. It seeks autonomy, unity and identity of the population for the potential nation. By defining nationalism Anthony D. Smith writes,

"An ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity for a population which some of its members deem to constitute an actual or potential nation" (9).

As the researcher has mentioned earlier civic and ethnic nationalism are two categories of nationalism both claim unity, autonomy and identity of a nation. But in this multicultural global world due to existence of national state unity among different nationalities is difficult. Ethnic nationalism can't maintain unity in diversity because of its exclusive nature. The only one get-way for the creation of unity among diverse people is the practice of inclusive civic nationalism. In this regard Anthony D. Smith writes:

Yuval Davis' expousal of 'transversal politics' makes sense only in a more liberal democracy where the form of nationalism is inclusive, participant and relatively open in character. This is the type of nationalism which the 'nation-building' theorists had in mind, and it is this 'civic' version of nationalism that has been taken up by some liberals and social democrats, in opposition to its antithesis, 'ethnic' nationalism. (210)

Ethnic nationalism is guided by separatist mentality which creates gap between and among the heterogeneous people of national state. Smith further writes:

These similarities stem from the basic processes of vernacular mobilization and cultural politicization that are the hallmarks of the route by which demotic vertical ethnies are transformed into ethnic nations. As a result, the type of national identity that they generate is quite different from the territorial civic identities and it poses a radical challenge to the plural nature of most contemporary states. (126)

Inclusive people centric nationalism can create unity in polyethnic and plural nation. The major features of civic nationalism are: common territory, common law, civic education, participation of citizen, citizenship, democratic values, humanism etc. In civic nationalism state becomes fair towards its citizens and provides equal opportunity and rights. It does not discriminate people in the name of caste, culture, language, religion and gender. All the people living inside the boundary of nation feel belongingness and attachment to state which creates unity among diverse people.

As far as we concern about national identity, in this multicultural world both ethnic nationalism and national state can't create homogenize single identity because both ethnic nationalism and national state can't include all the diverse culture. They are fragmented and hybrid. In relation to national identity Anthony D. Smith brings Homi Bhabha's view; "the official texts give way to everyday, 'performative' narratives of the people in which perceptions of history and identity become split and doubled, the nation is fragmented into its constituent cultural parts and national identity becomes hybrid" (127).

There is little doubt that recent massive immigration has changed the cultural composition of many nations, in the same way that mass transportation and tourism, along with satellite communications and information technology, have raised popular awareness of other cultures and peoples to new levels, with the result that the old apartment certainties about the cultural unity of the nation and its single, if remote, ethnic origins have been undermined. Romantic ethnic nationalists may have yearned for a homogenous whole and a seamless nation, expressing a single authentic soul, but his represented a distant ideal and only rarely a political programme. Even when the national state sought to create a unified citizenry through mass public education, so it too responded to the changing beliefs and conceptions of the nature of the 'national

identity', which it sought to forge and transmit to the young. In this regard Anthony D. Smith writes; "After all, most modern states have been ethnically plural and heterogeneous, and most nationalists have sought national unity, and only rarely national homogeneity" (128).

Whether as a result of this cultural pluralism or of long term historical reasons many western states have come to operate with a more civic and territorial version of nationalism, through which immigrants and refugees may find a legitimate place in the host nation as citizen. Anthony D. Smith writes; "on occasion, they may be invited to join in the cultural work of reinterpreting the nation and its political identity, so as to include their cultures and out looks as constituent elements of a new overall national identity" (128).

Nevertheless, there are definite limits to the possibilities of national reinterpretation. A single public culture and distinct set of common rights and duties need to be identified and legitimated, along with an historic homeland. Political solidarity requires that some myths of origin, historical memories and collective symbols be cultivated. Such myths, symbols and memories need to resonate among large sections of the population included in the designated nation or national state if people are to feel a sense of collective belonging and engage in common action. That may require something more than a purely civic and territorial nationalism in which residence and republican loyalty constitute the main criteria of citizenship of the nation.

In the context of Nepal, national identity was in crisis due to division, exclusion, conflict, discrimination, exploitation among diverse people before 2002 AD. Maoist civil war was the outcome of the discrimination in the name of caste, religion, language, gender due to which peace, prosperity and development were

dream for the Nepalese people. Rajeshor Devkota in *Journey's End* has constructed Nepali national identity through characters, setting and events of the novel.

Devkota's main focus is that exclusive nationalism which has been practiced in Nepal can't bring all the diverse Nepali people together. Exclusion of ethnic groups, women, other religious group in the state mechanism is the hindrance of unity, autonomy and identity of Nepal. So that to attain unity, autonomy and identity Nepal must be redefined as multinational state instead of nationstate and national state. The project of creating homogeneous culture on the cost of minority groups' culture can't create national identity, unity and autonomy. For that purpose we must practice inclusive people centric nationalism or inclusive civic nationalism which prepare suitable environment for the flourishment of all the diverse people's culture, religion, language. All the people should get equality freedom and justice for their individual as well as cultural development.

