

I. Parijat as a Progressive Writer

Parijat's *Under the Sleepless Mountain* aspires to provide the downtrodden people with justice, freedom and their own voice to the downtrodden people. This novel demonstrates how Parijat tries to speak on behalf of indigenous people, who are simply ignored by elite and the rulers. She seems to suggest authority that not only the subaltern people have their own history and culture but also they undertake various decisions as well as actions on their own. They are conscious of injustice and oppression inflicted by elites and rulers. They, therefore tend to be rebellious against elites and also fight against oppression unitedly. Parijat's *Under the Sleepless Mountain* raises her boisterous voice against exploitation, tyranny and suppression of marginalized people. In her writing, she pleads for subordinate groups' liberation and the freedom from domination. She sketches images of wide spread inconsistencies and perversions existing in Nepalese society. She shows the miserable plight of the poor, exploited and down trodden. She gives voice for voiceless people and brings them forth against the totalitarian *Panchayat* ruling system. In *Under the Sleepless Mountain*, Parijat articulates the consciousness of the subaltern people by representing the plight of the poor, exploited and downtrodden ones through her progressive writing.

The word 'Parijat', which signifies 'Jasmine Flower' in English, is a pseudonym of Bishnu Kumari Waiba (Nara Pallav translator) was born in 1937, in Darjeeling India, educated at Nepali Girl's School in Darjeeling and Padhmakanya Campus Kathmandu. She is a well-known novelist and most outstanding woman writer in Nepal. Her renowned novel *Blue Mimosa* was awarded the 'Madan Puraskar' in 1965. She is a Marxist feminist writer who is also “one of the leading founders of

Nepali progressive writing” (Baral, 81). (My Translation). She also led 'Ralfa', a cultural movement in Nepal in 1966.

Being the novel published in 1982, the context is set in the student movement against government ruling system and its development up to the national referendum of 1979 in Nepal. Students are mistreated by police force in Kathmandu. The suppressed people's condition was not far better than that of colonized people of a colonized country. Poor people were being poorer and rich the richer. Political parties are banned to do their free activities and democratic process is sacked down. 'People's fundamental rights are snatched. The country is stricken by hunger, disease, inflation, the black market, rowdyism and many other forms of corruption. Sixty percent of the population living below the poverty line, lack even the minimum basic needs. Only a handful of people and their henchmen were leading a luxurious and sophisticated western style of life. They were always depositing in their own foreign bank accounts money that was, in fact, earned by the people's toil. The government had not any program or plan for the needy people. Only a few influential people were getting land and that was in the name of the landless and homeless people (Parijat 185). Government turns a deaf ear on these matters. Industrialists turn their ear deaf to labors' proper demand (185). These all contextual backgrounds inspire Parijat to write this novel joining the issue of political scenario of student-labor joint movement of 1979. She captures all the events of the time under the witness of sleepless mountain of Himalayan range. Such and soon issues compel subaltern, marginalized, ethnics, adivasis and women to struggle against the ruling system which ultimately topple down the totalitarian bourgeois *Panchyat* ruling system.

Manipulation of physical and psychological power over ruled by rulers shows a tragic beginning in the novel but the subaltern rebellion against such manipulators in the climax provides a sense of justice in the novel.

The novel begins with physical and psychological disturbance of a poor family that a married girl named Gori Maya and her father Ghyabring are cheated/ deceived by local *Pancha* Satasi Baje and his helper Krishna Karki. Krishna Karki gets Gorimaya to marry an insane boy from another village, for that he manipulates Ghyabring giving him two bottles of local beer and sixty rupees of money as souvenir. "He marries a 'Tamang' girl for Ghyabring's property" (10). Common people, who don't take part in ruling system, are denied their subjectivity, their voice, authority and rights. Elite class people think that subordinate people are for their use whatever they want to do in general and specially the young daughters and daughters-in-law. "Female in specially is reduced into the object of the male's desire. [. . .] male wants to see women as a sacrificial being, who can be a receptacle of various desires [. . .] she often gets reduced down to an objectives male's desire (Spivak 127-31).

Under the Sleepless Mountain receives enthusiastic comments by various scholars who analyze this novel in relation to different perspectives, although only a few intellectuals and critics have written focusing on subaltern subject matter. Many critics have taken this novel lightly and have not written more about it. They only have taken this novel as a political novel based on student movement of 1979. Critic cum writer Hiramani Sharma in "Parijat Upanyas Yatrako Thap Upalabdhi" says:

Parijat's *Under the Sleepless Mountain* is excellent in ideological consciousness and realistic portrayal in her novelistic journey vis-à-vis her other progressive novels. Student movement of 1979 and declaration of national referendum are outstanding political events in

Nepal, the scenario of socio-political environment and context of the time is introduced in this present novel. (My Translation 124)

According to him, Parijat's novelistic journey is progressive and among them, this present novel *Under the Sleepless Mountain* is the witness of Nepali socio-political environment that is different in subject matter. *Under the Sleepless Mountain* does not carry an aesthetic subject matter as its plot. Readers need a little bit histories-political knowledge to understand this novel. It means its subject matter is political. So, this novel seems different than other romantic novels and it anticipates intellectuals as its reader. Narendra Raj Prasai, a Nepali Literary critic in *Parijatko Jivankatha* says, “*Under the Sleepless Mountain* is an artistic novel written in political scenario merely seems for intellectuals” (My Translation 175). Being the novel based on political scenario, it obviously needs to understand the political movement of 1979 to understand it. So it seems a readable text for intellectuals more.

Parijat herself had involved in the student movement. Her involvement in protest movement let her know the organizational strength of people and its contextual objective reality which inspires her to write such novel. In *Nepali Upanyas Ra Upanyaskar*, Krishna Chandra Singh Pradhan seems it realistic in base and highly contextual in objective reality. He writes:

In *Under the Sleepless Mountain* we find the sense of pre-novelistic linguistic simplicity and literary quotations. It contains expected organizational strength and it gets a natural arrangement and it is contextual in objective reality. Its structural background is the real student movement of 1979, but people's consciousness to make the movement famous and permanent, the author's position in it is the main content of the novel. (My Translation 356)

Collecting different localities, characters and subject matters, she has given equal justice to all of them. It is her capacity to tie in organizational strength and it seems natural in arrangement. *Under the Sleepless Mountain* is a progressive novel. Progressive writings aware the people of the ruling system and make them conscious of government policy and its treatment with people. Only a few progressive writers dared to write such novels during that period, one of them is Parijat herself. In *Aakhyankar Parijat*, Krishna Prasad Ghimire and Ram Prasad Gyawali say: “In Nepali novelistic genre *Under the Sleepless Mountain* comes with specific height in progressive novels inaugurated by Hridaya Chandra Singh Pradhan and forwarded by energetic ones like Khagendra Sangraula, D. P. Adhikari and Parijat herself” (My Translation 207). Parijat, being herself one of the member of progressive writers, she writes this novel in the same theme what they had started. This novel is one of the works of their movement. Although, all of these critics have criticized this novel from various perspectives, there are some more issues still to be studied. Exploitation of subaltern people is lightly studied but their liberating consciousness side is still to be excavated. This study brings forth the issues which make voiceless, marginalized and subordinate group of people aware of ruling system. Parijat brings them forth against totalitarian regime. They talk about socio-economic structure, democracy, political practices and women liberation. This dissertation exposes the people's consciousness for liberation and marginalized people's relief from suffering. Present research work will undertake the issues of subaltern agency as the basic research work.

Gori Maya, although is presented as an innocent village girl at first is rebellious later. She revolts against the *Pancha*'s domination over her and her family after getting consciousness. Her rebellious consciousness is outcome of her interest

and attachment with students like Lal Bahadur and Suwani. Lal Bahadur, Suwani, M.R. and Pradeep are some of the representative rebellious student character who revolt against the injustice prevalent in society. Students are the sparkle of enlightenment and highway of social reformation. Their consciousness of existence as a dominated being inspires them to take an action against the suppresser. Right after the police brutality over students in Pakistani Embassy, students become rebellious. Authority treats them as it is natural to suppress such people. Even though authority exploits power upon them brutally, they remain placid. When extreme power is used by police force, they including labor and ordinary people fight jointly against authority and make authority declare the date of national referendum as well as freedom of banned democratic parties.

When people fight against social evils collectively, no power of a nation can tolerate it. Even the ruling system itself must surrender in front of the people. That is the evidence of people's Movement of 1990's and 2007 A.D. in Nepal.

Finally, *Under the Sleepless Mountain*, Parijat's one of the best selling novels has kept the student movement of 1979 as its subject matter in its heart, so it is a historically realistic novel. Class conflict, collective unity, protest of feudalism, Marxist worldview, message of total transformation and public interest activities help the novel to be socialistic realistic novel which buzzes the sound of subaltern people. It portrays Nepali poor people's inequality, injustice, exploitation, conspiracy, hunger, pain, poverty, and such social problems. Progressive objectivity, message of reformation, sympathy on multiple people, vow to revolution and believe on it, support of low level people, love of nation, proletarian worldview of the novel also support it to be a highly progressive novel which advocates on the side of subaltern people. Keeping the Marxist worldview as its outcome, this novel also includes the

theme of women exploitation, sound of revolution, and real portrayal of poverty, political, socio- economic and cultural state of nation.

The present thesis work has been divided into four chapters. The first chapter which gives detail introduction of the whole research work briefly describes the whole research work. The second chapter, regarding the research work will be about the theoretical tool to be used in the research work. This chapter gives details about the subalterns, their consciousness, and their rebellion. It briefly explains the views of various subaltern scholars. This chapter also describes how the subaltern studies evolved and how are the present issues of subaltern studies.

II. Subaltern Studies and Subaltern Consciousness

Subaltern studies group emerged in India in 1982 with the aim of writing the history of the people ignored by colonizers as well as bourgeois nationalists. The group aims to study “the general attributes of subordination in South Asian society whether this is expected in term of class, caste, age, gender and office or in any other way” (vii). The group emerges aiming at redrawing the boundary of historiography. Some elites also internalize the capitalistic mode of writing, so they don't have in depth knowledge of subalterns and their suffering. For that, subaltern studies scholars work hard to rewrite the official history that would maintain harmony between the elites and the subaltern. The traditional official history disregards the active participation of subaltern in the struggle for independence against British imperialistic ruling. It draws ideas from diverse discipline like history, culture, sociology, anthropology, literature and so on. So, it is interdisciplinary in nature.

Subaltern studies group is led by Ranajit Guha, who is very much enthusiastic about providing the subalterns of their own voice. Guha explains about necessity to study about subaltern people as "the aim of subaltern studies is to promote a systematic and informed discussion of subaltern themes in the field of south Asian studies and thus help to rectify the elitist bias characteristics of much research and academic work in this particular area" (1).

