

I. Introduction to D. B. Gurung as the Post 1990 Democratic Writer

D. B. Gurung is one of Nepal's most gifted and prolific writers of the post 1990 democratic era; he is an inimitable poet, novelist and essayist. His long-anticipated new novel *Breaking Twilight* presents a picture of a complex multi-ethnic nation in a flux; a nation etching its own destiny within the contemporary context of fledgling democracy, economic stagnancy, environmental degradation and volatile politics. Gurung establishes the ideas of multi cultural nation. This is partly a love novel and partly a metaphysical thriller. *Breaking Twilight* focuses on nationalist consciousness and the politics of nationalist consciousness.

Gurung explores the impact of Hindu culture and religion on its people and also vividly conveys the traditions and speech of Nepali people on the one hand and by the same token he subverts the western assumption of universal culture and revolts against the hegemonic imprisoning nationalism.

Gurung not only praises the nationalist consciousness through *Breaking Twilight* but also explores the pitfalls of national consciousness of becoming an 'empty shell' a travesty of what it might have been. The history of nation and nationalism begins with the age of patriotism. While the sense of patriotism leads to the unification movement leading to the sense of territorially bounded community, unfortunately, such patriotism reached to the false Zenith along with the development of fascism and Nazism. Instead of being all inclusive excludes in the name of gender, ethnicity religion which cracks the national unity among the people. Gurung has included such many negative aspects of nationalists consciousness in his book *Breaking Twilight*. Therefore, we can read it as a critique of nationalism.

Gurung focuses upon the diasporic issues and issues of multiculturalism,

ideality crisis as well as the issue of nationalism in his writing. Multiplicity of thematic pattern and skillful presentation of different cultures without prejudices clearly depicts his commitment to multicultural ethos which is the backbone of his writing.

As a novelist, Gurung published his first novel *Echoes of the Himalayas* in 2000 and with the publication of his novel, he formally entered into the literary field. *Echoes of the Himalayas* is the story of a sensitive and patriotic Gurkha who dares to defy the corrupt system of governance in the county of his origin, and pays a heavy price for his 'filthy western ideas of rights and equality'. It is a tale of raw human passions, of courage, disappointment and defiance to stoop before brute reality. The book brings the reader face to face with the grim reality that the dawn of democracy in Nepal and is yet a nightmare of despair for the eighteen million Nepali commoners. It brings to light the fact that this story state of affairs is not going to last for long. The people have 'stirred' and before long, the whole edifice of mis-governance is going crumble before the might of now-vibrant people.

Gurung's poems have been published in various anthologies in the United States and have won several awards. *Whisper* (1992), his first book of poetry, has attained critical acclaim and national attention, and his forthcoming collection of poems is *sleepwalk*.

Apart from the novels he has written many short essays. *Nepal: Negotiating a path through Quagmire* (Essays) is his book of essays collection. Prof. Dr. Abhi Subedi writes that D.B. Gurung's essays speak with power and freshness about the turbulent history of Nepal that we have been experiencing over a decade. They present what the new historicists would call the multiple openings of discourses. Most

of them are premised upon the transformation of a society that is challenging its feudalistic values and power structures, which is to use Gurung's expression, romancing with history. The essays range from subject as diverse as the Gorkha Cursade political adventure and the enigmatic role of the "emperors in this country. This collection of his writing is true allegory of nationalism and democracy and a beautiful portrayal of literature and arts" (2).

He has translated unbridled passion: Poems of Durgalal Shrestha and has edited two books *Nepal Tomorrow: Voices and Visions* and *Towards A Federalized democratic Nepal* so far. His novel *Breaking Twilight* is the collection of stories which traces the model of nation where different cultures and people are treated equally. Gurung, like Benedict Anderson, views that a nation is not a concrete entity within certain geographical boundary; rather, it is an imaginary construction.

The book *Breaking Twilight* is the latest collection stories in which Gurung explores the lives of multi-ethnicity and conflicts they confront in the monolithic concept of one nation. The story in this collection are divided into 20 chapters. The stories are of uneven quality which have received a lot of critical appreciation and critical analysis.

Till Bikram Nembang (Bairagi Kaila) Chancellor, Nepal Academy writes:

Breaking Twilight accomplishes to explore, with intimacy audacity and insight just about every contemporary domestic and international issue without being oblivious about the past: Child marriage Chhaupadi (a brutal confinement of women in isolation during their menstrual periods) inequity environmental degradation, impacts of decade - long Maoist insurgency, rotting politics, exodus, ethnicity. Fundamentalism,

climate change and globalization, Gurung handles all of them with warmth and great care in a accomplished style discreetly his own. He blends metaphysic and realism, past and present throwing off a powerful beam through the chaos of this odd time we live in apart from being astonishingly observant and inventive, he sees life through the lens of the female with amazing conviction (1).

Nembang views that Gurung's treatment of characters and subject matter is so realistic that the line of demarcation between fiction and reality is blurred.

Nirmal thapa on the other hand writes:

This literary gem in a fictional landscape babbling with psychodrama and magical realism observation and ingenuity, focuses on a deliberately paced portrait of ruin - of love longing and losses and then finally its reclamation. Gurungs dazzling evocation of the streets and sounds of the chaotic Kathmandu is painfully alive. (1)

Hence for him, *Breaking Twilight* is a profound and quietly devastating a work of great wisdom, power and beauty.

Khushwant Singh views "the collection of stories is awesome and narration is outstanding" Khuswant Singh feels that Gurung knows everything of everything.

Hence, various critics have analyzed and approached the collection of stories *Breaking Twilight* from various perspectives, some of them have found it as a realistic portrayal of decade long Maoist insurgency. Some others have found it as a traumatic text.

Another group of critics interprets it as a Panorama of multiculturalism. However, the present research attempts to explore how D.B. Gurung makes a

critiques on nationalism in his collection of stories *Breaking Twilight*. This novel has taken 20 stories having the multiethnic characters and has depicted the decade long Maoist insurgency Nepali society in which the national consciousness instead of being the all embracing crystallization of the inner most hopes of the whole people.

This research paper has used Nepali nationalism as a tool to prove its hypothesis. Nationalism focuses on two phenomena: The state centric nationalism or concept of nation state and people centric nationalism or concept of multination state.

Nationalism is an ideology of democracy which presumes the collective memory of achievement of national identity of citizens.

Nationalism seeks similarity out of differences and emphasizes on unity. Nationalism is a feeling of unity with a group beyond one's immediate family and friends. It is also defined as an ideological movement. But it is different not only difficult but also impossible to give the exact definition of nationalism, however many theories take it as political and social movement. By applying nationalism as a tool, this research paper explores both the dark and bright sides of nationalist consciousness in D. B. Gurung's novel *Breaking Twilight*.

This research paper has been divided into four parts. First part is an introduction section in which there is a short introduction of the objective of the thesis as well as the writer. Second part contains the detailed description of the tool, third part is the textual analysis which gives the textual evidences to support the thesis statement. Fourth or last chapter sums up the main ideas of this thesis.

II. Ethnic Tolerance and Nepali Nationalism: A Study of D.B. Gurung's *Breaking*

Twilight

This section seeks to shed light on the introductory concept relative to the terms nation and nationalism. Nationalism is considered to be the policy of asserting the interest of one's own nation viewed as separate from the interests of other nations or the common interest of all nations. Human beings have formed groups of various kinds around criteria that are used to distinguish us from them. One of these groups is the nation; many thousands, indeed millions, have died in wars on behalf of their nation, as they did in World War First and Second during the twentieth century. Perhaps the cruelest of all centuries. This section examines the various facets of the concept of nation and nationalism.

The occupation of a defined geographical area with a character of its own is often assumed to be one to constitute a nation. Undoubtedly the most clearly marked nations have commonly enjoyed a geographical unity, and have often owned their nationhood in part to these facts, and the love of the soil on which they have been bred, and of its characteristic landscapes. But geographical unity is by no means essential to nationhood. It is possible to imagine a nation widely scattered like the Greeks, over areas of very different characters, and yet retaining a strong sense of its unity. Geographical unity may help to make a nation, but it is not indispensable nor is it the main source of nationhood.

Anshuman Mondal however characterizes nationalism as a political movement for him "nationalism is a form of cultural politics." It is political because it is a movement which desires to seize, control or break away from and create its own state (22). Eric Hobsbawm also considers "nationalism as a political principle and national

unit should be congruent" (9). Thus, the structure of homogeneity as imagined by nationalism remains some all the time. This political movement holds that nation usually defined in terms of ethnicity or culture has the right to constitute and independent or autonomous political community based on a shared history and common identity.

Nationalism is also an ideological movement. A person who agrees to it is Anthony Smith for whom "nationalism is ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity for a population which some of its member deem to constitute an actual and potential nation" (9).

Many theorists however agree on a single point that nation is a community of people who share same belief and thus they are bounded by same culture economy etc. They are guided by collective consciousness. This collectivity of person, to Hobsbown, has the same ethnic origin and general speaks the same language and possesses a common tradition. As regards to all history of nationalism, the theorists have their own distinct argument according to Anthony Smith:

History of nationalism is decidedly modernist. It starts in the last is decidedly modernist. It starts in the last quarter of the eighteenth century from the portions of Poland and the American revolution through the French revolution to the reaction to Napoleons conquest in Prussia Russia and Spain nationalism according to this view, was born during these forty years of revolution (87).

Grosby, locates the history of nationalism from the view point of England. It according to him begins with England in the 16th and 17th century and France in the 18th century for him religion, law and language are the formative factors of

nationalism. Anthony Smith further contends that "dating the nation goes in hand in hand with shaping of nation" (34). For him nationalism is typically a product of modernity or modernization.

Many theorists on nation and nationalism have agreed on the point that for whatever and how, nation is a construct. Anthony Smith, for instance, posits that "the nation is socially constructed " (78), thus he has emphasized on social engineering as formative factor for nation. This factor also includes skill and imagination. Eric Hobsbawm agrees on a social construction of nation but with different points. He believes:

Nations are construct of fabrications of the social engineers, like technical inventions. They are planned and put together by elite craftsman. There is no room for emotion or moral will, not even on the part of the masses the latter are passive victims of elite social designs which seek to channel their newly released energies. Nations and nationalisms are the modern panel at circumstances. (81)

Many thinkers give their own views about the most debatable term nation. The field of study of nation can be divided into two main camps; those who believe that the nation is primarily a cultural category, are called statisticians. For the culturalist, the nation can be defined as a cultural community which exist above and beyond any political organization of it into a state: It is therefore pre-political. These cultural communities, which Anthony D. Smith terms ethnic provide the basis for modern nations. They are more or less culturally homogeneous on the basis of what he terms a myth - symbol, complex which forms a fund of shared historical meanings to which every possessor of that culture has access, which bonds a people together and which lies that people to a

historic territory or homeland. The nation is therefore a collectivity of meaning, a bond embedded in history through common myths, symbols narratives and other cultural forms, all of which enable a people to know itself as a communality as opposed to other who do not have access to this fund of historical mimesis. Thus, the nation could be seen as the product of modernity only is so far as the era of nationalism succeeded in uniting the community on a pre-political basis. For these scholars, if politics is important it is only because it is the expression of a pre-existing nation that nation exists objectively regardless of whether it is organized politically or not.

For statist, on the other hand, the nation is primarily a political category. Earnest Gellner points out in the opening sentence of his book 'Nation and Nationalism' is primarily a political principal which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent" (1). The statist believe that the figure of the nation emerges as a solution to the - political problems faced at, the end of the eighteenth century as a result of increasing modernization, the industrial and French revolutions and the socio-political problems at the end of the eighteenth century as a result of increasing modernization the industrial and French revolutions and the massive socio-political upheavals they engendered, and of transformations in the relationship between the state and society. Gellner points out that "nationalism emerges only in milieus in which the existence of the state is already very much taken for granted and in so far. So statist believe nations to be the result of nationalist political, the existence of "politically centralized units has a definitive rather than merely expressive impact upon the formation of nations (4).