In the novel, Devkota has created such situation in which all the people are free and treated equally. There is no discrimination in terms of caste, religion, culture and gender. Humanitarian values are established because of such unique culture, there is peace, development, optimism, religious tolerance, ethnic co-existence, harmony and we-feeling among Dabali folks so that the existence and identity of all people have been possible. Such unique culture has constructed identity of Dabali.

By using Dabali as geographical trope, Devkota has forwarded the message that national identity can be attain if we practice inclusive people centric nationalism in Nepal. Unity ion diversity is possible in multicultural, religious, ethnic country through practice of inclusive people centric nationalism. Furthermore, Devkota has forwarded the message to the global multicultural world that ethnic nationalism can't create unity but division, violence, discrimination, conflict. So that for the peace,

development, brotherhood, civilized human society democratic values should be established through inclusive people-centric/civic nationalism.

III. Plurality and National Identity

After the detailed discussion and analysis of Rajeshwor Devkota's *Journey's End* this researcher comes to the conclusion that through imaginary settings, characters and events of the novel, by presenting Dabali as a geographical and cultural trope Devkota has constructed Nepali national identity incorporating the principle of inclusive people-centric nationalism. While claiming this, this researcher has explored the history of Nepali nationalism on the basis of which Nepali national identity had been constructed. Furthermore, this research by contextualizing the novel in the them political, social and cultural condition of Nepal claims that Devkota is totally against of exclusive ethnic nationalism which has brought division, conflict, backwardness and identity crisis of Nepali people. Moreover, this research foregrounds the idea that inclusive people centric nationalism is only one way out for the peace, prosperity, development and national identity of pluralist society. If we create national identity by homogenizing the heterogeneous population of pluralist society on the cost of minority's culture, language, religion and custom, it leads our society towards division, conflict, violence, enmity and backwardness. So unity in diversity for the national identity is possible in this global multicultural world with the practice of inclusive people centric nationalism which gives priority to the democratic values like justice, equality, freedom and humanity.

Exclusive ethnic nationalism is a hindrance for the unity among different ethnic, cultural, lingual, religious groups creates crisis in national identity. Before writing this novel, exclusive ethnic nationalism has been in practice so that minority groups were exploited, discriminated, rejected by the dominant ethnic groups who were in state power mechanism. From the unification era of Prithivi Narayan Shaha, Hill Brahmin and Khas tried their best to impose their own culture, custom, language,

and religion over other ethnic, cultural, religious and lingual groups. They had vision to homogenize all the diverse people so to create unity for the national identity. But the repressive state policy which tried to colonize to the minority groups could not unite them for nation building project in the absence of attachment to the nation. The minority groups were excluded from the power mechanism as a result they could not participate actively in the national building project. The minority groups were marginalized by ruling clans to fulfill their vested interest.

The same policy was continued by Rana autocratic rulers as well as Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev in his Panchyat period. The culture of Hill Khas and Brahmin and Hindu religion were at the center. After the Panchyat period, democracy was reestablished. The voices and demands of the marginalized groups started to come out in the public sphere. But in the democracy too, marginalized people did not get equal rights and space in the state power mechanism. In such context, discrimination, exploitation, dissatisfaction, gap, enmity was prevalent in Nepali pluralist society. So that exclusive ethnic nationalism could not unite all the divers Nepali people for the nation building project. As a result, Nepal faced 10 years people war in which great loss of lives, physical infrastructures and capital put question in the existence of Nepal.

In such condition, Rajeshwor Devkota challenges the prevalent concepts of ethnic nationalism through his creative writing. By creating geographical and cultural tropes Devkota has indirectly addressed the-then Nepali society. With the help of settings, characters and events of the novel, he has emphasized inclusive people centric nationalism for the unity, identity and autonomy of the pluralist society such as Nepal. The Dabali is full of harmony, ethnic co-existence, religious tolerance, justice, equality, freedom and humanitarian values: features of inclusive people

centric nationalism which have created unity among diverse Dabali folks and have become common identity of the Dabali. This research has claimed that Devkota metaphorically through his creative writing has constructed Nepali national identity in which all diverse Nepali people can feel their belongingness and equal share in the national identity.

In this way this research claims that Nepal as a nation-state can't become inclusive securing equal space for the diverse population. So that the concept of Nepal as a nation should be redefined as multination-state for the preservation, promotion and flourishing of different culture, language, religion and custom of plural Nepalese society. Moreover, this thesis claims that heterogeneity is not the problem but we should convert it into beauty and identity of the society in this twenty-first century. For the establishment of cultured human society we must be democratic and liberal so that through unity among diverse people national development as well as identity can be achieved.

In this way, *Journey's End* incorporating the elements of inclusive people-centric nationalism sheds light upon ideology of nationalism. This research by analyzing the elements of inclusive people-centric nationalism claims that autonomy, unity and identity of multination state is possible with the inclusion of all diverse people in state mechanism. Furthermore it has tried it's best to hint at solutions for violence conflict, enmity and division among people of global multicultural world.

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