The term ‘Subaltern’ gets authentic voice when Antonio Gramsci adopts it to refer to those groups in the society, who are subject to the hegemony of the ruling classes. Subaltern classes include peasants, workers, women, *adivasis* and other groups denied access to hegemonic power. Being a Marxist scholar, Gramsci is very much concerned with the proletarians whose voice remains unheard in the history. He is concerned with the historiography of the subaltern classes. For him, colonized

always agree to be ruled or governed by the colonizer, which is termed as hegemony. If the ruled ones consent to be ruled by any foreign powers geographically, politically, culturally, ritually or any other means is called hegemony. Like colonialism, bourgeois nationalism takes help of coercion rather than that of persuasion. So, the bourgeois nationalism, like colonialism, is also the dominance without hegemony. Guha also argues “by declaring a clean break with most Indian historians, announcing the project’s ambition ‘to rectify the elitist bias’ in a field dominated by elitism-colonialist elitism and bourgeois – nationalist elitism” (*Subaltern Studies I* iv). He includes rural gentry, impoverished landlords, rich peasants and upper-middle peasants into the category of subaltern classes. He declares that subaltern studies make a study of history, politics, economics and sociology of Subaltern people.

Different scholars introduce subalterns in different ways: Ajit k. Chaudhary reiterates that “the focus of Subaltern is on the consciousness of the subaltern classes, especially peasants” (*SS V* 237). Partha Chatterjee includes women, untouchables, and laborers and so on in subaltern groups. Vinay Bahl questions the utility of subaltern studies for scholars concerned with social justice. Her central target is cultural definitions of ‘difference’. Women and Dalits are not ‘different’ from elites as cultural groups and thus in the same boat as other subaltern subjects; rather she says, they participate politically in differences produced by material inequalities and collective activities that also differentiate subaltern groups. N.K. Chandra records the growing insistence of laborers that they should be able to eat their meals in their own homes, even if these had actually been prepared in their employer’s kitchens.

Javeed Alam answers for the question of why they are subalternized. He says that the ruling class may control the themes and content of politics or the sources of history, the subaltern, that is the people, will always manage to make themselves

heard. In other words, this intermediate space represents the subjectivity; the active source of the political activity of the people [. . .] (*SS I* 163-79). He emphasizes on the subjectivity of the peasantry. There are propensities, dispositions, fears and apprehensions, hopes and aspirations. Subaltern study tries to correct manipulation theme. It more or less negates the possibility of manipulation, incitement and confusion. For Dipesh Chakrabarty, subalternity is constructed in opposition to elite nationalism in binaries that seeks to use culture to repudiate history.

Subaltern Studies try its best to establish the subaltern as an autonomous domain. It emerges as a theory of change. Subaltern history itself starts showing many gaps. Subaltern Studies undergo a great change along with *Subaltern Studies IV*. The matter of fact is that *SS IV* includes the writings of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak who brings cultural perspective in Subaltern Studies. Spivak enters in Subaltern Studies with her seminal essay “Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography” (*SS IV*). She enables subaltern studies to shift to representation from politics. She gives literary mode to subaltern studies as well as raises the feminist issues.

Subalterns are “those of inferior rank, those subordinate in terms of class, caste, age, religion, ethnicity, gender and office or in any other way” (*SS I* vii). The most prominent violation perpetrated over the subaltern people, is the effacement of their identity in the official representation. The subalterns are marginalized, thinking that, they cannot speak though they are aware of the suppression or marginalization. They lack the language of their own, which can express their pain and sufferings. Not only the language, but also, the theoretical strategies they lack, thereby, the marginalization becomes an ongoing process. She says, “Subalterns are triply oppressed group in a society” (*SS IV* 341). Peasants, laborers, factory workers, *adivasis*, ethnic people, landless people, women, reticent and innocent people of the

villages, and also other groups may fall under the term subalterns, who are denied access to power. These subaltern classes are forced to stay away from the power and suffer the exploitation of the ruling classes.

In term of elite and Subaltern, Guha insists that –it is a matter for investigation in specific instances as to whether, given the ambiguous nature of rural social structure, the rural gentry and the lowest strata among them. He says:

The distinction is subtle and confronts a class/ materialist interpretation of vested interests and behavior patterns. [. . .] automatically in terms of their material interest, sometimes they behave in contradiction to their own social being whether they are doing so is determined by the historian [. . .] the action of people and groups classified as elites may however be ambiguous. Who determines proper action, who determines the subalterns classification, are the writers of their history, the historians. (*Reading Subaltern Studies* 190)

Subaltern Studies itself is a kind of research which makes rulers listen to the voice of the exploited and oppressed ones of Third World and underdeveloped or developing countries. Ruling classes may control the politics or the sources of history that makes them dominant. David Ludden suggest “reader in Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka might tend to read subaltern Studies as an Indian national project, not their own” (27). Subaltern Study is a theory of Subaltern Consciousness or the cultural study of the Subaltern people rather than a theory of change. Subaltern Studies, in David Ludden’s words, “rejected official nationalism and developed transnationally as did its relationship and its critical appreciation [. . .] and its ideas are intricately tangled in recent world trends” (12).

There are two types of views related to the question that either the subaltern people can raise their voice by themselves or they need to be represented by others. On the one hand, there are some critics like Spivak who believes that the subaltern subjects have been regulated to the position of subjects rather than participants in a two-way dialogue. They are made only the subjects. So they cannot speak. They have to be represented by the elite intellectuals because only the intellectual elite can present interpretation of the subaltern voice filtered through the intellectual viewpoint. It is all because they “have no history” and “cannot speak” (Spivak 32). The subaltern is the marginalized one, which has no access to hegemonic power. So, they lack the means as well as strategy of their own. Moreover, they do not have the privileged position, from where they can express themselves.

The small peasant proprietors cannot represent themselves: they must be represented. Their representing must appear simultaneously as their master, as an authority over them, as unrestricted governmental power that protects them from the other classes and sends them rain and sunshine from above. Spivak posits women in the role of the subaltern and questions the male constructed voice of women within the patriarchal society. Even though, there are two types of distinct views regarding the voice of subaltern. Subaltern either individually or collectively revolt for the emancipation from domination. Gramsci states that the history of subaltern organization “can only be demonstrated when [. . .] this cycle culminates in a success” that is, in revolution (52-4). For him, only “permanent victory breaks their subordination” (55). Like him, David Ludden says, “subaltern studies does posits a large- scale resistance to domination on the part of the peasantry” (319). Veena Das also finds revolt as subaltern weapon for their freedom. She in her essay “Subaltern as Perspective” writes that subaltern studies make an important point in establishing the

centrality of the historical moment of rebellion in understanding the subaltern as subject of their own histories (*SS VI* 312). Ranajit Guha in “The Small Voice of History” seems movement as last way of emancipation. He says that women’s emancipation was for them simply a sum of equal rights [. . .] Emancipation by reform had indeed attracted women initially to the movement (9).

On the one hand, they need to be represented by intellectuals, political leaders, social leaders, students and chairpersons of laborers union and so on. On the other, subalterns revolt themselves for their right “guided in the actions mostly by their day to day experiences” (Edward 96). For their proper outlet they need spokesperson, which represents them toward emancipation. As a Marxist critic, Gramsci seems the necessity of representative intellectuals from the Marxist bend of mind. For David Arnold, peasant action ‘reflected a single underlying consciousness. Their actions come to be marked by self- mobilization in various forms [. . .] and attack on moneylenders and grain holders’ (112-4). The peasants are also conscious of the relationship of power of command and control (78) to which they are subjected. Subaltern Scholars posit different examples of subaltern resistance either themselves or represented by intellectual ones. R. Edwards presents an example of workers’ resistance in TISCO Company in 1920. Workers go on strike demanding relief from the oppressive behavior of their superiors, foremen, supervisors, along with other basic demands “to improve their living and working conditions (96). Again in 1922 and in 1928 those workers went on strike for the same demands “were guided in the actions mostly by their day to day experiences” (96). David Hardiman makes in-depth study of a tribal movement in tribal villages. Though the movement begins as an autonomous one, soon Congress becomes interested in the movement and a process begins to unfold which “looked lie an emerging alliance” (*RSS* 112) between the tribal

and the Gandhian nationalist and it caused concern to the British. Gradually the Congress politicians including Vallabhbhai Patel and Kasturba Gandhi come to gain considerable influence over the movement and they encouraged the tribal peasants to adopt some elements of Gandhi's teachings while watering down those aspects of the movement which was considered by the former as socially divisive and militant (RRS 113).

Above all, we can conclude that subaltern revolt themselves by using day to day experiences or be represented by intellectual leaders. They can speak though Spivak says "subaltern can not speak" (79). In this sense, her view seems wrong, because subaltern history is the history of resistance and opposition.

Under the Sleepless Mountain is also an example where subaltern can make their identity sure without depending on others. Parijat herself articulates the voice of subaltern people by representing them toward the emancipation from domination, exploitation and subjugation of male dominated patriarchal elite social structure.

David Ludden in his book *Reading Subaltern Studies* quotes Antonio Gramsci's view regarding Subaltern history is being fragmented and episodic from his text *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*:

The history of Subalterns group is necessarily fragmented and episodic. There undoubtedly does exist a tendency to (at least provisional stages of) unification in the historical activity of these groups, but this tendency is continually interrupted by the activity of the ruling groups; [. . .] Subaltern groups are always subject to the activity of ruling groups, even when they rebel and rise up; only 'permanent' victory breaks their subordination and that not immediately. (304)

Gramsci's opinion on the history of the subaltern classes is inevitably fragmented and episodic. They have less access to the means by which they can control their representation. Here, Gramsci is concerned with the intellectual's role in the subalterns' culture and political movement into hegemony. As we know, subaltern people do not have the means and strategy to get access to the power structure; they should be guided by the intellectuals. In such a context, intellectuals must play an important role to lead them on the right way. They should educate and make aware and mobilize the people. So that the subaltern people can be changed into revolutionary figures, who will strive to get independence and equal representation. Subaltern Studies, which give old terms new meanings and mark a new beginning for historical studies. Domination, subordination, hegemony, resistance, revolt and other old concepts could now be subalternized. But as Michel Foucault defines representation in relation to power, the powerful people's authority is enough to manipulate representation as they like and turns representation into a truth by suppressing the representation of their opposites.

Industrial laborers are *kisans* par excellence as a very significant proportion of the city proletariat who go to mills and factories in search of some relief from the sufferings that confront them in their village homes. The laborer is a part of landlord's property. But the payment varies widely. N. K. Chandra's "Agricultural Workers in Burdwan" focuses "The cash component is a very small part of the total wages. Payment for 'cowboys' and domestic servants (who are largely women) are extremely low" (228). He makes a broad division between the "upper classes" and the "lower classes". In the latter he includes landless, agricultural laborers and small and marginal peasants.