Anderson says that the concept of nation in the contemporary world designates

a number of controversial issues. No critics interested in discussion before these prevailed no notion of nation before the Anglo - Saxon period (74). The Germanic tribes planted the first seeds of nationalism in the Anglo-saxon world when they attacked the Romans. Basically the notion of nationalism developed towards the eighteenth century after the development of the print capitalism, the French Revolution, and the American Declaration of independence. Critics like Ernest Renan, the 18th century historian adopt the romantic attitude about nation. Renan contends that the nation is not something that can be objectively defined. People argue that nation is a dynastic principle. Renan defines nation in terms of spiritual consciousness as he writes:

A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Only two things actually constitute this or this spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in the common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present day consent, the desire to live together (. . .). The nation, like the individual, is the culmination of a long past of endeavors, sacrifice, and devotion of all cults, that of ancestors is the most legitimate, for the ancestors have made us what we are; a heroic past, great man, glory (. . .) this is the social capital upon which one bases a national idea (. . .) (19)

Renan contends that the sacrificial past plays immaculate domain in the formation of nation. The heroic past teaches people to perform still more or sacrificial deeds to be made live in the future. He implies the fact that "nation is not something" (20). They had "their beginnings and they will end" (20). Furthermore, Renan discusses about who creates nation and he says "a large aggregate of men healthy in

mind and warm of heart, creates the kinds of the moral conscience which we call a nation" (20).

The critical use of the phrase nation state is interesting. Nation-state in modern sense is a political community differentiated from other such communities on the basis of the reason that it is autonomous concept, having its legal codes and governmental structures, head of a state boundaries, system of military defense etc. The nation state has its symbolic features which serve to present its identity in unified terms: a flag, national anthem, a popular self image etc. To be an autonomous nation-state, nationality, ethnicity, culture or language do not suffice; it implies the political, social and economic modes of organization. Thus, nation-states have political autonomy different norms and codes with regard to their system relations and relatively independent economic identity. Sullivan's dichotomy between nation and state clarifies underlying differences and relations between them. Defining the state he says "the state is marked by tangible, observable, recognizable set of facts. The state has borders, central government, population, an economy and bureaucracy, all of which to maintain and perpetuate continuity (69). On the other hand, nation constitutes itself through the will and the imagination the citizens of the state. The health of the nation depends on the each citizens desire to identity with entire population of the nation despite racial, ethnic or religious differences.

A nation is generally taken as a body of people who share a real or imagined common history, culture, language or ethnic origin who typically inhabit a particular country or territory. The development and conceptualization of the nation is closely related to the developments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although nationalists would trace nations into the past along an uninterrupted line of historical

narrative. One of the strongest tools for the resistance to imperial control in colonial societies has been the idea of nation. It is a concept of shared community on which Benedict Anderson calls:

In imagined community [...] the numbers of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of there communion. This imagined community refers to a shared community which enables postcolonial societies to invent a self image though they could act at liberate themselves from imperial operation. (5-6)

For Anderson, though the people who inhabit the same land do not know each other but they have unity because they share the same tradition, ethnicity and language. Moreover, they share the same nationalist feeling.

In 1882, The French Orientalist Ernest Renan while giving the lecture on the topic "what is nation ?" gave the historical beginning of the nation:

Nations are something fairly new in history. Antiquity was unfamiliar with them; Egypt, China and ancient Chaldeu were in no way nations. They were flocks lead by a son of the sun or by a son of Heaven. Neither in Egypt nor in China were their citizens as such classical antiquity had republics, municipal kingdoms, confederations of local republics and empires, yet it can hardly be said to have had nations in our understanding of the term. (149)

Renan traces the emergence of nation-state to the break up of classic and medieval empires locating its cultural provenance in a specially European political and social environment.

Attempting to define the concept of nation Willber Zelinsky views nation as: [. . .] a real or Supposed community of individuals who believe they share a common, unique set of traditions, beliefs and cultural attitudes so precious that few sacrifices are too great for community's preservation and enhancement such a pack, e.g. of shared traits and values cherished with idea of nation or nation-state. (46)

Zelinsky's definition is somehow similar to the definition of Benedict Anderson who calls nation as an 'imagined community'. While defining nation Zelinsky also focuses on the shared traits and values, culture and tradition.

Anthony D. Smith in his book *Nationalism* defines nation as 'a named human community occupying a homeland and having common myths and a shared history; a common rights and duties for all Members" (13). Similarly, David Mill gives the definition of nation. While doing it he says:

Nation is a community constituted by shared belief and Mutual commitment, extended in history, active in character, connected to a particular territory, and marked off from other communities by its distinct public culture. (13)

This concept of nation is very close to that of the ethnic community. Ethnic communities are also committed, have shared memories and continuity, engage in joint actions and are usually connected to a particular territory, even if they do not occupy it. But the only major difference is that ethnic communities generally lack public cultures.

Nationalism is a kind of theory which puts the nation at the center. It generally refers to an ideology, a sentiment, a form of culture, or a social movement that focuses on the nation. *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, while defining the term

nationalism five senses are identified:

- (1) a sentiment of loyalty to nation (a variety of patriotism); (2) a propensity, as applied to politics, to consider exclusively the Interests of one's own nation; especially in the case where these concept with the interests of other's nations; (3) an attitude which attaches high importance to the distinctive characteristics of nation and therefore;
- (4) a doctrine which maintains that nation culture should be preserved;
- and (5) a political and anthropological theory which asserts that mankind are naturally divided into nations. (442-43)

In fact, the term nationalism merely conveys some vague connotations of striving For national independence and national unity which assumed that what is to be explained; that is the existence of nation and national consciousness.

Anthony D. Smith while defining 'nationalism' writes in his book *Nationalism* as "an ideology that places the nation at the center of its concerns and seeks to promote its well-being" (9). He further identifies the major generic goals of nationalism as 'national autonomy, national unity and national identity" (9). For nationalists. according to Smith, a nation cannot survive without sufficient degree of all these three. For Gellner nationalism is not the awaking of nations to self-consciousness rather it invents where they do not exist.

The Columbia Encyclopedia defines nationalism as 'a political or a social philosophy in which the good of nation is paramount the word is used loosely almost always in a derogatory sense to carry the implication of excessive zeal for the national welfare and advancement" (1360). Anshuman Mondal characterizes nationalism as a political movement. For him, "nationalism is a form of cultural politics. It is political

because it is a movement which desires to seize, control of or break away from and create its own state" (22).

There is significant debate over the origin of nations and theory of nationalism. But nearly all specialists accept that nationalism at least is an ideology and social movement originating in Europe. Precisely where and when it emerged is difficult to be determined but its development is closely related with the French Revolution in the late eighteenth century. Since that time nationalism is one of the most significant political and social force in history.

Nationalism is a modern thought rooted on dynastic, religious and ethnic community based on common values. The beginning of modern nationalism may be traced back to the social order in Europe and the cultural unity of various European states at the end of the Middle Age. During that period the cultural life of Europe was based on a common inheritance of ideas and attitudes which were transmitted in the West through Latin, the language of educated class. All Europeans adhered to a common religion, catholic Christianity. The break up of the feudalism, the prevailing social and economic system, was accompanied by the development of larger communities that fostered the feeling of nationality in order to win the supports for their rulers. National feeling was strengthened in various countries during the reformation, when the adoption of either Catholicism or Protestantism as a national religion became an added force for national cohesion. "The rise of nationalism coincided generally with the spread of industrial revolution, which promoted the national economic development and popular demand for the representative government. During this period national literatures aroused to express common traditions and the common spirit of each people. New emphasis was given to

nationalist symbols of all kinds.

The history of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is the history of formation of nations. The nations which were in nascent phase were struggling against internal and external obstacles to be full-fledged nations. Already formed nations also struggled among themselves for self-preservation of self-aggrandizement. The process of nation formation had also continued during the twentieth century also when the awakened people of Asiatic and African and other non-western countries, such as the Indians, the Chinese, the Turks, the Arabs, the Egyptians and others organized movements to remove indigenous feudal or foreign imperialist obstacles in the way of their development of free nations. These movements were initiated for the independence of their countries as well as the unobstructed development of their economic and Cultural life.

After World War II, nationalism in Asia and Africa spread at such a fast pace that dozens of new nations were created out of the former colonial territorial holding. For making their countries serious of nationalist movements were emerged during that period. These movements put into practice the Leninist doctrine in colonized or neo colonized societies. As Aijaz Ahmad puts it.

Historically, nationalism has played a progressive role in opposition to colonial conquest, not because those who are conquest always already constitute a nation or because nations have some preordained right to exclusive sovereignty, but mainly because resistance to foreign occupation tends to politicize populations that has neither to remain outside the domins of modern politics, and inevitably raises the questions of the rights of the people thus politicized. In that same there

is something profoundly democratic about anti-colonial nationalism.

Some of these nationalism also play a progressive role when they

helped into a modern nation. (24)

Although there are some pitfalls of nationalist movements, they contributed a lot for the development of free nations as well as the development of the nationalist consciousness in the people.

Nationalism in third-world countries emerged as a reaction to colonialism, and its immediate aim was to get rid the countries from the foreign rule. In this respect the third-world nationalism was, as Alex Themson says, as a classical expression of the demand for self-determination. Unlike European nationalists, who were seeking to establish new nations by entering the territory of other's country with their military forces, third-world nationalists initiated nationalist movements to free their nation from colonizers' grip. They wanted to govern by themselves. The theory of nationalism played a role of anti-colonialism in colonized Countries. People of the colonized countries, while they were aware of the concept of nation and nationalism, strongly opposed colonialism and initiated different kinds of anti-colonial movements which ended with the emergence of free independent nation.

The official historiography accepts nationalism as an Integral part of story of liberty. It represents as an integral part of story of liberty. It represents the attempt to actualize the political terms, the universal urge for liberty and progress. Nationalism not only contributed to get rid the nation from the colonizer's grip politically rather it aroused love toward their countries during colonial period. The most important aspect that nationalism has raised is the issue of national culture. The liberation of nation comes from the national culture. So fighting for the national culture is the liberation

of nation. Frantz Fanon describes:

[. . .] to fight for national culture means in the liberation of the nation, that material keystone which makes the building of a culture possible.

There is no other fight for culture which can develop apart from the popular struggle. (154)

National culture allegedly represents people's true nature. It represents the reality of the people. Fanon writes, "A national culture is the whole body of efforts made by a people in the sphere of thought to describe, justify, and praise the action through which that people has created itself and keeps itself in existence" (155).

Yet the evidences are undeniable that nationalism, which contributed to liberty, freedom to the countries, also gave rise to mindless chauvinism and xenophobia and tyranny. It has the cause of most destructive wars ever seen. It has justified the brutality of Nazism and Fascism, it has become the ideology of racial hatred in the colonies and has given birth to some of the most irrational revivalist movements as well as to the most oppressive political regimes In the contemporary world.

Nationalism remained popular not because it helped to unite all the native people to fight against British colonialism successfully but also it gave the promises, to all those native people, of political self-determination, progress and prosperity in all spheres of social life. But when these people get political independence as per their expectation, they neither got political independence, not other hopes materialized as time passes there. Nationalism or national consciousness, instead of being all embracing crystallization of innermost hopes of the whole people, it happened to be in any case as Fanon views, "an empty shell a crude and Fragile travesty" (156).

Fanon, therefore, describes critically the danger related to the national consciousness. It sometime becomes the empty shell, embraces fixed beliefs of private hopes of 'whole people and instead of being the immediate and most obvious result mobilization of the people. These cracks are harmful to national efforts and national unity. These weaknesses are developed in underdeveloped countries and it is the result of the colonized regime over people. Regarding the weakness fanon views:

This traditional weakness, which is almost congenial to the national consciousness of underdeveloped countries is not solely the result of the mutilation of the colonized people by the colonial regime. It is also the result of intellectual laziness of the national middle class of its spiritual penury, and of the profoundly cosmopolitan mold that its mind is set in. (121)

The national middle class, who takes over the power at the end of colonial regime, is an underdeveloped middle class.