Guha's separation of elite and subaltern domains within the political sphere has some radical implication for social theory and historiography. The standard tendency in global Marxist historiography until 1970s was to look on peasant revolts organized along the axes of kinship, religion, caste etc as moments exhibiting a "backward consciousness". Hobsbawm has called it "prepolitical" (9). As he put it with reference to his own material: "They are pre-political people who have not got found, or only begun to find, specific language in which to express their aspirations about the world" (9). Guha, by explicitly rejecting the characterization of peasant consciousness says "The peasant is not a backward consciousness – a mentality left over from the past- baffled by modern political and economic institutions yet resistant to them." (9) He further suggests that "the peasants in colonial India did in fact read his contemporary world currently" (9). He shows that these always involve the deployment by the peasants of coolies of dress- speech and behavior – that tend to invert. Inversion of symbol of behavior, because of the inversion of symbol of authority is almost inevitably the first act of rebellion by insurgent peasants. Anil Seal says "elites dismissed all nineteenth century peasant revolts in colonial India" (10). He further says that peasants use sticks and stones as the only way of protesting against distress. Guha contends his view:

[. . .] At the beginning of every peasants uprising, there was inevitable a struggle on the part of rebels to destroy all symbols of the social prestige and power of the ruling classes. It was this fight for prestige which was at the heart of insurgency. Inversion was its principal modality. It was a political struggle in which the rebel appropriated and or destroyed the insignia of his enemy's power and hoped to abolish the marks of his own Subalternity. (10)

When suppression excesses, peasants and subaltern rise against oppressors and abolish the ruling system. Their act of resistance link up with, interact with, intersect with what is happening around them. Mentality of resistance, a mindset that is independent, in effect means the perception of power, the nature of power. Spivak has noted, “The subaltern series accounts are accounts of failure.” (*SS IV* 333) but failure is not the site of autonomy. And what failure does to consciousness.

The meaning of Subalternity in Subaltern Study shifts as the framework of study increasingly stresses the clash of unequal culture under colonialism and the dominance of colonial modality over Indian’s resistant, indigenous culture. There is vernacular resistance of “bureaucracy, police factories, communalism, ethnography, poisons, medicine, science and related topics” (qtd. in *RSS* 19). The social domination and subordination of the subaltern by the elite is, thus, an everyday feature of Indian capitalism itself. Subaltern studies in principle, opposes to nationalist histories that portrays nationalist leaders as ushering India and its people out of some kind of precapitalist stage into a world-historical phase of “bourgeois modernity” (Chakrabarty 14).

Subaltern and workers create a democratic class consciousness. Subalternity simply refuses to understand that workers don’t act or live their lives to prove historians’ concepts or hopes. Workers (and poor masses) have to live, struggle and act according to their life situations, needs, and opportunities and their day- to- day experiences at all the levels; at production, reproduction, community, locality, religion, and market and in fact, all these consciousness. This consciousness of workers is fragile and, therefore leads to the formation of ‘community consciousnesses.

The subaltern classes believe that those who hold power over them, whether money lenders, grain traders, land holders or officials, should not abuse their power but be responsive to subaltern needs. So the protest is accordingly directed not to overturn the super ordinate classes but to reminding them of the proper use of their power. But when the authority ignores the peasant “they constitute a continuing form of protest by poorer peasant acting together in small bonds, against it” (Arnold 90).

Sahajanand vigorously advocates a worker- peasant alliance from 1936 onwards. *The Bulletin of the All Indian Kisan Sabha* from 1936 to 39 bear, this out. The workers- peasant alliance strikes the Bihta Sugar Mills (Bihar). R. Newman, in his valuable study, *Workers and union in Bombay, 1918-29*, has shown how, with the passage of years, the hold of the *sardar* gradually weaken. This is in part due to the badli system and in part due to the rising political consciousness of the working class. Subaltern is faced with the economic oppression. These oppressed and subaltern groups bind together by kinship and caste ties. They both unite in resistance of elite. With reference to the rebellions Kamrup in 1616-17, Amulendu Guha in an occasional paper “Medieval North-east India” (1200-1750) says, “. . . the peasants killed the *Kakoris* and *Mustajars*. The Kuch nobles joined their rebellion and proclaimed one of them as the raja” (47). Stephen Henningham’s essay “Quit India in Bihar and the Eastern United Provinces: The duel revolt” shows that congress leaders at the local level and in Bihar, for example, included fishermen, students and teachers and ex- ministers of the 1937-9 ministry- all of them associated with the Congress (149-50). Agricultural laborers joined the movement (151). Subaltern consciousness is so volatile that, once arises, it terrifies even nationalist leaders with the threat of things getting out of control.

Agrarian revolt in the seventeenth century in the Mughal empire. Santhal tribe struggles in Bengal. Santhal hool raise protest movement against Bengali moneylender (Benagali Baboo) and *zamindar*, to possess their own authority over their cultivated land. W. W. Hunter's *Annals of rural Bengal* says that as a result of British intervention the Santals stopped their insurgent activities in the early nineteenth century, but to the tribe of the Paharias whose insurrection was suppressed by the East India Company in the late eighteenth century.

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak insists subaltern is not just a class word for suppressed, for others, for somebody who is not getting a piece of pie. She points out that in Gramsci's original covert usage; it signifies "proletarian", whose voice could not be heard. Being structurally written out of the capitalist bourgeois narrative, Spivak therefore concludes that the "Subaltern cannot speak" in her essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Spivak renders linguistic as well as cultural mode to Subaltern Studies with her seminal essay "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography" in *SS IV*. She enables Subaltern Studies to shift to representation from politics. She, therefore, gives literary mode to SS. Spivak opines that the Subaltern Studies Group offers a "theory of change" (*SS IV* 330).

Indrani Chatterjee in her essay "Coloring Subalternity: Slaves, Concubines and Social Orphans in East colonial India" writes about the study of subordination and domination also adds another fragmented history- of slaves and slavery. To study slavery is "to study a social dyad, master- slave, rather than a complex interweaving of different aspects of society and politics" (50). She further informs the readers that "the slave was a human commodity transported across the vast distances, and slave-labor was coercively exacted without a wage" (50).

During 1750s and 60s, individual English merchants, Nawabs of Bengal and

so on people kept poor Indian children under their care saying “saving children’s lives to provide nourishment for them” (*RSS* 55). A sister of a governor- general of India purchases two little girls of seven years old- for a total of three pounds.

Religion is also the critical structural method, is not merely religiosity but is tied up with the forces and relations of production. Religion is important for peasant consciousness not because peasant consciousness is inherently religious, but because religion is a part of the ideological superstructure. Religion which succeeds in establishing a dominant and Universalist moral code for society as a whole can then be looked at from two quite different standpoints. For the dominant groups, it offers the necessary ideological justification for existing social divisions, makes these divisions appear non-antagonistic and holds together a potentially divided society into a single whole. For the subordinate masses religion enters common sense as the element which affords them an access to a more powerful cultural order; the element of religion then co-exists and intermingles in an apparently eclectic fashion with the original elements of common sense.

Subaltern Studies group is set to undertake empirical study on various aspects of Subaltern people respective of caste, gender, color, profession, space and class. Subaltern Studies do not take up the women issues up to the first three volumes. But with the involvement of Gyaatri Chakravoty Spivak with the publication of Subaltern Studies volume four, she introduces the issue of gender in the subaltern studies. Spivak makes it clear that Subaltern studies as a discourse to speak on behalf of marginalized groups which has not paid as much attention to women as it should have. She contributes a lot to the next issue that is *Subaltern Studies V* to enforce the mode, and has rendered Subaltern Studies in the previous issue. According to Spivak, women are denied their subjectivity, their voice. The woman is looked from above

merely as a “sexual object” or from below as a “Goddess”. She is reduced into an object of male’s desire. When one is “gazed from below, she appears as the Goddess, mother, sister and any other respected figure. And when she is gazed from above, she is turned into the sex object or the beast of burden” (129). Spivak is concerned with the question of the loss of women’s speech, she argues that “the subaltern has no history and cannot speak, the subaltern female is even more deeply in shadow [. . .] the ideological construction of gender keeps the male dominant”(Spivak 28). The female is the Subaltern of the Subaltern who fails to articulate her voice; therefore, the intellectuals must represent her cautiously. But the rift is that her agency can be subdued in the representation made by the intellectuals as well.

Patriarchal social structure also subalternizes the women by gendering the space. Women are taken as the home- maker whereas the male pursues the career outside home, when a man builds a social relations, women maintains peace and harmony among the family members, attending to everyone’s need. In this sense, women are confined within the house and are prevented being exposed to the external world. Accepting the view, Partha Chatterjee in *The Nation and its Women* argues:

The matter of concrete day to day living separates the social space into *ghar* and *bahir* the home and the world. The world is the external; the domain of the material; the home represent one’s inner spiritual self, one’s true identity. The world is the treacherous terrain of the pursuit of the material interests; where practical consideration reign supreme. It is also typically the domain of male. The home is its representative.

(245)

Until the early 20th century, Women were taken as part of their male counterparts. They tolerate all kinds of social agitation and criticisms. Chatterjee quotes an example of a British traveler's experience in India in *Subaltern Studies Reader*:

At no period of life, in no condition of society, should a woman do any thing at her mere pleasure. Their fathers, their husbands, their sons, are verily called her protectors; [. . .] day and night must women be held by their protectors in a state of absolute dependence. A woman is never fit for independence, or to be trusted with liberty [. . .] to them the fountain of wisdom is sealed, the stream of knowledge are dried up; the spring of individual consolation, as promised in their religion, are guarded and barred against women in their hour of desolate sorrow and parching anguish. (242-3)

A woman must remain dependent upon the male members of the family, be they fathers, husbands, or the sons. Patriarchal demarcation of 'feminine role' subalternizes her. With this realization, Gayatri Chakravarty Spivak comments that the figure of the women, moving from clan to clan, and family to family as daughter/sister, and wife/ mother syntaxes the patriarchal continuity even as she herself is drained of proper identity (SS IV 362). *Critical Theory since Plato* quotes, "Where love is duty, on the female side, 'on theirs more sensual gust, and sought with surly pride" (397). Male always take women as feeble and sensual; they need male guidance and always seek love and affection from male.

Mary Wollstonecraft in her text- *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, challenged the idea of male that " Women exist only to please men" and proposes that " Women receive the same opportunities as men in education, work and politics" (268). Ranajit Guha in his essay, "The Small Voice of History" says, "Women's

emancipation was for them simply a sum of equal rights- an end to be achieved by reformist measures. Emancipation by reform had indeed attracted women initially to the movement” (*SS IX 11*). Selling and buying of slaves in India was a kind of business during British colony. Higher class people, elites, high level officials, high level civil servants use marginalized, poor and innocent native women/ young girls and children as their servants at home. Some of them even manipulate such girls to marry. After few months of marriage, they disagree to accept her as his wife and her life falls into problem. They compel these females to involve in these activities because of their poverty and lack of education. Indrani Chatterjee in her essay “Coloring Subalternity” gives different examples of how women are exploited by rulers and native elites. She includes a piece of example by an officer of Madras’s native Infantry, she says-“Native young were there so that the rulers could take them on rent or on lease. They could use them until they wanted “married wife and ‘female slave, referred to these young adults as ‘prostitute’ when the female slave was taken on a long or short- term lease” (58).

Women are manipulated by higher class people. They manipulate them either by money/ property or pretending to marry her. Indrani Chatterjee gives another example of woman named Komaree, who is seduced by different males and now is in problem with three/ four children. Now she has children fathered by different males.

Komaree details:

I was four months gone with a Daughter when the plaintiff became acquainted with me which pregnancy was result of a connexion with Ramchuran Rai the Dewan [. . .] and the Daughter which was born to Fourookbad was by Adjutant Kenwall into whose House this very plaintiff had seduced me and in any name deceitfully procured money,

and the soon of which I was delivered was the child of Sufzeeram
Sircar- not even one child was by the plaintiff [. . .]. (61)

Downtrodden women are taken as playing objects by rulers and people of authority. They think they can use such women what they want. They are sexually abused and economically exploited. A woman needs to sleep with multiple people not for her wish but for male sexual satisfaction.

Spivak suggests that “there is no space from which the Subaltern women can speak.” (308). She shows how “voice consciousness” of the Subaltern women have been lost in the history and her subjectivity ideologically suppressed. Women’s human rights and voice are being constantly denied access to mainstream news, policies, and debate; these same rights become the perruation tool for the continuation of the circle of violence. She is presented as the subject of male gaze.

Caste is a feature of the superstructure of Hindu society and ought to take in term of its efficiency as an ideological system which reflects the basic structure of material, i.e. production relations, the latter of courses being characterized in term of class relation. In other way, caste is in fact especially Indian form of material relation at the base, with its own historical dynamics; caste, in other words, is the form in which classes appear in Indian society.

Eastern ideology is totally different from Marxist ideology, according to Marxist idea ‘hitherto existing history is the history of class struggle’. Hindu society is based on hierarchy, and that consequently caste must replace class as the fundamental explanatory framework. As in economic structure, there are social classes or castes: Brahmin, Cheetria, Vaishya and Sudra. Under the structure, there is hierarchy in castes. Upper caste people always suppress lower caste people. If the history is written, only the higher caste people’s history is written. As woman, lower

caste people are doubly marginalized. They are marginalized from within. Sudras are taken as 'untouchable' in Hindu society. Several castes are like the species of animals and that caste attaches to the body and not to the soul. Lower caste people are socially, economically, politically, religiously and culturally subalternized. In fact, caste is a "material reality with a material base" (*SS VI 176*), it is "not only form but also concrete material content" (178).

Caste in reality is diversity of particular Jatis with specific characteristics. Each Jati can be shown to have in its particular quality. Partha Chatterjee in "Caste and Subaltern Consciousness" views regarding criteria of Jati system- "there is a multiplicity of qualitative criteria which can serve to distinguish Jati from Jati" (179). Caste is social hierarchy, according to this argument; hierarchy fixes a universal measure of casteness. So that, at any given time and place, the immediate qualitative diversity of Jatis can be ordered as a quantitative ranking in a scale of hierarchy. Separate endogamous Jatis are of course the most obvious aspects of the immediate phenomenon of caste. Each recognized qualitative attributes of a "Jati serves to establish its natural differences from other Jatis, and this difference is upheld above all in the rule of endogamy which lays down that the natural order of species must not be disturbed" (183).

Regarding the caste system, Dipankar Gupta claims that caste is created in terms of relative purity. Kane notes that Caste system emerged in medieval Dharma Sastra texts. He cites the *Sutasamhita* which states explicitly that the "several Castes are like the species of animals and that Caste attaches to the body and not to the soul" (*SS VI 183*)

Adivasis are the aboriginal populations of a particular region. Adivasis or ethnic groups have their own language, culture, custom, religion and occupation.

Adivasis means the tribal group which is Subaltern in it. “Drinking is a part of their culture, a custom hollowed by tradition, something indeed which is a part of their very identity” (Ludden 130). Drinking for the tribal group is not just a way of finding an escape from the stresses produced by the hard days work; it occupies a central place in their culture. Subaltern Studies is the tribal history, agrarian social structure, and communalism, the mentality of catastrophe, rumor and so on. Historically adivasis’ existence is denied and their voice is unheard by rulers. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak says them “citizen without history” (*SS IV* 332). They are always marginalized from the main stream of ruling system. They are confined in remote area where distribution of infrastructures are unequal or we can say there is no distribution of development projects like health care hospitals, schools, pure drinking water, communication, electricity and so on. They need to suffer and die with hunger, disease, pain and such other causes.

Being conscious about own status either it be economic or social or any other is understood as consciousness. One’s awareness what is going on around can be taken as individual consciousness. Labor and subaltern can only fight jointly against elites’ domination. They need to make people conscious about ruling system and make rulers listen their voice. Subaltern consciousness has always been a critical point of Subalternity. Jim Masselos criticizes such kind of essentialist notion about peasant consciousness. He calls “subaltern [. . .] a creation, a reification of historians” (23). He further says that “it is merely a stereotype of resistance of subaltern people” (22). The objective of Subaltern Studies is not only to upside down the down- to-earth reality of the elite activities as well as to develop a critique of, and an alternative history. It is necessary to know that “neither domination nor resistance is autonomous” (218). In present society, there is exploitation and fragmentation but

there is resistance that does not let the upper class to be like Superman and lower class like Subhuman. There are so many critics like Dipesh Chakrabarty and David Arnod who have presented so many examples of protest of the subaltern class people. In the process of making the authority aware about their condition and position, they follow different tracks. Sometimes they use strike as a fruitful means to get the attention of the authority. They keep on reminding the authority of the proper use of their power. And when the authority ignores the subaltern people, they constitute a continuing form of protest by acting together in small bonds, against it.

But we can begin to explore how these forces interact with different societies and with different classes and group within a society and create particular condition which shape people's life, culture and consciousness. We must also find out how people respond to these interactions with new hegemonic forces within and without each society. People do not passively absorb everything as helpless being but in fact "resist these hegemonic influences and develop survival technique" (RSS 393). For Spivak's rhetorical question "Can the Subaltern Speak?" We may answer in the following way- "The subaltern can speak in Suheli, Bhojpuri and so on, if the authority has the capability to listen" (393). Subalterns have the autonomous domain. To demonstrate they have their own consciousness, their own politics of resistance, their own mobilization and their own ideologies of opposition. Subaltern mentality is mentality of opposition, action against domination. In fact subaltern people want to be their own on their own feet.

Subalternity is materialized by the structure of property, institutionalized by law, sanctified by religion and made tolerable- and even desirable- by tradition. To rebel is indeed to destroy many of those familiar signs which he has learned to read and manipulate in order to extract a meaning out of the harsh world around him and

live with it. Ranajit Guha in his essay, “The Prose of Counter- Insurgency” says, “the risk in turning things upside down under these conditions was indeed so great that he could hardly afford to engage in such a project in a state of absent –mindedness.” (SS II 9)

The family, the church, institutions, of learning, trade unions, the media and cultural life, civic institution; where the individual may exercise his right and liberties, free from the immediate authority of the state; an authority which itself receives its legitimacy from its respect for and protection of those rights and liberties. Supporting the idea, Dipesh Chakrabarty says, “Better history can be written only on clean state, which is possible by pushing history to its limits” (RSS 393).

Parijat in *Under the Sleepless Mountain* says that corruption of state economy, black market, bribery, girl trafficking, rape, murder, unequal distribution of infrastructures, dearness, conspiracy from within and without, dirty political game etc. are some of the features of totalitarian ruling system (66-69). State repeatedly attacks the poor on behalf of the landlords. Army, police, civil servants and all the governing agencies support landlords through state. But hunger, torture, forced labor; domination and suppression compel peasant and ethnics to fight against ruling system. Peasant revolts to natural phenomena: they break out like thunder storms, heave like earthquakes, spread like wildfires, infect like epidemics. Continuous rebel and rise up of subordinated group achieve success.

To sum up, subaltern studies is a postcolonial project emerged during 1982 with the energy of redrawing the historiography from the side of subaltern people. Subaltern Studies includes the study of peasants, factory workers, laborers, ethnic people, marginalized, women and so on- who are kept under shadow by the rulers. Regarding subaltern studies, obvious question arises, ‘why do subaltern people need

to revolt?' Answer of this question may-bourgeois and authority deny their presence or co-existence. They inferiorize subaltern existence and their activities marginalizing them from the main stream of governing agencies. Authority accepts them as human being but treat as non-human being. Subaltern representation is denied, their sound is unheard, their human right is disturbed, and they are treated in lopsided way. Excess suppression, physical, economical, sexual exploitation increases in societies, unnecessary power impose upon justifiable demands and unequal economic distribution and so and such causes enhance subaltern people to revolt. Subalterns gain consciousness by same revolution and resistance. Subaltern studies show that subalterns can speak; they generate their own traditions and pursue their political projects quite independently, but they need to be represented by intellectuals who can lead them in proper destination. The ideology of the collective authority of the peasant community is seen primarily as providing strategies for resistance to external coercion. Women, untouchables, laborers, peasants, ethnic people and so on include in subaltern group. They wait for changes. They tolerate until last drop of hope but when the authority turns its eyes blind, it gives them consciousness and they spontaneously go against the total ruling system which can upside down the whole ruling system.

III. Articulation of Subaltern Consciousness

In *Under the Sleepless Mountain*, Parijat articulates the consciousness of the subaltern people by representing the plight of the poor, exploited and downtrodden ones. Her writings depict a bitter conflict, a class struggle, and vividly sketches images of widespread inconsistencies and perversions existing in Nepalese society. The novel also offers a remarkable insight into the social and political condition of Nepal. It also offers a remarkable insight into one of several previous struggles of true democracy in Nepal.

Running through the novel, there are common themes of love, life, death and politics; of women's struggle for liberation, the people's demand for multiparty democracy and relief from human suffering. Gori Maya, Lal Bahadur, M. R., Suwani and Pradeep are the representative characters in the novel of the struggle for political freedom in Nepal around 1979, who represent the subaltern consciousness throughout the novel.

Under the Sleepless Mountain is a historical novel written under the political scenario of 1978/79 based on social reality of the then society. The story of this novel is related to Student's Movement of 1979 and is also a mirror of Nepalese people's poverty, pain and carelessness of government over them. "The story starts from a village called Chinde of Nuwakot district and expands in Kathmandu, Eastern Terai as well as in the villages of Sarlahi district and ends in Kathmandu" (Ghimire and Gyawali, My Translation 130). The novel has exposed exploitation, poverty, murder, terrorism, suppression, rape, conspiracy as the then time's social realities. The novel is based on the Student's Movement and National Referendum of 1979 of Nepal and its aftermath of the revolt against government. It paves a way for two other people's movements I and II.