It has practically no economic power and in any case it is no way commensurate with the bourgeoisie of the mother Country which it hopes to replace. Fanon further says:

The university and merchant class which make up the most enlightened section of the new state are in fact characterized by the smallness of their number and their being concentrated in the capital, and the type of activities in which they are engaged business, agriculture, and the liberal profession. (122)

Fanon especially criticizes the national bourgeoisies who replaced the colonial rules but not with much differences who turned their back more and more on the interior

and on the real facts of its underdeveloped country, and tends to look forward the former mother country and the foreign capitalists who count on its obliging complaisance. Now the people, who for years have seen these leaders and heard them speak, have started disbelieving them. Before independence, these leaders generally embodied the aspiration of the people of independence, political liberty and national identity. But as soon as independence was declared, instead of accomplishing the dream of the people, the leaders revealed their inner purpose. Their honesty toward the nation and national people crumbled away little by little and they took the role of exploiters. They, therefore, as Fanon views "become the abider and abettor of the young bourgeoisies which is plunging into the mire of corruption and pleasure" (100).

Fanon equally blames the intellectual people of the post independent countries for their cosmopolitan mind set which is near to that of the previous colonizers than to the masses who are looking to them for the changes in their fortunes. Fanon often demands powerful, visionary and pressing role of intellectual people to give the proper direction to a country which is in its transitional phase. But in most of the third world intellectuals wrote to please elite indigenous classes in order to fulfill their own interests. Therefore, Fanon says that the bourgeoisies anti colonialism became "literally . . . good for nothing" (176). The mission of national elites according to fanon, "has nothing to do with transforming the nation. It consists, prosaically, of being the transmission line between the nation and capitalism, rampant through camouflaged which today puts on mask of neo-colonialism" (152).

Thus, nation and nationalism are ideological and theoretical discourses in order to justify the actions of certain groups of people who hold certain position in social and politician arena. It, instead of becoming weapon for those who are in

power, displays too general and a certain narrowness in its vision as Anthony Eastrope states:

[...] The nation is a form of ideology that is a way of thinking designed to promote the interests of a particularly social group. According to this view, the idea of nation, the national state and national unity is a homogeneous deception perpetuated by the ruling class in order to mark its own power. (6)

Nation, particularly in the era of political liberation, is fraught with the problematic relations between nationalist elites and masses as also called into attention by Eastrope. Partha Chatterjee views "the elites seem to speak on behalf of the people but function to keep people disempowered do not recognize the role played by less privileged individuals or groups in resisting colonial rule" (quoted in John Mcleod 108).

According to Chatterjee the very idea of nationalism, as being a rational and self-conscious attempt by the weak and poor people of the world to achieve autonomy and liberty, is demonstrably false. He views:

Nationalism as an ideology is irrational, narrow, hateful and destructive. It is not an authentic product of any of non-European civilizations [..] wholly a European export to the rest of the world. It is one of Europe's most previous exports, for it is not a child of reason or liberty, but of their opposite: of fervent romanticism, of political mechanism whose inevitable consequence is the annihilation of freedom. (7)

Chatterjee criticizes the superficial rejection of things Western by Asian and African

people in the name of nation and nationalism.

For him, it is not a rejection at all- He views:

The antipathy which one often notes in nationalist revivals in Asia and Africa, the superficial rejection of things western, is not really a rejection at all. It is a part and parcel of this extremist style of politics, where the leaders of the revolution will be any means available to reach their goals, including conscious and deliberate manipulation of what [is], in their eyes, primitive superstition. (9)

Nationalism in the non-European world is historically fused with colonialism. The assertion of national identity was, therefore, a form of struggle against the colonial exploitation. Yet an assertion of traditional cultural values would often be inconsistent with the conditions of historical progress.

There is thus a very real dilemma: whether to consider nationalism a rationalist, secular, modern movement, or whether to emphasize the more distinctly national elements, many of which are frankly atavistic and irrelevant to modern conditions according to Chatterjee. But he views:

Nationalism, then, is not in itself irrational, but it may be irrationally applied [...] when nationalism is considered as a part of a movement for a people to regain its pride and self respect, it has a constructive aspect. But belligerent, aggressive, chauvinistic nationalism is a menace and thus irrational from the point of humanity as a whole. (19)

Regarding the pitfalls of anti-colonial nationalism Chatterjee describes in Indian context. He says, "by merely replacing, in one form or another, the liberal elitist narrative of the west, the third-world nationalism problematized its failing to represent

itself" (153). The Indian nationalism is 'plagued by anxieties of imitateness' (144). This means that Indian nationalism is just a poor copy of a derivation of European post-Enlightenment discourse. This also refers to the fact that the anti-colonial nationalism remains trapped within the structure of the thought from which it seeks to differentiate itself. Therefore, nationalism in post-independent countries sustains and continues the hateful legacies of Eurocentrism and orientalism.

The real tragedy is when post-colonial nationalism internalizes rather than problematizes the Western blueprint in the name of progress, modernization, and Internationalization. Though this process is not impossible but it is very difficult to avoid because the immediate history of these nations happens to be Western and there are not easy ways available to remain a pure and uncontaminated history prior to the revenges to colonialism. In this regard, Chatterjee says:

It is crucial for the post colonial subject to produce a critical and destructive knowledge about nationalism. Only such critical knowledge will help us to identify and elaborate the complicity of the nationalist project with that of the enlightened European subject. It is on the basis of such knowledge that post colonial subject can produce a genuinely subaltern history about themselves, and not merely replicate, in one form or another, the liberal elitist narrative of the west. (249)

Another important cause behind the failure of implementation of nationalist dream is imperialism which is generally called capitalist universalism. Imperialism is one of the strongest tool in postcolonial period which the West uses to dominate Ideologies and cultural artifacts are produced in the core countries and either exported or copied in the rest of the world. The universalization of capitalism breaks down all the

national boundaries, especially in cultural forms because most kinds of nationalism can easily accommodate themselves to this capitalist universality, which is accepted by all the bourgeoisies of the world, but not all the pure national culture. According to Ahmad, socialist universality is the only to fight against the monopoly of capitalist universality.

Besides the discourse of elitism, nationalism is often viewed as patriarchal discourse. This voice is particularly expressed by nationalist feminists. It is their view that nationalism is very frequently a gendered discourse. John McLeod opines that it serves:

[. . .] to reinforce patriarchal inequalities of men and women which serve to reinforce patriarchal inequalities between them nationalist representations have been in danger OF perpetuating disemboweling representations of women. (114)

McLeod's opinion is that by using women as icon of the nation, nationalism reinforces the images of the passive female who depends on active male during anti-colonial liberation as well. Men are shown as active agents in such liberation movements. In other words, women are used only as means to serve patriarchal, sexual and ethnic interests.

Homi K. Bhaba, another postcolonial critic, emphasizes inherent ambivalences in nationalism. He believes that nationalist representations which are highly unstable and fragile constructions cannot promise the unity that promises due to two ambivalent positions such as pedagogic and performative. The promised idealized unity and homogeneity collapses in the struggle between pedagogic and performative double temporality. As a result of this double narrative movement and the necessity of

both narrative at the same time in nationalism in order to exist, the nation is split by what Bhabha calls the conceptual ambivalence. Therefore, the nation cannot give what it promises. The result is that it always remains in crisis. McLeod views:

The nation is always being pulled between two incompatible opposites: the nation as fixed originary essence (continuist and pedagogic) and national as socially manufactured and devoid of a fixed origin (repetitive and performative) [. ..] the pedagogical representation of the people as object constructs an idealized image of unity and coherence in the past. But because of the necessity for the performance aspect of nationalist discourses require essence, origin, unity, coherence and need to forget the presence and narrative of certain people within its imaginary boundaries in order to function [. ..] this propensity to marginalize certain people can never fully realize itself. (119-20)

Though, nationalism attempts to align itself - with essence, origin and homogeneity, its inability to combine the contending forces into same or single one leads to the failure of national ideology. The main cause of the failure is the exclusive mentality. Instead of embracing the people from all walk of the life it becomes a weapon for those who are in power. Therefore, nowadays critiques of nationalism have become extremely influential among many intellectuals.

Nowadays, nationalism has become a weapon of the political leaders to gain power. They use this issue according to their interest. When they are in power they become deaf toward the nationalism, and ready to do anything to save their post, and dump even if these is foreign intervention. But when they come out of the power they

raise the issue of nationalism because they always want to hold the power. Therefore, they' manipulate the poor and working class people to accompany them and make them the ladder to accomplish their purpose.

Nationalism in non-Western countries has become more exclusive rather than inclusive. It has excluded the people in terms of class, race, religion, caste and ethnicity.

Both before and after the overthrow of the Rana regime in 1950-51 Nepali Nationalism was an important factor in the struggle for political power with all sides appealing to nationalist feelings as a means of mobilizing support. Ranas naturally responded to radical nationalist ideas spreading from India by seeking to promote a patriotism concerned on themselves as the group controlling the state. The official adoption in the 1930s of the name 'Nepal' for the whole kingdom and of Nepali for its principal language, replacing 'Gorkha' and Gorkhali respectively.

Nationalism was also a central element in the propaganda of the Ranas opponents, drawn from the Parabatiya upper castes and from the Newars of the Kathmandu valley, and for them too, 'Nepal' rather than 'Gorkha' was became the more appropriate term for the nation. The Ranas policy of close collaboration with the British left them open to attack on nationalist grounds, the result of this was that in the post-1951 struggles for powers, the Nepali Congress whilst accepted by many as the vehicle of national liberation, was also itself open to attack on nationalist grounds. The revolution had commenced in October 1950 with King Tribhuvan's dramatic flight to the Indian Embassy and this Indian connection enabled the Rana regime to attempt an appeal to nationalist sentiment against him. Throughout Mahendra's reign and the early years of Birendra's the official media continued to refer to congress and

other dissidents operating in exile in India as anti-national elements- Similar phraseology to that which the Ranas had employed in the 1930s and 1940s. The Panchayat era is characterized by the rulers claims to national homogeneity under the aegis of the cultural traits of those in Power, i.e. of high caste Parbatiya Hindus. In the Panchayat era the state enforced homogeneity is the practice of nationalist ideology.

Nationalism was a programme of social engineering and the national state was to be its factory again full power by striving to establish a peculiar political form. The so called panchayat democracy instigated division tendencies among the Nepalese precisely by proclaiming their unity as one nation sharing a common culture. The Panchayat government adopted an assimilation policy, insisting upon creating a homogeneous development society. The autocratic rule of kings began with King Mahendra in 1960 and lasted until 1990. He strongly pursued a policy of "Melting Pot" formulated as a slogan of "One king, one country, one language, one dress" indigenous peoples experienced new forms of domination and hegemony during the Panchayat regime. The new political system, called Panchayat, headed by absolute monarch was engaged in a new project to attain national integration. But rather than developing a new model of ethnic pluralism, the Hindu rulers of the new regime engaged themselves in officially promoting ethnic homogenization by imposing the monolithic concept of one nation. One culture, one language, one religion and one national identity to become a citizen of Nepal. One had to speak Khasa language observe the caste system, follow Hindu religion and wear nepali dress (daura suruwal). Parbatiya Hindu values became the pragmatic model of creating national culture, indigenous peoples were forced to share a common culture. Any claim to ethnic identity was reduced to political rebellion during the Panchayat period because

it was supposedly considered to be a threat to nationalism. The promulgation of the new constitution in 1991 promised to treat Nepali citizens equally before law. Nepal was declared a multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-lingual democratic, independent indivisible, sovereign state. For the first time, the constitution recognized Nepal as consisting of plural societies, thus in comparison to the constitution of the Panchayat era, the constitution of 1991 looked more progressive.

Nationalism has been a preserve of the rich and privileged class in all times and places. Even in modern nation-states nationalism is by and large articulated by members of the more conscious middle class. In the present context people insist on participating in the process, ethnicity so far understood as opposing the national idea is being propagated by some ethnic activists as an intrinsic aspect of Nepalese society, calling for a redefinition of what should be considered national culture the idea of Nepal as nation state is not contested. There seems to exist a wide consensus that defining a national identity and a basis for national unity is an important task. On the other hand, ethnic activities challenge the necessity for a homogenized Nepalese society on high-caste Hindu lines.

Nepal was built as a nation of only Hindu cultural values and ethos against numerous INS, cultural and linguistic groups. So it was a nation- State based on a faulty premise.

The Nepali nationalism is also strongly felt by those whose language, culture, symbols and heroes are taken care of by the state. Such as Nepali Khas language, Hindu culture etc. They are fully articulated in education, media, bureaucracy and culture, costumes and help create a self-conscious of nationalism. The curriculum text books and reading materials from the primary school upto higher secondary school

are found unfriendly to the pupils of INS.