Student movement of 1979 and national referendum are two focal points in Nepalese politics. It is an unforgettable event in Nepalese political history and this novel is the witness of the historical event of the time's socio-political scenario and related to the political background of the time. This can be taken as the manuscript of the time's political movement. Dina Mani Acharya in his research paper says,

As an objective of this novel, it portrays the drawbacks and absurd in socio-economic, politico-cultural fields caused by the then *Panchayat* ruling system. It aims at establishing the society of equality and freedom. On process of presenting this novel, Parijat also hopes the emancipation of women presenting varieties of their problems. (My Translation 81)

Present novel has shown people's pathetic condition on the hey-day of *Panchayat* regime. Authorities of *Panchayat* were corruptive, exploit and tyrannical. Political parties were banned, fundamental human rights were snatched and press freedom was censored. The key of the so-called government was in *Narayanhiti* Royal palace. *Panchas* of villages were cruel and merciless people. One of the characters of the novel, Ghyabring's following moaning represents the time's ruling authority- "The supporters of the *Panchayat* party are very cruel people. Such havoc had never been seen before the intrusion of *Panchas* into the village. Inflation was not so high. There was recently a murder, but the police remained as mere silent observers" (Parijat 41). Lal Bahadur, another brisk character announces the problems of the time in a speech among student and labor joint program. He details:

The country is stricken by hunger, disease, inflation, scarcity, bribery, adultery and prostitution, the black market, rowdyism, and many other forms of corruption! Sixty percent of the population are living below

the poverty line and lack even the minimum basic needs. Only a handful of people and their henchmen are leading a luxurious and sophisticated western style of life. They are always depositing in their own foreign bank accounts money that was, in fact, earned by the people's toil [. . .]. (185)

These words of him are the words of conscious citizen of a nation. He is identified with these realities. Like that, Suwani, a campus level student as well as another character of the novel presents the problems of corruption, dearness, scarcity, black markets and so on. These existing problems make poor ones poorer and rich the richer. Intolerable tyranny was in the society and people were victim of the rulers.

In *Under the Sleepless Mountain* Parijat portrays the age-old suppression over subaltern people by the then time's *Panchas* and local elites. Parijat brings different characters from different classes, caste, religion, gender and background as social representatives to show the elite/ subaltern relation. A Nepali literary critic, Ninu Chapagain in a journal "Janamat" views: "This novel shows conflict of social classes, brings hope and confidence upon the subaltern and has tried to connect the pains and sufferings of people of Mountains, Hills and Terai with social conflicts" (My Translation 44). As a representative novel of subaltern people, it links the social realities of all around the country.

Gori Maya, Ghyabring, Suwani, M.R. Ji, Lal Bahadur, *adivasis*, ethnic, landless people, represent the subaltern and *Panchas*, personnel of government, police force (except few lower rank police), Prawesh Subba, Krishna Karki, Satasi Baje role as authority who impose their will upon the ruled people. Gori Maya and her father Ghyabring represent the poor as well as ethnic people.

Krishna Prasad Ghimire and Ram Prasad Gyawali in their text *Aakhyankar*

Parijat commenting the novel say:

On the process of presentation of different sides of societies of societies in her novel, Parijat presents the historical reality of societies. Women suffer only because they are women. A compelled prostitute woman struggles much to get release from that. Being male, drinking alcohol, torture wife, being selfish rather than involving in social welfare and cheat one another by themselves are social realities of Nepalese societies. Presenting these matters, Parijat writes this novel in simple and clear language. (My Translation 7)

As a literary tonic for literary students, Parijat presents this novel involving social realities in simple language.

As the curtain of the novel opens, an old and poor man Ghyabring appears at night looking up at the sky while smoking his pipe at home in Chinde village of Nuwakot district. He remembers all the past events of death of his wife; escape and lost of his son and marriage of his daughter Gori Maya to a boy from another village. At the same time, Gori Maya knocks at the door. Gori Maya escapes from her husband's home at night in a torrential rain to save her life from her insane husband. He once tries to throttle and next time throws her from cliff. Gori Maya's father as a head of house gives her hand to an insane boy from another village in two bottles of wine and sixty rupees of money. But she is not treated there properly as a wife. "Father, you should have thrown me in the Trishuli Ganga River rather than sell me for sixty rupees to such a cruel man. You have drunk two liters of your daughter's blood like alcohol. Haven't you?" (12)

Krishna Karki is a representative character of elite class who exploits local innocent people like Ghyabring and Gori Maya. He gets Gori Maya to marry an insane boy from another village to have her father's property after his death. *Pradhan Pancha* of the village supports the ill deeds of Krishna. Gori Maya in one situation says to *Pradhan Pancha*, "of course, it was through u\you and Krishna's kindness . . ." (43). Krishna's intention can be known by an old woman's words: "Look! Krishna Karki has certainly deceived you naïve people, you and your father. He is a rascal and money- grabber who married you just for the sake of whatever possession you have" (16). Gori Maya says herself, "Let it be, father. Don't worry. I know you were trapped by Krishna's deceitful words, and you became the victim of a common fate" (15). Gori Maya describes Krishna Karki and *Pradhan Pancha* as brutal persons: "Krishna and the *Pradhan Pancha* are wandering around the forest as if they are leopards. No one dares to look at or speak to one another honestly" (44). She has a desire for revolt, dissatisfaction with male dominated society, and anger with local elites though it is unconscious. "I could kill the mayor and Krishna by scratching them with my nails, tearing out pieces of their flesh. Yet, let them wait for their evil days to come" (45). Her anger shows how much they are suppressed by local elites.

Gori Maya after being returned from her husband's home to her father's home wants to get some money from a village teacher and buy some goats, for that she would help him in his household work but her father stops her to go to ask money saying, "I don't think he would give us loan . . ." (18). Because of their poverty, they don't even get a small loan to do some entrepreneurship.

Poverty is a curse for people. When one can not eat in morning and in evening, s/he even is compelled to be a servant in else house to exist. Gori Maya is compelled to be a maidservant in Bhisma Bahadur Ale's home in Kathmandu in a low

remuneration (Rs. 400 per month) from which she plans to expense herself and cure her father “And so I’m gone, father- so long”. Gori Maya bade farewell to him (her father) and moved ahead . . .” (23). She reaches Gyaneshwar with her brother at dusk. Now Gori Maya, a young girl is changing into a maidservant there. “It was dusk. Sainla took her to the Deputy Superintendent of police’s house, Mr. Bhisma Bahadur Ale’s in Gyaneshwar” (24). There she gets old clothes of her mistress to wear. When she comes back home in Dashain, her mistress gives some old and ragged clothes of Bhisma Bahadur for her father, which brings happiness in the eyes of both father and daughter. “Old Ghyabring was as pleased as a child . . .” (40). They do have lack of a pair of clothes for a body and food for morning and evening because of the unequal distribution of economy of the state.

Women are marginalized in society. They are in subaltern state made by male and male dominated society. Women characters, in this novel, reflect this condition. They are shown to be exploited, suppressed and manipulated by male characters of society. One of the important female characters of the novel, Gori Maya is badly cheated by Krishna Karki and severely beaten by her insane husband. Her co-existence is subalternized by males of her society. *Pradhan Pancha* of the village tries to rape her. Males of society look young girls with vulture eyes. After seeing Gori Maya well-nourished and attractive with rosy cheeks, the narrator of the story says, “the lascivious eyes of the *Pradhan Pancha* cast a furtive glance at her” (Gori Maya) (42). Krishna Karki’s spectacle on Gori Maya after her arrival from Kathmandu during Dashain is such, “how could such a whore stay there and make a living? She would do better by going to India to be a prostitute” (41). He undervalues Gori Maya’s being in society. Male decision is decisive in a family either it is right or wrong. If male did not decide properly, woman member would suffer her whole life.

Gori Maya's husband does not treat her as his wife. Her mother-in-law also treats her cruelly. One needs to treat his wife in proper manner but he tries to throttle her. "She was disguised by her husband's lack of true manliness. She was filled with rage against his insult, contempt and abuse" (14).

Females are always unsafe from male. "Life is the enemy of a woman" (17). Male at any time cast female as object of sexual satisfaction. *Subaltern Studies V* includes Mahasweta Devi's "Stanadadyini", where she says- "when one is gazed from below, she appears as the goddess, mother, sister, and any other respected figure. And when she is gazed from above, she is turned into the sex object or the beast of burden" (129). *Pradhan Pancha* forgetting his daughter of Gori Maya's age tries to rape her. When she gives him slap of words and takes her way toward home, he says to his puppets- "these women are the dolls of money. Even though that low-born girl boasted of herself, I can easily sleep with her if I wish" (43). *Pradhan Pancha's* these words prove that as if low born young village girls are their means of sexual satisfaction.

Chandra Kanta, another female character unfolds her experience of male in front of Gori Maya. As an elder woman, her competence on male is such: "a man often sees a destitute young girl as an object for self-gratification, free to the taker- and that a master always stares at his maidservant with passionate eyes. Outside her home, men would try to rape her if she were alone" (28). She herself has fallen under the claws of such social wolves. She is raped, seduced and exploited by different males in Darjeeling. "A drunken policeman had once attacked her in bed and raped repeatedly all night long, in spite of her screaming protests" (29). The narrator of the novel further writes, "she had given birth to a baby boy at the age of twenty-one in a Darjeeling alley- in northern India. The child's father, a dignified and strait-laced

police officer, would not acknowledge her, as it was not customary to marry a whore” (28). Being deceived by the officer, her son, Lal Bahadur now is a no naming father’s son. Here we can conclude that, policemen are also involved in exploitation of women rather than protecting their rights.

Suwani, another female character in the novel has rebellious character, can’t tolerate the injustices and involves in revolution. Hira Mani Sharma regarding Suwani in “Janamat” says: “This novel has common as well as specific characters. One of the characteristics of this novel is not only to present women characters in equal to progressive male characters but also creating rebellious women characters one step ahead of male and their proper role” (My Translation 128). She does not show her vulnerability in the Novel. She slaps a boy when he teases her on the road saying- “. . . to such a girl!” (47) She is strong in her deed and words, although she is also a victim of male domination. Prawesh Subba, a black hearted man rapes Suwani in an evening when she goes somewhere alone. In spite of her defeat, he knocks her down on the ground when she becomes tired. “Prawesh Subba heinously rapped the young woman, whom he claimed to love. He committed the rape before four pairs of eyes and watched with open eyes himself as his four stooges also raped her, and only those multiple rapes appeased him” (207). Prawesh heinously rapes her saying she has rejected his deep love. Her philosophy of love is different from Prawesh. For her, love should be spontaneous from heart not by force. She has not any love for him. Her thinking after love with a male is: “A woman has to surrender her body and dignity to a man after having fallen in love with him. The exchange of love is not a joke. Men will try to suppress the hearts of a woman and exploit her body. The love between men and women was usually truly sick!” (136). Here she seems that male counterparts

want to keep their female partners under their control after having fallen in love. That is male dominating nature upon female.

Government is the main agency of people to give their security. Tyrannical government does not give security to innocent people but secures the culprits and criminals. Home minister in the novel gives following comment regarding Suwani's rape by Prawesh Subba and his four friends, "if women here were to walk about exposing their bodies and alluring men, the men would never be able to control their passions" (208). Home minister's sense seems positive toward the rapist and gives shelter rather than punishment. Here we need to know that even authority also tilts toward power and money.

Parijat presents some male characters who respect women positively. For example, Mr. Bhisma Bahadur, M.R., and Lal Bahadur privilege women as goddess, mother, means of power and respected figure. Ale honors Chandra Kanta as his wife and gives authority of home to her although she is already a child's mother. Devi Prasad Gautam characterizes Ale in "Janamat" as such- "Parijat not only presents Ale as an obedient and responsible fellow, but also a wishful man of differentiating right and wrong" (My Translation 71). Another character Lal Bahadur inspires Gori Maya to read and write and to involve in the women emancipation movement. He co-works with Suwani. Another heroic character M. R. guides Suwani in each and every step during their movement. They meet frequently and discuss for hours in a room closing door, still he posits women as goddess, means of power and mother.