According to Mahendra Lawoti Nepali experience shows that three types of nationalism could operate in diverse societies (1) homogenizing and exclusionary nationalism based on the concept of nation state and promoted by the previous state and dominant group (2) autonomy seeking nationalism, seeking multination state and (3) separatist nationalism. Homogenizing nationalism existed in Nepal till around 2006 and still remains considerable, support among the dominant group. This is what we called the state centric nationalism and it is based on the notion that Nepal is a nation state. Autonomy seeking nationalism gained momentum around the turn of the century through popular grassroots mobilization of marginalized groups. This is an example of people centric nationalism and aims to establish a multination state as in other multinational democracies. Separatist nationalism has been launched by some organizations of madheses and indigenous nationalities after the turn of the century but lacks popular support till date.

Nepal where the idea of a "Nepal nation" continues to represent the caste hill Hindu culture nurtured carefully by 238 year rule of a Hindu monarchy. This national culture is incompatible with building a federal Nepal constituted by different linguistic, ethnic and cultural groups. When states create homogenizing nationalist narratives that reflect the values of the dominant groups, marginalized groups often respond by creating their own "counter narratives" of nationalism, emphasizing their own definition of the nation. The state-centric, homogenizing form of nationalism assumes that there is only one nation or attempts to create one nation through assimilation, exclusion or even genocide. As opposed to these efforts to create a nation-state, some marginalized groups attempt to create multinational states, where

multiple nations exist within a state. The state centric nationalism could perpetuate domination and inequality whereas the people centric nationalism in societies where no single group is a majority could help to reduce or end such injustice and discrimination.

Ethic movements are attempting to create new ideas of "Nepaliness" nationalism, in place of the hierarchical "Nepaliness" that existed for two and half centuries and was achieved by imposing a common culture. Efforts might be necessary to socialize Nepalese into the concept of a multination state which provides space to all groups living in the country including to Bahun and Chhettris.

From a mono ethnic state, Nepal is emerging as a poly-ethnic polity, with a more inclusive version of Nepali nationalism that recognizes multiple language, religious people, cultures and identities.

In so many countries, the failure of politicians, academics the media and other social agenda settlers has led to violent ethno-nationalism. In Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia, Chechnia, Rwanda and Congo, it took the horrible form of ethnic cleansing, post colonial Srilanka's attempt to creat a homogeneous sinhala national identity brought on a horrible civil war. In India the enterprise of imposing a monolithic Hindu national identity on all the people has strained the fragile social matrix as a result of which communal riots take place not so infrequently. The power elite of Nepal seems intent on taking the country up this same path by relying on an ultimately unworkable nationalism that lays down an exclusionary Nepaliness defined by the hill-castes.

The one country in the world that should be proud of its rainbow spectrum of identities in Nepal, it is upto Nepal then to show the way to others in South Asia that a nation state can be defined and can survive and prosper in the absence of the

monolithic identity.

Thus, the thesis has become the amalgamation of both ethnic tolerance and Nepali nationalism. Both ethnic tolerance and Nepali Nationalism elements are sufficiently available in the novel. The protagonists Himal and Kopila follow the path of ethnic tolerance. They do not want to follow the path of violence, murder and ethnic cleansing in order to fulfill their self-orientated and demands.

Himal and Pashmina (Royal Nepal Armies and Guerrillas) slowly almost unconsciously lose their petty, distrusts, suspicious, hatred and dislikes of one another and meet together on the level of brotherhood and equality. Thus compelling the nations to lay down their no longer useful arms and live together in amity and peace. They find the upcoming prospects of the society only in ethnic tolerance, coexistence, communal harmony and peace. The social reconciliation through ethnic tolerance, peace, adjustment and communal harmony has become the locus to which they attempt to achieve throughout their lives. This thesis has compared them and found that the reconciliatory concept, ethnic tolerance and poly-ethnic policies are more dominant than the mono-ethnic state and rebellions ones. In this way, *Breaking Twilight* echoes the voice from rebellion and state centric nationalism to ethnic tolerance and people centric Nepali nationalism that the thesis has also justified.

D.B. Gurung's novel *Breaking Twilight* traces the model of multicultural nation where different people and cultures are treated equally. He establishes the idea of multicultural nation by depicting multiethnic issues. Gurung like Benedict Anderson views that nation is not a concrete unity within certain geographical boundaries rather it is an imagined construction the book "*Breaking Twilight* not only shows the pain and suffering of peoples but it also criticizes the politics and social, economic

development of Nepal after democracy of 1990. It explores the post democracy of 1990 crisis like political instability in security, propaganda, false rumours, discrimination threatened civil war. The Nepali Leaders while they were waging the anti monarchical movements many Nepali people took part in the movements with the hope that they would get political right progress and prosperity in all spheres of social life. But when the people got democracy as per their expectation they neither get political independence nor their hopes were materialized. Country were involved 10 years long bloodshed civil war. Nationalist consciousness instead of being all embracing crystallization of the inner most hopes of the all people it happened to be an empty shell a crude and fragile travesty. In *Breaking Twilight* Gurung not only praises the nation and nationalism he also criticizes the issue of nation and nationalism or nationalist consciousness, that developed after post democracy period of 1990. Instead of including all the people and working as a unifying force, it has become exclusive and has brought division among the people in terms of class, caste, religion, ethnicity and gender. Gurung criticizes the political leaders who replaced the monarchical rule but not with much difference. They ruled the country Nepal, like monarchical government.

Breaking Twilight is a literary magic, in which Gurung brings forth these issues. In the first section there are 11 stories. They all are about PLA Cadres Kopila, Major Himal Ale, captain Deepak, Pashmina etc. This story represents town people of Nepal who have diverse characteristics. The main character is the major Himal Ale and Kopila. This is not typical in Gurung's work because the protagonists of his stories are usually male figure. But Kopila a protagonist of this story is shown on her way to get a salvation from the patriarchal nation state through the Maoist revolution.

When major Ale enters the cell one man seems to have sustained a bullet injury on his left while the girl sat with her head bent low shielding her face by her unkempt cascading hair. They lay on the floor, reclining the wall. They seemed to have been severely tortured as revealed by the bruises, caked blood and blue and purple marks on their faces.

Kill us or give us gun and we'll kill you. You kings dogs ! yells the man who appears to be a bit older than the rest and wears a face that is steeped in pride and dignity of a rebel leader, drawing everyone's need. Even the girl jerks and pulls up her head. Her face is still covered with the hair (20).

The PLA cadres are show their resentment towards the Royal Nepal Army saying kings dogs for the PLA Cadres are being guided the rigorous communist ideological indoctrination that works like powerful roots underneath totally influencing their lives and their very existence, so they have involved in Maoist revolution and they want to abolish the monarchy

Prithvi Narayan Shah and those after him based the country's unification on four key ideas: the unquestioning power and authority of the Hindu king of Gorkha; the supremacy of the Hindu ethos in national life; social integration through the Hindu social system based on caste division, and recognition of Nepali as the language of government administration and in more recent times, education.

Prithvi Narayan Shah did recognize the cultural plurality of his conquered lands. His Divyopadesa, in which this remarkable conqueror and statesman described his policies of government likens Nepal to a garden bedecked with four varnas and thirty six jats. Despite this recognition of diversity, however, the cultural rights of the different communities were not recognized by the old state. Neither did the

communities themselves get an opportunity to articulate their demands (Prayag Raj Sharma, 212). Monarch was regarded as a symbol of nationalism furthermore king was believed as a rebirth of the Lord Bishnu. The slogan was heard all over the country as only one king, one nation only one language, one dress. Rana and the Panchayat regimes repressed the questions of social justice without a qualm. The so-called democratic governments that came power after the Jana Andolan of 1990 too failed to address the issue adequately. As a consequence Janajatis, Madhesis Dalits, and people belonging to lower economic status remained unsatisfied and disgruntled. their dissatisfaction turned Nepal into a fertile land for Maoist guerilla warfare (Sanjiv Upreti 154). Thus, in the period of insurgency Maoists raised the issues of self determination cultural and regional autonomy and linguistic, religious and gender equality more vociferously than parliamentary political parties. They formed ethnic liberation fronts, declared the establishment of autonomous ethnic regions punished untouchability and gender discrimination and undermined ethnic domination and they raised the issue of redrawing the boundary of nationalism and nation state.

In the next scene to major Himal are seen a quiet affection for her when major Himal ask her firmly.

Why do yo want to ruin your beautiful life ? you have a bright future a head. Why do you want to die so young ? look we aren't going to harm you provided you tell us the locations of your training camps and the where abouts of your leaders we'll let you go ... else prepare for the worst.

'I am prepared for anything' she retorts. Staring up at me. I'm ready to die what else can be more ultimate than death ?

But you aren't going to die an easy death

Be it comes her curt answer
 You'll be dying minute by minute, hour by
 hour and day by day. Painfully, I warn her
 I've already died a long time back
 I am a living dead, I'm a phantom
 She quips with overt Sarcasm (23)

Absolute poverty, under-employment, inter-household and regional economic inequality and oppressive structures of caste, gender and ethnic, religious, linguistic and regionalist dominance have been the structural causes of the Maoist struggle. People's war ideology has created an unimaginable space for women to claim the rights as their social role was constructed politically as propagandists and guerillas.

During the time of war in Nepal as most of the men went to participate in that, their counterparts - women's social role were redefined to work with conflict, to negotiate for their families survival from the police and the Maoists. Women especially poor, peasant, illiterate and and janajati women have achieved a political visibility. The women joined the rebellion group as it gave them meaningful death with their worth equal to men while also escaping an oppressive socio-cultural taboos. Furthermore, war transformed Nepalese women not only in essence - new meaning in lives and to deaths but also in form - their appearance to functional unisex dress of Peoples Liberation Army (PLA). Therefore, the paradigm of women discourse after the 'people's war' relentlessly shifted the nation's future towards more inclusiveness while defining the women's role.

Seeing the conversation between the PLA Cadre Kopila and RNA officer major Ale we feel their nationalist consciousness even though they are enemy to each

other. We assume the step of national consciousness.

Pashmina is another brilliant story, Himal is the protagonist of this story. The other important character of the story is Pashmina. In this story the Buddhist religion is regarded as a national religion. The constitution of 1990 declared Nepal as a only one of the Hindu nation in the world. That's why other religions were shadowed by national policy only. Hindu festivals were given priority by nation. Dashain and Tihar were celebrated all over the enthusiastically. The state gave holiday for Hindu festivals but other religion couldn't get holiday for their festivals. The mythology of Buddhist and Kiratis had not been considered as a different existence rather it was mingled with the Hindu religion. Gurung here, expresses his idea of multicultural nation. He ruptures the traditional notion of nation, which was supposed to have concrete and fixed boundaries. He wants to establish the identity by crossing the boundary if traditionalism.

This extract from the story supports these points.

Do you believe in re incarnation. Since you talked about the next life ?

'I do but not completely

What do you mean by 'not completely ? She squints and stares at me questioningly.

It's said, I continue, if you can't fulfil your wish in this lifetime. You may have to be born again to fulfill it.

You may have to . . . ? She exclaims ? But what guarantee is there that you'll be reborn, although you may wish to ? By the way, do you have any such wishes ?

'Well to tell you the truth', I keep on dispassionately, I didn't have anything as such until this morning I mean, until I . . . but I'm almost optimistic now that I'll have

my wish fulfilled in this lifetime itself.

If not ?

I'll join a school of lamaism and become a great bold, headed maroon-gowned lama I say, my voice steady and serious. It's believed that Buddhist Lamas do reincarnate and its a proven fact see, there are many Rinpoches, the reincarnated ones. Why can't I be one if I really get into it with utmost devotion and dedication ? I've heard that many Rinpoches have met their wives and darlings of their previous lives (59).

In course of Hinduization of Nepalese society, different casts and groups were denied to accept as ethnic groups. Rather they were brought into the Hindu hierarchical system promulgating the favourable code for the Hindu. The indigenous ethnic groups were categorized according to the caste division system. They were victimized by the Supreme caste welcoming the ethnic groups into the Hinduism and entrapping them into the system. The new comers were carefully welcomed into the third category of caste division in order to make their supremacy and hegemony unchallengeable. Thus, the system facilitates the exploitation drawing the ethnic groups into the system of Hinduism calling them Vaishya. The acceptance of the third category, 'Vaishya' is the acceptance of their own inferiority and abandonment of their distinct identity and existence. The civil code of 1854 legitimized the unjustifiable treatment towards the native people of Nepal. Thus, the national integration of Nepal has been incomplete for centuries.

In the surface level, Hinduism seems to be the liberal religions system because it adopted the indigenous people and accommodated them into it. But in the deeper level, they betrayed them ranking in the third category. It means they were

hegemonized by Hinduism for ever endangering their different cultural entities from the society. The process of accommodating the others into the Hinduism enabled the caste system making it more rigid.

By promulgating the Muluki Ain, the Rana rulers created an official discourse that enabled the state to rule and maintain the social order by fixing fines and regulations. According to caste membership and hierarchical status. In this way, the ranas had a deep impact on the way the Nepalese came to perceive their relations with one another in a countrywide perspective. Admittedly, the rulers knew little about many of the ethnic societies. They conquered, by establishing a hierarchical order, however, they gave a green light to ethnic competition and intra ethnic differentiation [. . .] by adopting formerly existing categories. The Nepalese rulers made the caste divisions more rigid. This resulted in the enhanced importance of caste affiliation in dealings with the state (Pfaff-Czarnecka 68).

While analyzing the above cited expression, the trend of suppression and rigidity of ruling clans and culture are growing. The rulers those are generated by Hinduism are imposing more rigid rules and regulations on the native people one after another.

When we contextualize the issue of caste division, we find that it has been used as a tool to maintain the superiority and dominate others. The monopoly of Hinduism was not quietly accepted by others. Rather the domination of high-Hindu caste was reacted by the undermined and disenfranchised groups. The so-called unitary Hindu kingdom was questioned by the both Hindu inferiors and other ethnic groups. The biased and prejudiced activities of the ruling authority planted a seedling of rivalry among castes and ethnic groups.

The homogenizing efforts of the high caste Hindu elites were increasingly opposed in Nepal for a variety of reasons. It is precisely in systems claiming to be egalitarian that those dominant groups presenting themselves as guarantors of equality at the expense of the others are taken to task [. . .] that educated members of ethnic groups were not able to find employment within the central organs due to their lack of personal networks. Within the political and administrative bodies, ethnic elites were not able to compete with high caste Hindu (Pfaff-Czarnecka 60).

Some foreign researchers, thus have given the picture of social discontentment and instability in Nepal. The emerging opposition of undermined people reveals the Hindu hypocrisy 'protectors are the exploiters' is applicable in Nepalese society where the unity, peace and equality are shouted by the establishment at the cost of others.

The initiation of opposition by some educated ethnic elites is the foundation for caste or ethnic conflict in Nepalese society. Again, the way of homogenizing the Nepalese society produces the causes of its own reformation: "The process of Nepal's democratization has been characterized by a shift in orientation confirming the worldwide trend away from melting-pot ideologies and unsatisfactory experiments with assimilation and hegemonic treatment of minorities and attends to suppress or eliminate diversity." The state authority attempted to uproot and eliminate the identity, ancestry and country of the minorities in the name of homogeneity. The establishment had false assumption that the diversities would weaken the national unity. So, the tactics of accommodation and assimilation of the others into the Hinduism were practiced but failed.

"The Rodhi Saanjh and deception is another story of the collection Himal,

Ajay, Chandra and Pawan are major characters of this story. The 1990 Nepali constitution retained the unitary state, which doesn't share power among different levels of governments. It was perhaps the most important factor that continued centralization even the minimal power enjoyed by the districts and local governments was dependent on the centre. In unitary Nepal most of the revenue - generating and taxation power as well as the police and civil administration, were controlled by the central government. That's why government officials are involving in corruption, bribe etc.

This extract from the story supports these points.

Ours is a country where babies are born with crushing debts. Where more than half the people are hungry and homeless. Where the rays of modernization never reach those far-flung remote villages, where there is no network of roads in mountain districts, no safe drinking water or a regular supply of already meagre electricity. We sell the electricity at low price and buy the same back at high price. What madness is this ? Those buggers on the high government chairs should die of shame. Look at these bureaucratic thugs who seem to have squeezed out a huge amount under the table from some fat-cat businessman and are now blowing the dirty money.

Shame ! If the government has a sense of shame, lots of problems would have disappeared. I ponder (93).

In our country the so-called democracy brought in several times and called by different names cannot fulfill the skyscraper ambition of the people who wanted something more. The failure of west minister model indicates the pitfall of the then parliamentary system. Intrinsic nuisance of the majoritarian democracy what Nepal adopted in the post-1970 period and concludes that west minister model is unsuitable

to pluralistic society of Nepal and so, contributing for continuous exclusion of numerous socio-cultural groups (qtd. in Hachhethu 219). The changes are come to deceive the people; the then parliamentary system of Nepal could not bring the radical change in Nepal. Neither it could address the needs of pluralist society nor could it be a reliable system for coming days. The west minister model was, thus, nothing more than the continuity of the same discrimination, prejudice and exclusion.

In Nepal, the Rana regime, the partyless panchayat and the west minister model of parliament were essentially similar in nature. The ruling authority had been disguising name of system under which they were performing the same activities of exploitation and exclusion. The establishment used 'divide and rule' as the guideline principle for the loot of the people. They sucked the resources of the state and misused the authority as the state is their inherited property. The plight of the Nepalese people who were victimized by the authority controlling the power and centralizing the resources on themselves.

"In Nepal, the monarchy and his subjects have been governed by *Dharma*, a system drawn from the Hindu religion. The king can not change this value system" (qtd. in Hachhethu 223). The *Dharma* came between the relationship of the king and the subjects that disrupted the affinity among them. The depiction of monolithic process practiced in the past proved the burrowing relationship:

Since the time of unification of Nepal, the rulers *Shahs*, *Ranas* and *panchas* - had tried to develop Nepal as a harmonious, monolithic and unitary state providing protection to one language (Nepali), one caste group (hill Bahun-Chettri), and one religion (Hindu), ignoring the reality of diversified and pluralistic character of the Nepali society.

Besides, the state-designed 'Nepalization' process - through Hinduisation, spread of the *parbatiya's* culture, institutionalization of caste system converting separate identity of ethnic groups into caste structures and centralization of politics and administration - had led to increase disparity among different social groups. The hill high caste Brahmin-Chettri and *Newar* have long been in privileged position. Other groups, i.e. *Janajati*, *Madheshi* and *Dalit* are generally marginalized. The legacy of history is well reflected in unequal distribution of socio-economic resources of the country and in representation of political power structure of the country. (Hachhethu 225)

It directly indicates the domineering factors and uncovers the process of Hinduisation naming it 'Nepalization'. The process of homogenization is the initiation of exclusion; it eases the domineering groups to exploit the others. Thus, the domineering groups seize the state mechanisms and impose their religion, language, belief and so on, on the other groups. While doing so, they institutionalize their culture converting and accommodating separate identity of ethnic groups. The roots of the domination are deepened everywhere and the national policy is also affected by them. As Bhattachan writes:

Nepali should be the medium of education, exclusively from the third grade on, as much as possible in the first two grades. No other languages should be taught even optionally, in the primary school because few children will have need for them, they would hinder the reaching of Nepali [...] other language will gradually disappear and

greater national strength and unity will result. (qtd. in Hachhethu 224)

From the aforementioned citation, the discriminatory and exclusionary educational policy of the state comes into light. How the state authority plots to oppress the culture, language and belief of the indigenous people becomes clear. All types of non-democratic regime - whatever names and forms are, by nature, exclusionary as they generally prohibit and discourage people's participation. The ages long exclusion and discrimination invite the people for rebellion.

Nepal continued to be plagued by poverty, economic, exploitation, corruption, political instability, social disparity and armed conflicts. The majority of the nepali populace is educationally deprived and economically handicapped. Every Nepali baby is born with a crushing debt on its back. The Maoist insurgency began and grew dramaticlaly becasue of the inequality and injustice in Nepali society. The opening up of the polity in 1990 increased the awareness of inequalities, as the oppressed people articulated their problems, frustrations and aspirations. The lack of reforms, however alienated the marginalized people as it showed that the state and the ruling elite were insensitive to the demands.

Dohari singing is something like a flirtatious call and response jamboree between man and women during which either of the losers has to give into the winner, to the extent to being ready to became the spouse of the opposite sex competitor with a huge crowd normally witnessing the show. The most interesting aspect about dohari is its dynamism. With every new singing, there is a change in the stanza, in dohori lyrics with rapid improvisations to beat the competitor. While the well known choruses are repeated by both the counterparts, over the years this tradition has become increasingly professionalized and is frequently referred to as emblematic of

the Nepali national identity. (94)

Dohari is concerned with Gurung ethnic community. The issue of 'ethnic and ethnicity' is equally popular and disputed in the contemporary Nepalese society. Ethnic groups refer to "those indigenous nationalities who have their own mother tongue, culture, communities and written or oral history" (Hachhethu 237). Nepalese society is the pot-pourri of those different ethnic groups. Due to the discriminatory treatment among ethnic groups from the state authority, the emergence of ethnic movement is evaporating in the Nepalese society. The ethnic movement is mainly related with the issue of identity, sharing of resources and representation in government. The state's refusal to give title of *Janajati* as discriminated and exploited matches with its hesitation to initiate affirmative question, the state machinery took contradictory measures. The government and parliament's liberal initiative to address the citizenship problem facing mainly by *Madheshyas* has been halted by the Supreme Court. The court appeared as the most conservative body in other issues as well, particularly on the use of ethnic language in local government, as the Supreme Court decided it as anti constitutional. So, whatever has been done by the government, it is viewed as the state 'conservative responses' to the problems of diversity and plurality of society:

Ethnic movements in Nepal are a natural outcome of age old suppression through the imposition of stratified hierarchical mode by the Hindu rulers of Nepal, which needs to be removed with a new to making the hitherto deprived ethnic groups equal partners in the development of a single territorial Nepalese nation-state. (Gurung 81)

As stated above, the state has not yet come up with substantial policy and programme

to address the ethnic problems especially on their demands related to sharing of resources and representation in the government. In such a situation; the ethnic movement is the inevitable outcome of age-old suppression. The exclusion of minorities and discrimination on ethnic groups result the bursting movement of those indigenous people:

Ethnic insurgency in predatory unitary Hindu state on two grounds; one the structure of political opportunities in Nepal is unduly favourable to Bahun-Chhettris but unfavourable to other groups. The other is the strength of Federation of Nepali Nationalities (FENNA) constituting of 48 *Janajati* organizations of present. (Bhattachan 3)

It is concluded that the emergence of ethnic movement in Nepal is resulted from the predatory unitary Hindu state. All state machineries are conducive and favourable to them but unfavourable to *Janajati* - the indigenous people. That exclusionary social milieu breeds the seeds of ethnic insurgency that is going to be organized like Federation of Nepali Nationalities (FENNA) incorporated 48 sister organizations. Thus, the individual discontentment or protest is transformed into the collective rebellion, "They have always been insensitive to the ethnic problem unless the ethnic tension turn into communal has been changing rapidly towards the greater degree of discord, conflict and tension. The root of problems lies in history" (Hachhethu 221).