Innocent Ghyabring is cheated by Krishna, but Kholasghare Ghising, one of the conscious subalterns of Chinde village is murdered by unknown people in the village and his corpse is thrown in field. Ghyabring reports to Gori Maya, "Somebody has murdered Ghising and thrown him in a field after cutting his body into four

pieces. Villagers suspect *Pradhan Pancha* might have enticed someone to murder Ghising" (41). Ghising loses his life because he questions *Panchas* about their ruling system. He is one of the representative characters who dare to question rulers. Here subalterns are made voiceless although they have voice. So they can't speak.

Critics Krishna Hari Baral and Netra Atam regarding *Under the Sleepless Mountain* in *Aakhyankar Parijat* say:

It presents the subject matter of the movement of 1979 describing the differences of elite class people's selfishness and unintelligence in ruling system than lower class peoples' expectation, has artistically depicted the picture of peoples' continuous struggle with the determination of emancipation of society by such murder, terrorism and fearful environment. Such writings of her novels spread the sense of newness. (My Translation 189)

Parijat has portrayed the age-old suppression over subaltern people by the then time's *Panchas* and local elites and creation of the condition of rebellion by subalterns against the total ruling system. Because of the unequal land distribution, landless people revolt in Eastern Terai for the possession on their cultivated land. They demand the land in their name. They want land from the hands of *zamindars*. They come out on the road to give pressure to *zamindars* as well as government in a peaceful manner. Government sends a group of police force to put down the uprising. Among them one is DSP Ale Sahib, "DSP Ale Sahib had to be ready to move in accordance with an emergency order from his headquarter to put down the uprising in the eastern sector of the landless and homeless people" (106). Government accuses them the revolt was not peaceful. But the rally was peaceful. Government imposes unnecessary power upon them. An eye witness policeman says,

Landless person who carried a bamboo stick and wore a loincloth [. . .] they did not even have an air gun among them. The poor, nomadic landless people can count among themselves only a few *khukuries* and sickles. They came out with bamboo sticks and were shouting slogans [. . .] none of the demonstrator looked very aggressive. They were simply expressing their demands. (138-40)

Subaltern people use home made weapons for the resistance. But government uses power upon them and controls the justifiable movement. Despite the people's thought of police would not fire on the rally Police fires three times to disperse the rally and some poor, innocent people die. Government gives the credit of death of Mr. Ale to the revolutionary people. A police says to Lal, "your father died a hero while fighting with the terrorists of the landless movement" (115). Actually he was a victim of conspiracy of his same lower ranking staff. The policeman says, "A bullet from a 38SW revolver was taken out of his neck" (138). And this weapon belongs with police themselves.

Students, whose co-existence is denied by the rulers, their voice is denied. Their suggestion is ignored by rulers. They are the representative of common people. They lead the voice of ruled citizen and raise voice for human right of the world. They introduce the social problems like black market, bribery, adultery, rape, conspiracy and soon in front of people as well as rulers. But later on they are suppressed by police force and agents of government. They are brutally beaten by police in Pakistani Embassy when they go to give a letter of petition on the murder of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto ex-president of Pakistan. Police threat students leaning on weapons and power. One of the police officer says:

Why on earth do these students try to stand against the government when their position is so futile?’’. Government minister groaned. One high ranking officer [. . .] moaned, “For these guys the desire to live must no longer exist! At least twenty five of them should be shot-then let their ideals survive! It seems that they are tired of life. (88)

Police force goes against student movement, whereas students are the agent of enlightenment, sparkle of consciousness and high-way of social reformation vow to fight for good governance, justice, equality, human right, women emancipation and emancipation of exploited and downtrodden ones and against impility. Most of the issues raised by subaltern group in the novel seems justified and the role of rulers are villainous deed ones. Subaltern people, especially intellectual ones express their feelings by saying ‘people tolerate tyranny’. Being conscious, they revolt and revitalize the ruling system. M.R. one of the characters of the novel thinks:

[. . .] instead of fighting back against oppression, people often accept it as coward does. Only awareness of struggle can bring about a change, dynamically- and only after seeing the need clearly. A revolution that is suppressed by the power of the high- handed needs to be revitalized. Right now the writing of a new chapter in history under the eyes of the vigilant and Sleepless Mountain is indispensable. (82)

Being a conscious citizen, M. R. wants to make people conscious of ruling system. He wants to rewrite a new history keeping Sleepless Mountain its real witness. He is one of the revolutionary characters of the novel, who brings awareness among students and labors.

Hiramani Sharma in *Parijat Smriti Granth* says, “Conscious students always raise voice on social justice, equality, and democratic rights and they have the history

of struggle against inequality and suppressions which is the theme of *Under the Sleepless Mountain*” (My Translation 128). But some of the students of Kathmandu turn their eyes blind on corruption, dearness, scarcity, black market and so on. Lalita, a student of a college in Kathmandu disagrees Suwani’s proposal to fight such ill deeds. For her students should not involve in politics. She further says to Suwani:

Raising loud voices against these sorts of things is to struggle with the government and its administration, and this prevailing approach among you is apparently meant to be a political movement, a revolutionary movement. There should be no student involvement in politics [. . .] don’t try to divide the students by politicizing them. (69)

Here Lalita seems as if she is advocating on the side of government and supporting their misdeeds. She seems a theoretical person who does not want to change social evils using her knowledge. She turns her eyes blind toward social evils. She doesn’t want to analyze the socio-political scenario from an eye of a conscious student.

Factory workers and laborers are exploited by factory owners and bourgeois. They are paid low salary. They want to improve their economic condition working in factory, but they are paid so low remuneration that they are even unable to feed their families with their salary. Lal Bahadur in a speech says, “The blood and sweat of the laborers promote these industries, but that is seen as petty [. . .] the machine age depends on the sweat of its laborers” (185-6). But industrials turn a deaf ear to their demands. They are brutally treated by police force when they come out on road in student- labor joint program. Many of them are wounded and one of the laborers, leaders are jailed and Ambar Bahadur is killed in Patan industrial area shot by police.

Because of the lopsided attitude of government, ethnic people are devoid of development facilities. They are confined in remote areas. They lack clean drinking

water, good school, and means of communication and health care centers. People of remote village must die due to the lack of proper treatment. Suwani (Sumati in Sarlahi district) seeing a child died in front of her says, “You all know that a child died [. . .] from a bone stuck in the throat, and even on doctor’s advice, you could not take the child to hospital in *Darbhangha*. What a pity it was! The child died in intolerable pain before our eyes” (223). She further compares rich exploiters in such a way- “On the doctor’s advice, they fly immediately to America or to China when they suffer major sickness” (223). People work hard but suffer with hunger, they lack money, whereas “rich exploiters eat good food like rice, meat, milk, butter, and eggs” (223). They go foreign countries hiring planes with the money earned by poor people. Jamuni, a village woman has not got chance to check her health, an old man needs cough syrup but neither he has money nor there is health clinic. In one sense he is painfully waiting his death. If government had made a hospital around the district, they would have got chance to check their health.

Police force (especially of lower rank), though they are not satisfied with their salary, spend time being obedient guard of rulers and government. They look tired of duty on empty stomach still they fight on behalf of government. They don’t consider common people’s voice positively, so people hate them. One of the students commenting them says, “The poor policemen. They have to face the students on empty stomach and in poor physical condition. They looked like hungry jackal” (103). They are compelled to go on duty for low salary. One of the same lower ranking police reveals his dissatisfaction of his job:

[. . .] joining the police force is an individual’s wish. He who does not join the service may die of starvation like the poor. A policeman also seeks prosperity. High- ranking officers drink imported Scotch whisky

while the low-ranking men don't even get home made local wines. So long as one gets food to eat, one remains a patriot- when someone is starving, how can he be a patriot? In fact the motto- 'truth, service and security,' for police force is not applicable [. . .]. (139-40)

Policeman who is from lower rank in service is not happy with the lopsided behavior of government. They even can't feed their family with their salary. Patriotism comes in mind when stomach is full. Empty stomach can't devote in patriotism. Lopsided behavior is also in police force. In this sense lower ranking police seem as subalterns.

Caste System in Indian sub- continent is based on its own rule and regulation. All castes of Nepalese society have their own tradition, culture, custom and rituals. Ale is a Magar and his wife Chandra Kanta of Chhetri caste. When Ale dies, Lal Bahadur, their son does the cremation rituals according to Magar tradition. As a Tamang girl, Gori Maya is banned to enter in Lal's room during cremation ritual perform. Gori Maya details about it to Suwani, another Limbu girl:

Well, sister Suwani, Sahebni has prohibited me from entering Lal Bahadur's room until the cremation ritual is performed. But you know, as a Tamang girl, I am supposed to light a lamp everyday in the name of the departed soul, and I have been performing that ritual since his death. (200)

Here, Gori Maya is banned to enter certain places of the house. Different castes have different tradition and rituals. Tamang and Sherpa jatis have tradition of light a lamp in the evening in the name of departed soul for fifteen days. "As a Tamang girl,I am supposed to light a lamp every day in the name of the departed soul . . ." (200).

Banning them to enter into houses, high caste people subalternized low caste people.

People, particularly in Nepalese society arrange a feast when someone is happy or sad-when someone is born, and again when he dies. Ale's death ritual is done according to Magar tradition. Chandra Kanta has arranged for a grand feast for their friends and relatives on the thirteenth day after her husband's death, to perform the traditional rituals-"praying for peace for the departed soul" (137). Serving wine, local beer and pork is also the ritual of Magar Jatis. "Some were drinking wine and repeating things over and over again. Some were putting a lot of pork on to their plates, the way the Magars do" (137).

Existence of high and low caste system appears in society and creates problem. Higher caste people try to dominate lower caste people in any way. Chandra Kanta, being a Chhetri woman teases Bhisma Bahadur, her husband a 'foolish fellow' though she has shown her profound love toward him. *Pradhan Pancha* of Chinde village tries to rape Gori maya in front of his two friends because of her low caste. He says to them, "Even though that low born girl boasted of herself, I can easily sleep with her if I wish" (43). Man is big by deeds, not by born, but *Pradhan Pancha* compares himself with others by born.

Ethnic people live in remote area practicing their own culture and tradition. They are deprived of development infrastructures. Traditional houses are their residence in a village of Sarlahi district where Suwani goes. "The village was a cluster of seven houses and, a little further on, a few more streets were inhabited by ethnic groups- *Magar, Tamang, and Kami*" (217). Houses are with thatched hut.

Ethnic group needs wine in their rituals and special occasions. They have their own culture, tradition, language and customs. Relatives of Gori Maya's husband give Ghyabring two bottles of wine when they ask for Gori Maya's hand. Wine is essential thing for them in marriage and engagement. Like that, it is needed in the worship of

their gods and goddesses. Adivashis, especially in Nepal are illiterate and uneducated. They are ruled by higher caste people and are cheated. Ethnic people even are compelled to loose their life innocently when they are the target of the rulers. Ghyabring, his daughter and Ghishing are victim character of this novel by high caste *Panchas*.