Aforementioned expression uncovers the attitude of Nepali ruling clans who turns the deaf ears to the ethnic problems unless it takes the form of communal violence. They wait for the climax of destruction as the arrival of doctor only after the patient's death. Furthermore, the insensitive and negligence activities of the ruling

clans have been repeatedly practiced throughout the history. The ruling clans intend to strengthen the national unity. But ironically, their activities are becoming the obstacles for national integration and overall development of the society:

But the code violated the very notion of national integration - that is equally among the people of given territory, state. The code discriminated the people of different caste hierarchy in judicial system and in discrimination of the state resources. By putting ethnic groups into the folds of Hindu based hierarchical system, the code translated diversity into inequality since inequality is the source of all kind of conflicts, the civil code of 1854 contributed negatively to the national integration of Nepal. (Hachhethu 223)

In course of Hinduization of Nepalese society, different castes and groups were denied to accept as ethnic groups. Rather, they were brought into the Hindu hierarchical system promulgating the favourable code for the Hindu. The indigenous ethnic groups were categorized according to the caste division system. They were victimized by the supreme caste welcoming the ethnic groups into the Hinduism and entrapping them into the system. The new comers were carefully welcomed into the third category of caste division in order to make their supremacy and hegemony unchallengeable. Thus, the system facilitates the exploitation drawing the ethnic groups into the system of Hinduism calling them *vaishya*. The acceptance of the third category *vaishya* is the acceptance of their own inferiority and abandonment of their distinct identity and existence. The civil code of 18-5=1 legitimized the unjustifiable treatment towards the native people of Nepal. Thus, the national integration of Nepal has been incomplete for centuries.

Followed by Gurung forefathers. It has been one of the main culture of Gurung but nowadays it is referred to as representative of the Nepali national identity. Gurung here his nation is only the multicultural nation which is inclusive, democratic and respects individual identity and dignity.

Cultural differences cause various social contradictions and antagonisms. Such contradictions and antagonisms are negotiated into a national form without being prejudicial in multicultural nation. Here Gurung tries to import the idea against 'totalized' national culture which creates binary opposition and envisages multicultural utopia where no binary remains.

"The restless quest" is another brilliant story, Gurung here expresses his idea of nationalism for Gurung nationalism is feeling which emerges in individuals mind for their country, nationality and nationalism are related with the nation. This extract from the story supports these points.

I reach the Khari tree pavilion on which one of the four well-known martyrs of Nepal. Shukra Raj Shastri was hanged to death on the night of 24 January 1941 by the tyrannical rana government at the behest of prime minister Juddha Shamsar Rana. Shastri was a great Gandhian crusader who challenged the tyranny of the rana oligarchy. He founded the Nepal Civil Rights Committee in 1937 with the aim of creating public awareness about civil rights and the need for social political reforms. The other three renowned martyrs are Dashrath Chand, Dharma Bhakta Mathema and Ganga Lal Shrestha. All of them were executed I hold a special reverence for this tree since my childhood and it is the same khari tree that I am standing in front of (113).

The unification of scattered feudal principalities in 1969 and the establishment of an integrated centralized state was a historical achievement which provided us the

foundation of present day sovereign Nepal and the Nepali nationality. However, the feudal era had long outlived its historical justification and it had been chaining our progress. The task of nation building and transforming our feudal unification into a democratic unification was also neglected.

Prithvi Narayan Shah's successors could not switch and change with the times. Mutual distrust, conspiracies and chronic conflict were prevalent within the royal family after the death of Prithvi Narayan Shah in the beginning of 1775. This made the Shah dynasty increasingly incompetent. The Kot massacre of 1846 established the Rana family autocracy while retaining symbolic presence of Shah monarchy. The Rana oligarchy instituted by Janga Bahadur Rana through a bloody contest known as the Kot massacre could be compared with the shogunate of the pre-industrial early nineteenth century Japan, which maimed and mutilated the nation for 104 years. The Ranas governed Nepal as their private fiefdom. The tyrannous Rana rule confined Nepal to an era of self-imposed isolation and economic stagnation and deprived the people of literacy and foreign influence.

But the winds of change were sweeping the region and the country. Capitalist relations were emerging slowly and painfully from the womb of the country's feudal system. The political landscape was changing in a post-colonial world in general and the neighbouring countries in particular. A modern awakening among sections of the Nepali youth was reaching a critical mass which was bound to work as engine for new qualitative change. And it did. Political parties emerged and the democratic revolution of 1950-51 overthrew Rana autocracy.

The true sons of nation who are ready to sacrifice their life for their country. Being a martyr, they want to change their nation, government. The four well known

martyrs of Nepal sacrificed their life for abolishing the tyranny of the Rana oligarchy. It ushered in a new historic period, a period of transition from the old, feudal era to a people's era.

For Gurung Nationalism seeks similarity out of differences and emphasizes on unity. He furthermore asserts that a sense of nationality has often been expressed through the idioms of kinship or home and that both idioms denote something to which one is nationally tied. This extract from the story supports these points.

There are three hundred and ninety two in total. Here no one complains of the steep stairway or of exhaustion; everything is serene. I nurture the expectation that I may run into her here somewhere around the main temple but this appears to be nothing but a mirage. A monk suggests, offer one hundred and eight butter lamps to lord buddha and you'll have your wish fulfilled. "I severely do this, but there is no sign of pashmina anywhere around. Hoping this would bring about some miracle, I begin spinning one hundred and eight manes or dharma wheels with the inscription of the holy mantra: Om mane padme hum around the basement of the main stupa, pronouncing pashmina's name under my breath all the way, amounting to one hundred and eight times still she doesn't show up any where to my sorrow (134).

In above extract from the novel, Gurung shows inter racial co-operation among the Hinduism and Buddhism. In the society, cultural respect plays the vital role in order to maintain harmony. so every human need to understand the need of cultural respect. Cultural respect develops co-operation in the society and creates harmony and peace in the society. In the Swayambhunath Stupa most of the Nepali people's either Hindu or Buddhist have been visiting. They worship Buddha as a God not only Buddhist but Hindu also. They uttered the incantation "Om Mane Padme

Hum" together so. Gurung believes that religions exchange among the people from the varied culture background shows the truly harmonious society.

Nepal, with its enormous geo-ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity underwent three major phases of religious and cultural metamorphoses under Bon, Buddhist, and Hindu religions. Prior to the colonization of Nepal, including western China, northern India and Burma by the Tibetan King Srong Bastan Gampo in the seventh century, the religious tradition in most of these regions was essentially Bon, a fusion of shamanism, Animism, and ancestral-nature worship. Thus, the Pan-Tibetan cultural areas spread throughout the trans Himalayan regions under different socio-political conditions present a fascinating mosaic of peoples from Baltistan, Ladakh, Himalchal Pradesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, and the eastern corridor of Lhoka, northern Burma, Yunnan, Sichuan, Amdo, Kham and Mongolia.

Various tribal or community groups term their shamans by different nomenclatures according to their languages, for example Tamu (Gurung) have klehpre and Thakali call him Ghom or Aya Lama. Similarly, the Khas people term by Dhami or Jhankri and Tamang's is Bonpo, Limbu's is phedangma. Tharu's is Guruba, Newar's is Gubaju, Rai's is Bijuwa.

Buddhism entered into Tibet much later only after the matrimonial alliance of King Srong Bastan Gampo with the Nepali princess Bhrikuti. It was Bhrikuti who was accompanied by a distinguished Buddhist scholar silamanju who introduced Buddhism to Tibet. Although King Srong's reign marks the golden period in Tibetan history, it could not boast the nation-wide dissemination of Buddhism during his tenure.

Meanwhile, a common question has perplexed many: in a country where Lord

Buddha was born, why has Hinduism in Nepal turned out to be so dominant and pervasive within its modern history of 234 years ? First the Gorkha conquest in 1769 provided Nepal with a single name, a distinct political identity, and a strong central government. Also the advent of hordes of Indo-Aryan immigrants along with their powerful theological machinery (Hinduism) corroded the cultures, religions, languages, and the lifestyle of the indigenous nationalities. Second, the campaign of Hinduization under the Rana regime transformed Nepal into a Hindu state, and strictly imposed Hindu norms and policies into the social, judicial and administrative apparatus of the country.

Religious practice, after all, is the perpetuation of a political process the other way round the panchayat autarchy pushed the nation. Further toward a more contradictory and menacingly tricky zone: Nepali citizens became the "voiceless children" of a wiser God-king. It coercively advocated the policy of "One Language (Nepali), one religion (Hinduism) and one nation (Nepal), "Which led to the "Full spectrum suppression" of native languages and cultures. This measure was an attempt to subsume all the indigenous nationalities under the canopy of Nepalli Hindu nationalism, thus perpetuating by itself the counter productive elements of wider social disparity that trashed Nepali's well-publicized rhetoric of "Unity in diversity", doing a good thing crudely may entail unpleasant backlashes.

The cultural diversities are the inevitability of the nation. The process of homogenization in the nation has become impractical endeavor. Today's scholars are in favour of diverse groups like 'Salad bowl' in which the different things co-exist. The policy of making the homogenous state by applying the 'melting pot' process has become failure now-a-days. The process of cultural accommodation and assimilation

is very difficult to accomplish in the society. Cultural entity is not the thing of exchange. Rather it is the property of identity and dignity and dignity of the concerned people.

The hierarchical discrimination among identities invites the social calamities. But the acceptance of "Separate but equal" existence of the person or group brings the communal Harmony (Hill 2004).

In Nepal the relation between and among diverse groups of society is harmonious and free from tension and violence, some argue. Their vision strengthens the testament of Prithvi Narayan Shah, the unifier of Nepal "A garden of four jats and thirty - six varnas" and "I am the king of Magarat" (Hachhethu 222).

The concept of co-existence and tolerance leads the human being to the reconciliatory society. The society is the wild garden where hundreds of flowers blossom. The discriminatory tyranny hinders the flowers to blossom pricking them in the bud. Sometimes, the domination of majority is still, and perhaps even more urgently with us. Contemporary struggles of cultural groups to survive in dignity pave the way for remapping the history. The hidden history of inclusive cosmopolitanism may be the place to begin our search.

The search for origins is being carried out in the capital as well as in various ethnic 'homelands' after decades of homogenizing measures

it is now cultural diversity that influences cultural discourse.

Differences are stressed by insisting upon distinct languages, distinct origins, distinct religious orientation and distinct chronicles. In this process, the uniformity of cultural endeavours is striking distinctions are worked out by constantly referring to language (often seeking to

invent a new script), a highly valued origin (vamsawalis), and debates on valid religious forms. (Pfaff - czarnecka, 84)

In Nepal, the ethnic groups are struggling for the protection of distinct identity and search for origin but the way of struggle is valid religious forms. The process of reformation in Hinduism and emerging concept of religious tolerance in fundamentalism are the probable factors that help reduce the antagonisms, "Another way of looking at a society is in terms of its capacity to perpetrate itself. Hinduism or the caste society of [...] a powerful form of social organization which may go on self-satisfiedly, so to speak, forever. It carries within itself no basic antagonisms" (Cox 56). Hinduism has classified the people into four hierarchical castes. It is a so powerful form of social organization that rare example of antagonisms among castes can be found. Nepalese society has also presented an illustrative culture of tolerance, co-existence and interaction among ethnic groups or religious groups

D.B. Gurung imparts the message that every rebellion or revolution has its ends that is undoubtedly, the social reconciliation through tolerance, ethnic co-existence and communal harmony. A society can never be a developed, civilized and prosperous until, it is engaged in unending conflict and unrest. In the Novel *Breaking Twilight*, the novelist has injected two dimensional messages. He, on the one hand, strengthens the voiceless people by inspiring them to rebel against the discrimination and he also favours, the way of non-violence making them aware of the outcome of destruction, killings and violence, on the other hand. One of the renowned Nepali writers. Bairagi Kainla, favourably comments the novel:

His long-anticipated new novel accomplishes to explore, with intimacy audacity and insight just about every contemporary domestic and

international issues without being oblivious about the past: child marriage, chhoupadi (a brutal confinement of women in isolation during their menstrual periods) inequity, environmental degradation, impacts of decade-long Maoist insurgency, rotting politics, exodus, ethnicity fundamentalism, climate change and globalization.

In Keshar Library hall, while formally starting press meet as visual artist Chirag Bangdel said "As a beautiful intellectual piece of art makes one wonder and think Gurung's novel *Breaking Twilight* too narrates the story of Nepalese, who have been victim of people's war".

The novel depicts a society rife with injustice, and makes its characters justifiably rebel against the status quo. The novel has revolution as its subject matter while the necessity of such a revolution becomes the message. The in-depth interpretation and message of the novel is egalitarian and humanitarian as both say.

The ultimate solution to the problem of cultural diversity is to work more in the spirit of inclusion. The construction of inclusionary mechanisms becomes possible only when the policy makers internalize the social sentiments of tolerance, coexistence and communal harmony. In the Nepalese society, the emerging trend indicates entry of caste, ethnicity, language, religion and other issues of exclusion in parties' policy platform.

Some scholars have defined violence differently. The peculiar nature of violence is the violence of boundaries breaking. It also disturbs the social reconciliation and communal harmony. It is the violence of boundaries breaking - the violence that is built into the division, categorization and classification of people by way of race and ethnic differences, the violence that is responsible for these men's

exclusion. In this way, the new technique of violence is acquired in modern society. At the same time, the new maneuvering to reconcile the violence is practiced in the society. The state that wants people's prosperity and welfare negotiates with the discontents and attempts to tackle the racial or ethnic violence. Most of the conflict and violence are reconciled from the negotiation:

There is, however, no agreement about the nature of the future polity. At present, two modes of argumentation dominate the political debate on ethnicity: (a) enhancing through a quota system the access of ethnic minorities to governmental institutions and state resources monopolized up to now by the high-caste Hindus; and (b) a through decentralization of the state by creating autonomous federal republics attributed to particular population groups. (Pfaff- czarnecka 43)

The solution of the problem of race and ethnicity can be found if we take the issue with concept of "separate but equal". Nepalese government neglected the racial and ethnic problems in the past. Now, the government is compelled to accept the concept of federal states due to the emerging ethnic movement. The answer to the problem between the race and the coloured, between male and females, lie in healing the split that originates in the very foundation of our lives, our cultures, our languages, our thoughts. A massive uprooting of dualistic thinking in the individual and collective consciousness is the beginning of a long struggle, but one that could, in our best hopes, bring us to the end of rape, of violence, of war. "The evil that is done is done by the concept and easy - yet impossible - assumptions as to its application. Talk of 'race' is particularly distressing for those of us who take culture seriously" (Appiah 226).

Some scholars appreciate the *Muluki Ain* for its inclusionary contents. They opine that Hinduism is not such a discriminatory religion as criticized by others. For them, Hindu religion is open practice in which exteriors can be accommodated:

However, there was never a purely exclusionary policy towards Nepal's Tibeto-Burman peoples. Their inclusion in the *Muluki Ain* as lower status *Jats* or castes, while subordinating them did not render them as untouchables, completely stripped them of rights and opportunities to maximize their place through the ritual hierarchy. (qtd. in O' Neill 66)

The assimilation of the native Tibeto-Burman people into Hinduism is the green signal to the social harmony in multiethnic country. Perhaps, the state authority is aware of the fact that unobstructed homogenization of the society is impossible in Nepal. The modern society can walk to the way of development and prosperity only when the human being internalizes Abraham Lincoln's message, "our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure" ([qtd. in](#) Cox 61). Lincoln's speech delivered hundreds of years ago, is still relevant in Nepalese context. Every person or ethnic group must accept the existence of others. The domination of a particular person or group is rebelled to establish the "separate but equal" existence of all. Today's people of multicultural society enjoy the multiethnic co-existence and tolerance, "...the cacophony becomes a melody... (Cox 61) is the accepted saying for them.

Due to the impact of globalization, today's society is becoming open day by

day. In such a situation, the interdependence of one society to another is also growing. So, the people of today's society do not like to be rigid and sticky to the particular race, group and culture:

... We are beginning to see construction of just such a conception of ethnicity, a new cultural politics which engages rather than suppresses difference and which depends, in part, on the cultural construction of new ethnic identities. Difference, like representation, is also a slippery, and therefore, contested concept [...] a great deal of work to do to decouple ethnicity, as it functions in the dominant discourse, from its equivalence with nationalism, imperialism, racism [...]. (Hall 202)

Thus, every good deed is initiated by some few but the quick and effective programmes should be launched by the state. If the state mechanisms promote a single class, caste or race, it becomes the barrier to the prosperous communal harmony. The acceptance of ethnic pluralism, that everyone in a society is 'ethnic' is not denied that some ethnic groups exercise dominance in a society. "All humans and all discourses are created equal - but some are more equal than others" (Chow 17).

The modern usage of the term 'ethnic', thus, seeks to undo the clear, aggressive binarism that legitimates the separation between "us" and "them", between the inside and outside of a community:

...Everyone is ethnic and that we should tolerate ethnic differences; on the other hand, we also continue to think that certain people are still held captive in their specific histories, that is, in ethnic conditions that seem foreign or alien to us. These two conceptually incommensurate view of ethnicity - one universal and the other local - would have to be

reconciled through a kind of discursive compensation, whereby feelings of intolerance, precisely the states of mind that cannot be reasoned away, are projected onto some kind of outside, in the form of an ethnic otherness or ethnic past. This would then push the I alienated, and thus restricted form of ethnicity into a *primiti barbaric* realm from which we, in our enlightened present, can safely remove ourselves.

(Chow 41)

We now understand that everyone is ethnic, so this attitude implies, there should be no more violence and no more discrimination; there should only be humanistic tolerance. The ethnic intolerance makes the ethnic group alienate and leads it to the primitive barbaric age. So, the concept of ethnocentrism should be removed from the light of enlightenment.

Ethnic groups are essentially social constructs. The existence of the society without ethnic groups can hardly be found in the world. All ethnic groups should be developed side by side as, "Rainbow coalition" (Gresson 397). To be an intolerant is to promote ethnic conflict and disturb the social harmony. So, the ethnic tolerance, acceptance of co-existence and initiation of interaction among ethnic groups are the panacea for the achievement of social reconciliation that leads the society to the way of advanced human civilization.

The study of the world history shows us that all types of personal or ethnic conflicts have happened due to the rigidity and intolerance of one another. And the flexible and tolerant attitude of the person or ethnic group bears the social peace and co-existence. We all, willingly, do not want to involve in conflict and we always lust after the social

harmony. If we confess ourselves 'who we are and who they are', then the sociable thought will produce in the minds as 'we are they and they are we'. The promotion and extension of this flexible attitude is today's necessity:

The borders and walls that are supposed to keep the undesirable ideas out are entrenched habits and patterns of behaviour; these habits and patterns are the enemy within. Rigidity means death. Only by remaining flexible is able to stretch the psyche horizontally and [...] to shift out of habitual formations; from converging thinking [...] to diverging thinking, characterized by movement away from set patterns and goals and toward a more who perspective, one that includes rather than excluder [...] by developing a tolerance for contradictions, a tolerance for ambiguity. (Anzaldua 209)

The habits and patterns of behaviour of the people are determined by their consciousness or thinking. The transformation from the rigid thinking to the flexible thinking is possible only when the way of people's thinking changes. It should be changed from the converging thinking to the diverging thinking as said above in the cited expression. The diverging thinking of people promotes the inclusionary behaviour and a tolerance for contradictions.

Modernity, which prides itself on having progressed toward a peaceful, civilized tolerance of difference, must be necessary project. But it imagines being opposite to itself such as violence, savagery and primitivist intolerance. Thus, the postmodern concept emerges to comprise both sides equally. Human response to captive society would also need to be rehistoricized as modernist invention. To do so:

"We, who believe in tolerance, will not tolerate those who are

intolerant; we will denounce them as ethnocentric." Ironically, this so called Universalist view of ethnicity can only operate by insisting on a specific boundary, a dividing line between an "us" and "them". What this means is that the ethnicity that vows to tolerate all ethnic differences, too, grounds itself in a fundamental act of intolerance and, frequently, of violence. (Chow 41)

The obligation to confess is now relayed through so many different points, that we no longer perceive it as the effect of a power that constrains us. Confession frees, but power reduces one to silence. Truth does not belong to the order of power, but shares an original affinity with freedom. Truth is not by nature free - nor error servile - but that its production is thoroughly imbued with relations of power. "The rationalization is a moral defense. And the rationalizer is a moralist. The rationalization [...] removes the moral stigma attached to race prejudice elevating this prejudice into a justified reaction" (qtd. in Montagu 110). The prevalence of diversified society is today's reality but the major concern is whether it is realized or not. If it is realized, it offers hope for better inter-caste, inter-race and interethnic relations. If not realized, it produces the concept of intolerance that promotes anxiety and insecurity in the society. To maintain the social reconciliation freeing it from violence and savagery, there is no better way except realization. The realization provokes the people to be a tolerant and an interactive for the quest of social reconciliation. The ethnic tolerance and co-existence are possible in the society only when the equality and justice are prevailed there.

In the world where are the anarchy, conflict and fight among the different religion like within muslims, within Christian between Muslim and Hindu between

Muslim and Christian and between Muslim and Buddhist have divested the humanity but Gurung has envisioned to avoid all the obstacles and problems from the country and built prosperous peaceful and progressive Nepal.

You have every responsibility to do your patriotic duty here in your motherland. Besides it was the wish of your late father to get you enlisted into the esteemed Royal Nepalese Army.

Patriotic duty ? Well, I certainly have no objection to serve my nation, but I have a strong reservation to become a uniformed stooge of the parasitic royal family. After all what has this autocratic royal regime contributed for countries other than harvesting a looming. Poverty fathomless chasm between rich and poor economic stagnancy reducing Nepal down to one of the poorest countries in the world and above all fear psychosis ? (118)

It was the Gurkhas phenomenal fighting feats that the British had witnessed during the Anglo-Nepal War (1814-16) essentially at the fort of Nalapani that led to the negotiation and signing of the treaty of Sugauli (1816). The treaty not only took away large tracts of Nepal stretching all the way from Tista river to the Sutlej of the "greater" Nepal, it also flushed out a large chunk of its population, and guaranteed Gurkha manpower as mercenaries to the British.

Approximately 4,50,000 Gurkha soldiers (Hussian, 1970) were selected during the first and second world wars and dispatched to assist the British, and more than half of the above figure either perished, disappeared or got severely wounded. Entire mountain villages were emptied of the young Gurkha males. Many of them never returned and have been forgotten forever.

The population growth of the Gurkha, mostly derived from the four major

Tibeto-Burman speaking Mongoloid tribes, essentially, the Mager, the Gurung, the Rai and the Limbu was drastically reduced because of the man being away. This resulted in these tribes becoming minorities in their own lands. Many of them became tenants in their own home as most of their land was either long mortgaged or they had been pledged to members of high castes by the rulers in the nineteenth century.

The Ranas who fought a war were constantly conferred with honorary titles, and granted an annual cash gift of IRs.10,00,000 by the British in appreciation for providing the Gurkha war machine in meeting their ends. Initially there was no formal written agreement for recruiting the Gurkhas from the independent state of Nepal. However, the British gradually installed a modus vivendi with the autocratic Rana family who governed Nepal as their private fiefdom. The Rana rulers bartered the young-blooded citizens for their own gains and security, and sent them down the rivers to bleed and die on foreign soils. On the other hand, the British reaped the full benefits out of the self-seeking insecure Ranas by formally recognizing Nepal as a sovereign state in 1923 in exchange of the Gurkha manpower as mercenaries. Nepal continues to exist as a sovereign state with a king as the symbol of national unity, managing to maintain its political independence since 18th century. Hence, Nepal owes so much to the Gurkhas.

Gurkhas are a marginalized entity and victims of discrimination and injustice both at home and abroad. At home, according to Dr. Harka Gurung, they were used as "diplomatic currency" to align the rulers with an imperial power. They still remain marginalized as they are primarily ethnic minorities while the power structure is monopolized by the so-called high castes.

As Harka Gurung writes:

The pillars of nationalism are social and economic integration. . . The most important step towards consolidating the Nepalese state and nationalism is to end economic exploitation and social injustice. Caste hierarchy also perpetuates economic class division. A multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-religious Nepal should have secular constitution. A nation entails a broader and deeper meaning than that of a state the term 'nation' transcends beyond geographical definition, which includes cultural and emotional bonds among the people within a state. (qtd. in D.B. Gurung 303)

The state of Nepal has been maintaining its independent status since for earlier than any SAARC countries, but has fallen, short to emerge itself as a nation because of its socio-political and economic disintegrated policies.

Nepal's population is not an amorphous mass but a complex medley of diverse cultural and linguistic groups. That's why 'national integration' has been a far cry. And now we have a ludicrous democracy, in which political participation is blatantly bossed by old-schooled elites and neo-elites through massive corruption what we lack more than anything else is "transparency" in our bureaucratic maze. The development dramas have been a fiasco.