Religion is another important element for subaltern studies. Through religion they find out the socio-economic structure. Gori Maya and her father simply celebrate Dashain. “They bought meat, which had been slaughtered in the village” (41), whereas all the rich and influential people everywhere celebrate Dashain “eating many varieties of meat and drinking alcohol” (46). Those not able to afford good food and meat “were cutting short their work instead” (46). And wealthy people’s dogs “were lying about after eating excessive amount of meat” (46). Economically low class people even have not life as equal to wealthy people’s dogs. Way of celebration of such festivals also inspire subaltern to revolt against the social inequalities.

Parijat articulates the representation of subaltern by herself throughout the novel. She presents different characters from different aspects, brings different people from different background and gives them proper role and voice. As Gayatri Chakvorty Spivak says subaltern needs to be represented by intellectuals of Marxist mind, she presents some representative subaltern characters form Marxist bent of mind to reach her destination on the summit of success. She makes her characters struggle continuously for the reformation of society until they achieve success.

Subaltern revolt individually as well as collectively. They are not politically guided though they do have political consciousness. E. P. Thomson says subaltern is prepolitical people. Guha refutes him and says subaltern also have political consciousness. Subaltern Studies itself is the subaltern consciousness. Subaltern

studies group goes ahead in this genre to catapult the elite historiography. Subaltern need representation and be conscious, they fight against injustice and throw out the evils of ruling system. Gori Maya revolts individually with *Pradhan Pancha* of her village. She gives him an insult remark before two of his followers “there is no tradition of polygamy and marrying more than two women or having a splendid girl to wife, as in your family” (42) that he turns red in the face.

People of a state need to live a life with self- respect. Democracy provides right of an individual but tyrannical government deprives people from their rights, because they always fear if people get all of their rights they can challenge them. Conscious citizen demands his self respect and fundamental human rights. Lal Bahadur, M.R., Siwani, Pradeep, Puspa Ratna are some of the conscious characters in the novel that fight for their right. Keeping social evils in mind, they continuously fight for the right and finally reach in their destination.

When Pakistani Embassy refuses to accept the letter of petition on the assassination of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Nepali police suppress students in the Embassy, at the same time flame of revolt rises in the heart of students. They determine to fight against social evils and injustices. One of the students comments the event-

Why have the authorities in the Pakistani embassy refused to accept a letter of petition from our student’s activities people? The students did not go to submit a protest letter against policemen’s families or anyone’s personal life.

“And the police are fully supporting the dictatorship!” (85)

Nepalese police fully supports the dictatorship of Pakistani Army General. “Seven wounded, twenty-five were arrested” (85). But, today’s bitter reality is this, ‘Had

Pakistani Embassy accepted the letter of petition and police not treated students brutally, student movement would not have got such highlight in Nepalese history.’ This police treatment upon students paves way for the movement of 1979 and political change in Nepal. Students slowly and gradually understand the social structure as well as make subaltern people know the socio-political condition. They start unite themselves first and make the people of society come out on the road to protest, to catapult the authority ignoring all sorts of brutalities. Not only students fight against tyrannical ruling system, also they appeal all the common people, factory workers, women, ethnic, intellectuals and others to participate on the fight against the evils of society of *Panchayat* and to establish multi- party democracy.

Students make unity in ASCOL campus. “A huge assemblage of students was shouting slogan inside the campus compound” (91). They shout-“down with the fascist *Panchayat* regime!” “Long live student unity!” (91). Suwani gives speech; “the government has been rejecting our reasonable demands. Our fundamental rights have been infringed upon . . .” (91). Students come out on the road with slogans. Observers look at the students and their movement. “The people who were downtrodden by inflation and poverty wanted revolt” (92). “Those who were suffering placed great hope in the students” (92). But police force appears there to suppress the revolt. A robust officer with furious eyes says:

The rotten bastards! How many are they? They are more rebellious, so what? The rotten bastards are only here to squander the money of their parents. We are in power- we have to disperse these people- shoot them, if necessary. What’s the use of having guns if we don’t use them? (92)

They want to disperse the revolt by shooting them out. Police use power upon students in ASCOL Campus and many of them become wounded. Newspapers in capital write, “Clashes between police and students” and “students come out into the open with justifiable demands” (85) and so on. Some of the students are rushed toward hospital. “Well, Chandra, I did not see Lal Bahadur among the injured students” (94). Despite police brutality, Lal Bahadur makes an appeal to the people to take part in movement:

Despite the interference, the student’s movement will not be limited to today’s movement, but this movement will reach out to many more people. Farmers, workers, intellectuals and the needy and destitute, the people want to be permanently free of this suffocating bureaucracy, which has existed for the last nineteen years. (128-29)

People get exhausted by tyrannical ruling system. They are deprived of practice of democratic process, so they want to get rid of such suppressions. During *Panchayat* ruling system, neither rulers were good nor was the character of their police force. “Intrigue was part and parcel of police life and conspiracy was a police characteristic” (93). By their behavior, Lal’s view on police is not positive. He himself thinks about police carrying corpse of Ale Sahib. His judgment on police is:

No, I am carrying the corpse of barbaric policeman who, as an enemy of the people, suppressed the hungry, naked and innocent homeless and landless people with guns and bayonets. In such a regime, the police live in harmony with robbers, thieves, pickpockets and corrupt people, kick pregnant women with their boots, and throw students from windows, run after innocent people instead of culprits, and walk around using obscene words [. . .]. (121)

On the one hand Lal Bahadur's these psychological conflicts address the tyrannical political situation of Nepal, on the other it shows Lal's revolutionary character.

Slogans and demonstrations thunder in the capital city throughout evening and night. "Long live our movements- all over the kingdom of Nepal!" (100). posters are put up on the walls and the police always patrol the streets. "The police started shouting at the people and even made some of them martyrs" (100). Many citizens of Kathmandu valley, who "were dissatisfied, castigated the administrators and police for their despotism on the street" (98). Every heart, whether old or young, was melting. And the sighs and tears were turning into more excitement. The banned political parties begin associating with the student's union. "Now they were speaking out" (101). The government can not suppress the struggle of the people with bullets.

Puspa Ratna in the early phase of revolution scares with the revolution when people don't support students' movement. His comment is: "This is a country of dead people. Who accept tyranny without any complains. No one raised his voice against it. Gurkhas are renowned for their bravery, but these people are, in fact, a cowardly people" (82). Instead of brutality and tyranny, people face the oppression, accept it as cowards do. Only awareness of struggle can bring about a change dynamically. Pradeep, another character says, "Revolution that is suppressed by the power of high classes needs to be revitalized" (108).

M.R. in a speech addresses all the subaltern, subordinate and marginalized people to involve in their movement and says- "People of all classes have now resolved to be radical. Everyone- the students, farmers, laborers, women, transport workers, hotel workers, civil servants and so on!" (171). After a few days, at dusk in Kathmandu, a procession of people shouting slogans moves out from a corner of the city. "Ordinary people who were now beginning to understand these slogans listened

with new respect and stopped in the middle of the work ” (99). Slowly and gradually they give company to the revolutionaries. “People of capital city now became young and energetic. They attempted to understand the real meaning of the words.

Boisterous voices, once hidden behind the windows of every house, now buzzed in the streets” (100). Not only ordinary people, even politically conscious police personnel can’t underestimate the revolution raised by people, because they have experience of peoples’ movement of 1950.

Movement ranges all around the country. Industrial laborers of Patan industrial area, a leading factory of Lalitpur, shrill slogans of the united Students and labor groups. “United are all the exploited and aggrieved people of the world!” (183). Because of the involvement in movement leaders of laborers are jailed. Laborers come out with their demands of wages, release of their leaders and resignation and execution of general manager. Their slogans are, “the general manager is a murderer. He is the enemy of democracy. He is the broker of the dictatorial system” (194). Laborers in Biratnagar and Hetauda industrial area also come out on road. All the industries are strike bound and their managers are closed in rooms. Authority impose curfew for a few days in the Patan industrial Estate. Laborers cry the slogan, “Release laborers who are captives!” (182). Female workers of the industry sing revolutionary songs. Lal Bahadur delivers a revolutionary speech among tens of thousands of people in Patan industrial Estate. He says:

“Industries have been owned by the capitalists” [. . .]. These industrialists are turning a deaf ear to our demands. The blood and sweat of the labors promote these industries; [. . .] do you know who takes the risks to operate these machines? Who dies in the kiln? Who falls down from the cliff while constructing roads? [. . .] the victim of

all such catastrophes is the laborers who are the builders of the modern world [. . .] Therefore, all students and workers should unite and protest strongly against these rulers. (186)

Energetic speech of an energetic leader makes listeners energetic and inspires them to take part in revolution. He still says:

[. . .] Sixty percent of the population are living below the poverty line and lack even the minimum basic needs. Only a handful of people and their henchmen are leading a luxurious and sophisticated [. . .] life. Only a few influential people are getting land, and this is in the name of landless and homeless people [. . .] extreme exploitation culminates in revolution and revolution brings about change. (184)

His speeches inspire laborers and spectators to involve in the revolution. He further says, “Nepal has been struggling for months to overthrow the despotic *Panchayat* system that has ruled for the last nineteen years” (184). He adds, “Friends! There is only one option left and that is movement. Our struggle is on the crest of a wave. Let’s make our movement take fire” (184). Listening to Lal’s speech, Pawan Chamling Kiran in Janamat says, “for the physically laborious literary readers, philosophy of Sakambari sense vague and nonsense, whereas statements and speeches of Gori Maya, Lal, M.R., and Suwani attractive and thoughtful” (My Translation 37).

During Lal’s speech police threatens to stop his speech and fires tear gas in air in the name of controlling mob. Later on they shoot out bullets that shot Lal and Ambar. They died on the spot. “Statements were published in the newspapers condemning the brutal assassinations . . .” (194). Their death makes revolutionaries more aggressive and continue struggle. Students and laborers are banned from

organizing demonstrations in honor of their martyrs. “Supporters were arrested, and many went underground” (194).

Finally, laborers make factory owner surrender in front of them and fulfill their demands as well the manager gets replaced instead of execution. “At last, general manager was forced to resign” (195). The combined factory sites resumed their work after the fulfillment of demands and the labors leaders are released from jail. Two days after the resumption of work, the workers organize a condolence meeting for the injured and killed in the courtyard of the estate. “Roses were planted in their honor [. . .] of Lal Bahadur and Ambar Bahadur [. . .] the struggle made the workers realise their strength. They extended their organization and became better organized” (195). Supporters resolve to have revenge for the assassination of their martyrs. “They pledged themselves to kill their class enemies” (194).

Flames of revolt flow in every vein of revolutionary people. Gori Maya, being companion of Lal and Suwani, changes into revolutionary character. She is very angry, and a fierce feeling of revolt flames up inside her. She shows her anger:

People must destroy these cruel men. The people are sure to root out this despotic political system, which encourages corruption by evil-minded people. We’ll have our revenge on them. But one can’t fight alone. Everyone needs to unite to fight. The day will come. Wait and see! (161)

Her words are for the throw out of the tyrannical ruling system. Union of people can bring the dream into reality, but it needs to wait for proper time.

People who are getting consciousness can’t tolerate the rape case of Suwani and criticizes home minister. One of them comments- “But crime is, above all, crime. It should not be tolerate and made light of. However fashionable the woman is, young

men have no right to sexually assault her” (208). Listening to the home minister’s response and their responsibility on such cases, people can speculate the country’s future. One of the students says, “The future of our country is at stake, and it is adopting capitalist sins. Its downfall is coming, for sure” (209). If bad / ill natured people increase such heinous crimes, no people feel presence of government.

Government should give security to its subjects. One of the people’s scream is such;

Traffickers who supply young Nepalese girls to India are living in the lap of luxury with modern bungalows and cars, and they have begun to hit the bottles day and night. The character of our young girls is being defamed by ruffians, and the government is paying no attention to it.

What a heinous crime it is! (209)

This statement is real picture of the time’s social reality, where girl traffickers sell young girls in India and getting freedom instead of punishment. Girl traffickers freely roam around city. Plundering, murder, adulteration, and rape are being supported by the regime.

When the date of national referendum nears, students co-work with political parties as well as subaltern people and start campaigning to vote on the side of multi-party democracy. For the same objective and to forget the rape case, Suwani is sent to Sarlahi district. There she sits in an ethnic village where there is no development facilities and educates women and children for a few days. She inspires villagers to vote on the side of multi- party democracy. But government sends some detectives to capture her. “Detectives have come to that village” (225). They take her in a *Saal* tree jungle and shoot her out. “A bloodthirsty gunman looked down at the body of the martyred woman . . .” (231). Not only Suwani, Army encircles and attack three unarmed dissident group and massacre relentlessly. “Three innocents were martyred”

(231). The villagers, picking up handful of soil, “vowed to fight back against the exploiters till their last breath” (232).

Time itself rises in revolt. The referendum is hold. Of the parties, a powerful political party participates, supporting the multiparty system. The single “*Partyless party*” wins and rejoices over the victory. “The system against which the people have revolted is again imposed” (233). An insane person screams amid the pedestrians- “People voted for the multiparty system, but the vote went against it” (233).

When tens of thousands of people come on road, government slowly and gradually exhausts and kneels down in front of people. At this time neither police nor army can control them. Their bullets turn into useless thing at the time. “The government could not suppress the struggle of the people with bullets” (101). Excess suppression turns into resistance. When students continue their revolution, the banned political parties also begin associating with students’ union. They are now speaking out freely. Writer of the text comments: “The rulers were totally unsuccessful in suppressing the flame of revolt, which was alight on all sides. The people were hoping for the best, through their hearts palpitated with fear” (130). It is the climax of the movement that can’t be stopped by any force.

A policeman says, “Now, the revolution brought about by these unarmed people won’t be like the revolution of 1950. Today’s political leaders will not surrender before this government’s imperialistic policies” (141). These words come out from a policeman’s mouth after seeing the peoples’ movement. Lower ranking police personnel are not happy with the treatment of them vis- a- vis their higher ranking police officers. Lower ranking service holders also need revolution. They support the movement silently and wait for change which they hope would bring change.

Government of evil deeds one day needs to surrender in front of people and hand over the legacy of democracy to the people. Authority always can not rule tyrannically. Narrator says “the banned political parties are permitted to do their free activities and leaders are free from jail” (145). She further details: “The totalitarian political system, the *Panchayat* was now looking for an alternative to its own system and a new political platform [. . .] the leaders of political parties had been banned from taking part in politics for nineteen years” (145). Although party less party (*Panchayat Party*) wins the election, people come out one step ahead. They get political consciousness. Leaders of political parties guide them about equality, human right and right of freedom.

When government shelters social evils it digs its own cemetery. M.R. further says: “Plundering, murder, adulteration, and rape are being supported by the regime, and that will lead them to the blink of downfall. It will finally be a decisive victory for us in the battle between the two classes of rich and poor” (211). History of evil deeds does not long last. History doesn’t sleep under the window of tyranny. Evil works come out one day in front of people. That can’t conceal forever, since evil gets punishment. Wickedness leads to its own downfall. Time comes to punish them.

The year of 1979 sees every month a month of change for Nepal. Devious and corrupt *Panchas* are being exposed and punished. The struggle stimulates every person to march forward everyday. Narrator further narrates: “The people were now capable of crushing the exploitation and anarchy of Krishna Karki and the *Pradhan Pancha* of Chinde village *Panchayat*” (178). People who are exploited by exploiters feel happiness when such wolves are punished and killed. Same is happened to Ghyabring too. Rays of satisfaction and joy come from his eyes. He said to him self, “the sinners have been punished for their misdeeds in the land. Krishna Karki is

punished and soon it will become the *Pradhan Pancha's* turn" (178). *Pradhan Pancha* escapes away with his helpers from village to save his life. She further adds, "A woman in a nearby village gave a feast for her children, serving a chicken speciality" (178). The woman's feast is respiration of satisfaction upon the anger of them. Gori Maya can't remain without listen this good news to her Sahebni. She in one breath finishes- "Didn't you hear, madam? People have killed the sinner Krishna Karki and thrown away his body" (179). The year chief districts officers "were beaten and *Pradhan Panchas* were slaughtered in some places; the designated leaders, who had tyrannized the people, reigning over them for a long time in the village, were killed like dogs" (179). This seems a revenge of earlier exploitation.

Suppression explodes revolution. Authority of government tries to squeeze the throat of revolutionary people but it changes into explosion. It makes people still determined in revolution. Authority assassinates Lal Bahadur and Ambar Bahadur in Patan industrial area and Suwani in a village of Sarlahi district. At the same time people of a village of Sarlahi district where Suwani is assassinated "vow to fight back against the exploiters till their last breath" (232). Although tyrannical government assassinates Suwani and Lal Bahadur, their death gives courage to other revolutionary force to fight against tyranny. Their assassination works as 'petrol in flame of fire'.

To sum up, remaining on the base of national referendum of 1979, Parijat through *Under the Sleepless Mountain* articulates the confrontation between elite and subaltern classes. Lal Bahadur, Suwani, M. R., Pradeep, Gori Maya, represent the subaltern voice. They revolt keeping "the Sleepless Mountain" as their witness for equality, human right, freedom of female, security and emancipation of downtrodden people from the domination, segregation and exploitation. They don't let history be sleeping under the window of domination and exploitation. Police force, government,

local *Panchas*, CDOs, factory owners, *zamindars* exploit subaltern and try to suppresses revolutionary group and their peaceful movement. Despite interruption, they continue their movement until they get emancipation from social evils and injustices. Tyrannical government finally kneels down in front of its citizens. Banned political parties get freedom for their political activities. Among them one party takes part in national referendum.

IV. Conclusion

Present dissertation work based on a historical novel, tries to give detail of *Panchayat* ruling system and the society during the time. When we go deep in this novel, it stands on the base of students' movement of 1979 and views the socio-political scenario of the then time. *Panchayat* ruling system makes people voiceless by imposing power up on them. Present novel depicts a bitter conflict of class struggle, vividly sketches images of widespread inconsistencies and perversions existing in Nepalese society. It shows the miserable plight of the poor, exploited, subaltern and downtrodden ones. This research work offers a remarkable insight into the socio-political condition of the then Nepal of around 1979. Present work helps us to dig upon the causes of why do subaltern people revolt?

This research work is analyzed from the subaltern studies; a post colonial project emerged during 1980s aiming at rewriting the history of socially subalternized and marginalized people. As an ethnic and women writer, Parijat shows the miserable plight of ethnic people of Nepal and exploitation of women by male and male dominated society. As a progressive Marxist writer, she represents the subaltern voice for the emancipation of them through this symbolic novel. She shows the subaltern resistance in artful manner. As Gramsci and Speavak say- subalterns need to be represented, she presents intellectual representatives to lead the movement from the Marxist bend of mind. She also includes the movements aroused spontaneously by subaltern people guided by their day to day experience. For example, landless movement is spontaneous movement of themselves.

The text thoroughly advances from the dominated state of subaltern people to changed socio-political situation of the time. Poor, innocent, women and reticent people are suppressed and dominated by local elites. As the story begins in Chinde

village of Nuwakot district, Gori Maya and her father are suppressed, deceived and cheated by *Pradhan Pancha* and Krishna Karki. Ghising loses his life from the hands of *Pancha*'s helpers. There is no life value of subaltern people in front of *Pradhan Pancha* and Krishna Karki. *Pradhan Pancha* and Krishna Karki are representative characters of local elites and rulers.

Rape, murder, conspiracy and terrorism are some of the characteristics of the time. Ethnic and *adivasis* are subalternized by rulers. They are far from the main stream of the state. Sense of high and low caste can feel in societies. A police officer, Bishma Bahadur Ale is murdered by police themselves. So they are the agent of deception and conspiracy, although there are also low ranking staffs they are treated lopsidedly. Police brutally treat women, students, *adivasis*, landless people and laborers. They use force against students in Pakistani Embassy. Landless people's movement is suppressed and Lal, Ambar and their other colleague are shot by police in the name of controlling the riot in Patan industrial area.

Chandra Kanta is sexually exploited by different males as well as police in Darjeeling. *Pradhan Pancha* looks Gori Maya as a beast of sexual satisfaction. Krishna Karki denies her co-existence. Suwani is heinously raped by Prawesh Subba and his four friends in an evening, although government shelters Prawesh Subba like man and girl traffickers. Home minister accuses Suwani herself on her rape case instead of controlling these ruffians. Finally, government sends police in Sarlahi to arrest her and is killed in a *Saal* jungle in the name of inspiring people to vote for multiparty democracy.

Corruption, dearness, scarcity, black-market, inflation and poverty are some of the social problems of the then society. Farmers remain empty on their stomach. "The people who were downtrodden by inflation and poverty wanted revolt" (92). Excess

suppression turns into revolt. As avant- garde of society, students determine to fight against such social evils leading industrial laborers, farmers, women, transport workers, hotel workers, and civil servants and so on and revolution gets its height.

When subaltern awake collectively, government can not control them.

Suppression changes into resistance. Industries are strike bound all around Nepal, student's movement spreads all around the country and subaltern people give hands on the movement. People spontaneously come out against tyrannical rulers. Some of local elites, *Panchas* are killed and many CDOs are chased. Finally government kneels down in front of the revolutionary force; releases banned political parties to do their free activities, addresses laborers' demands. Brutal government assassinates Lal Bahadur and Suwani during revolution but subaltern group still vow to fight against such totalitarian ruling system. Revolutionary group finally gets government to held national referendum of 1979.

Finally, this research work tries to rewrite the history of subaltern people from the subaltern perspective. Present thesis work has tried to link subaltern people's condition and suppression of elite in Mountain, Hill and Terai region. It also tries to excavate the lopsided relation between elite and ethnic and marginalized people. Parijat brings students as intellectual leaders to represent the subaltern voice and their consciousness. Students as sparkle of social change and reformation, lead movement against social ill-deeds and injustices uniting with subaltern people and vow to fight until the last drop of breath for the reformation of society. As the struggle goes on, government holds national referendum of 1979.

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