Turning around, I approach the girl 'Hera Naani you must eat', I say with a streak of sympathy in a soothing voice. There is no enmity with the food.

The girl wouldn't say a word and turns away. Have they interrogated you this morning ? Interrogation still, there's no answer silence perches between us, like an outlandish third person. You won't be hurt . . . I assure you see what actually have I done to you or what harm have you inflicted on me ? Nothing I untie her hands and try to

coax her by continuing 'we have been obliged to see each other as enemies because of your political belief and in my case, my professional line of work, but we are also humans we both certainly have some humanness in us don't you think so ? (178)

Above given extract exposes the harmonious relation between Maoist guerrilla and a government soldier who are attached to each other being far from political belief government soldier, major Himal Ale tries to console her by showing humanity. He doesn't expose the behaviour of enemy towards her. It is a sense of nationalism. Nationalism is a feeling which germinates in the mind of individual belonging to the particular country. Being a Nepali they love each other either Maoist guerrilla or government soldier. Despite the differences of the political belief, they have exchanged their views feeling and problem to each other and that has brought them more closely and near. Further the statement clarifies the government soldiers love for Maoist guerrilla "The funny things is that our relationship swiftly evolves into something unusual, from arch enemies into something like age old friends within few minutes: She, a fierce Maoist guerrilla and I, a government soldier. Amazing, oh destiny my destiny (179).

The Maoists were excluded from the 1990 constitution engineering process and from the governance of the polity till 1996, which is when they launched. The insurgency, since February 3, 1996, the CPN (Maoist) has been carrying out a "people's war against the state when their 40-point demands related to "nationalism, democracy and livelihood" were ignored by the government. The Maoists took a rident path to meet their political ends. Although the people's war is assumed to be a purely class based struggle for a radical reform in the overall state machinery for the representation of ethnically diverse groups and for more responsiveness to the needs

of rural communities, nevertheless as its core it also seems to be accommodative of ethnic caste, and gender dimensions. The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) has committed itself to ethnic, regional and linguistic issues by including ethnic and regional autonomy and the right to self determination in its party agenda.

The peoples war has given a new life to women who have been abandoned by their husbands, women who have been socially shunned because they were raped, or women whose family could not afford to pay a dowry to get them married. No wonder, the widow of a martyr (either a real Maoist or a Maoist sympathizer only or a civilian) is highly inclined to join the Maoist movement.

In our poor rural economy one man in every family of two or three men tends to seasonally migrate to the cities within the country or to India. The Maoist war has displaced a large number of men, they are either forced to go to the jungles to align with the maoists or leave the village. Therefore, women comprise the majority of the rural population. The majority of the hill women who make up the Maoist women warrior wing are mostly derived from the rural area and poor background. They are tough and equally susceptible because of illiteracy ignorance, and lack of external influences.

The Maoist propaganda puts them on a pedestal showering them with eulogies, such as "Fury of women" or formidable fighters more committed, reliable and militant" The people's war gives all of them (i.e. women) a meaningful life and a meaningful death; it allows them to prove their worth is equal to the men.

Women comprise a little more than half of the country's population. They are not only being treated as second-class citizens, but have also been the victims of socio-legal orders sanctified by traditional Hindu religious values. Several women's

organizations have been crusading against the state to eradicate gender discrimination, paternalistic social structures and for equal property rights and right over one's own body. In an atmosphere of stifling discrimination and injustice against women and the rise of feministic consciousness. The Maoist rhetoric has succeeded in courting women with grievances.

The Maoist agenda has committed to emancipate women from the patriarchic manacles and to annihilate the barbarous social practices imposed upon them since time immemorial. The plausible solution: to join the Maoist armed struggle many have done so.

Political business is dominated by traditional elites or neolites through corruption which is neither new nor unique to Nepal. All these parties have expertise in turning good people into crooks; they are the manufacturing factories of crooks and criminals where corruption is absent, incompetence is present can you spell out one name of a selfless and visionary leader worth mentioning in this country ? All we have is a bunch of nin compoops grinding the organ, reducing Nepal to a failed state they are all out to rob this nation 'Pawan keeps on jubbering, twitching his eyes and readjusting his glasses where is the Gandhi of Nepal ? Where is the Nehru of Nepal ? Where is the Mandela of Nepal ? Where is the Lee Kuan Yew of Nepal ? Where is the vaclar Havel of Nepal ? I'm talking about leaders, not politicians (259).

In above extract from the novel exposes the failure of leadership spells the death knell of a nation our country is abysmally sinking. We live in a ruptured time marked by insecurity angst, uncertainty, and a kind of rudder lessness rules as reckoning with the potentially explosive escalation of violence. There is no shortage of a noisy crowd to blame. The post 1990 democratic governments for all the ills of

the nation. but the undeniable truth is, it harks back to the rule of the panchayat regime that put the nation into a deep freeze for three full decades.

Even the democratic dispensation (1990) didn't effect much change in bridging this gulf between the haves and have nots, social, economic and political disparities persisted. In Nepal there have been no Gandhis, no Nehrus, no Mandela our intellectuals/leaders pursue knowledge and nurture political ambition only for the sake of knowledge and politics. We haven't seen "one" so far ! the political parties have been the most lucrative enterprises for many and they mean near to nothing for the common good of the Nepali people over the years. We have witnessed many brainless political skunks, rising from rags to riches, and who have contributed nothing better than rattling their tongues.

What have we achieved after the promulgation of the so-called democracy at the cost of thousands of lives ? Nothing, save the explosion of crude modernization, with the old city in steady decadence and the new city centres 'breeding cosmopolitan philistines' (260)

Above given written exposes the Ranas governed Nepal as their private fiefdom. The tyrannous Rana rule confined Nepal to an era of self-imposed isolation and economic stagnation and deprived the people of literacy and foreign influence. In 1951 with the collaboration between king Tribhuvan (then self-exiled in India) and the people's democratic movement the Rana, regime was overthrown, thus sowing the seeds of democracy in Nepal. However the democratic regime was short-lived owing to political instability and bitter intra and interparty feuds among the party leaders, giving way to the panchayat system inaugurated by King Mahendra.

The Panchayat autarchy coercively advocated the policy of "one language, one

religion, and one nation" which led to the "full spectrum suppression" of native languages and cultures. After the promulgation of a democratic constitution (1990) there were demands for constitutional recognition for the inclusion of other languages, religions as well as the representation of all the population groups in the parliament, and for autonomous regional governments as that presented the true demographic situation of particular groups of the country. The constitution recommendation commission and the interim government on the contrary, virtually ignored these grievances. Simply perceiving them as a threat to national unity. This measure was an attempt to subsume all the indigenous nationalities under the canopy of Nepali Hindu Nationalism, Thus perpetuating the counter productive elements of wider social disparity that dumped Nepal's popular platitude of "unity in diversity" infact, Nepal is not a "nation state but nation within a state."

Who cares for the nation or its growing poverty, looming unemployment, illiteracy, byzantine, bureaucracy, unethical judiciary, load shedding, water shortage meagre road networks, collapsing bridges, diseases, plagues and the sagging population ? We breathe in corruption in the air, day in and dayout what we see every day are mundane scenes in the daily grind Hunh ! he grunts, waving his hand in irritation. (266)

"Gossip" is an another brilliant story, Gurung has expresses his idea of ethnic tolerance. For Gurung the nation is colored with different cultures and ethnic peoples and these peoples form a harmonious picture of the nation. He shows possibility of a perfect nation with the amalgamation, cooperation and respect within themselves.

This extract from the story supports these points:

I don't care ! he shouts back. 'How can a senior army officer pick an

uncouth Maoist from the jungle and take her as his wife ?

Are you in your senses at all, Himal ?

He renders me dumb; I pause to clear my throat, searching for words, 'I understand you are certainly thinking about the well being of your nephew and you're next to everything I have as a gurdian since father is gone. I say in as persuasive a voice as I can muster. Believe me, uncle, she's nice in every aspect and she is the one I've chosen for my life.

'Still, she's a Maoist ! he groans turning away and clenching his teeth. "What clan does she come from ?"

Chhettri ! (286)

Above given extract exposes the harmonious relation between major Himal Ale and Kopila Chhettri, who are attached to each other being far from society and its rule and social constraints. Rejecting the veil of social drama and superstition created by their religion and culture they love freely. This shows the deep love between these people. They go out in order to express their love and hold their hands tightly. That shows their bond which can't be broken in any obstacles and problems. They have exchange their views, feelings and problem to each other and that has brought them more closely and near. They are ready to fight with society and problem that may come in front of their love. The love has integrated their cultures, belief values and norms and that have changed their relation into the harmonious relationship among them.

The Maoists cannot haphazardly be stigmatized as terrorists, nor are the issues they have raised anti-social, anti-national or anti-democratic, but have a deep resonance in our society, which none of the past regimes ever bothered to address. But

neither are the Maoists to be applauded for their bloodletting politics. They are responsible for the deaths of thousands as much as the state. Since the Maoist insurgency is an ideology-driven and politically oriented movement, the solution must be sought through political means. War can't be fought for eternity; it has a certain life span, words are more powerful than bullets - they can effect long-lasting change.

With the signing away of the historic comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) on November 21 between seven party alliance (SPA) government and the communist party of Nepal Maoist (CPN-M) in favor of peace, democracy and development, concurring with a permanent ceasefire and end of armed conflict.

The Maoists have amply justified that they are not terrorists as mindlessly stigmatized by some local and foreign powers, but are responsible political stakeholders, too.

Now, abandoning the messy bunkers and clammy jungle dens, the rebels have hit the hot benches of Nepal's parliament. Nowadays we see those most dreaded rebels strutting our streets, delivering speeches among us, eating and drinking with us, Aren't all this syndromes of a significant political development ?

The government has taken actions against some bad Cops but has done nothing to address the bad or even worse army top brass who suppressed the people's movement (II), espeially the army chief, who handed the unified command of the security forces. The Nepali people want to see this happen. The Nepal Army (NA) is still being down in the feudal quagmire; it must be throughly democratized and made pro public, free from the shadows of medieval ghosts. The essence of peace cannot be had just rattling out grabled rhetoric or through hollow dialogs - without genuine will. These cannot be peace without the whole-hearted conviction, trust and sincerity of all

the willing partners.

Oh no . . . o . . . o . . . no way ! he almost screams. I'm warning you that in this there can be no compromise. This relationship will go no where; it cant have a happy ending. Our Kul, culture, clan and community can't accept her as your wife, be well aware of this !

But why ? I ask bewildered. It's downright prejudice, unde:

No, it's nothing of the sort. He keeps on, a number of my good friends are bahuns and chhettries. There is no harm in a relationship, You can have any friends you like, any clan, any race or religion but for a solemn relationship for marriage, the rules are different.

'Uncle . . . but things have changed so much'.

'So what ?' he retorts and irritably waves away to my approaching jittery jawan, who has just fetched a pot of tea. 'Do you know what crimes this ruthless Aryan race has committed against our kind ? (287)

The above mentioned abstract shows the love of Himal Ale for Chhettri girl Kopila. His letter for Kopila apparently clarifies her respect and love for Kopila. Nepal is inhabitant of different cultures and peoples like Brahmin, Magar, Tamang, Gurung, Chhettri, Madhesi, Muslim, Dalits etc.

Although being varied, they share some feature among themselves, presenting the chhettri girl Kopila and indigenous (Magar) Himal Ale. D.B. Gurung exposes the physical and cultural amalgamation of varies community of modern Nepalese society. Himal likes Kopila very deeply, he feels all his problems when she is in critical situation. He likes to share his feeling. Problem and emotion to Kopila. His love to Kopila had brought him very close to her. Where he feels better and excitement. He

cares Kopila when he is upset and full of anxiety. The love of Himal for Kopila has brought the ethnic tolerance between these cultures and varied peoples. Himal had positioned his love beyond all the social constraints.

Further, in order to support his notion of inter caste solidarity, Gurung mentions the love affair between different cultures and peoples. The love among different castes and cultural peoples is the symbol of ethnic tolerance. The love drags the people to respect and cooperate to each other. The novel "*Breaking Twilight*" exposes love among the indigenous magar and Chhettri community. Their love for each other in the society has brought the harmonious and tranquil environment. In the novel we can see the love affair between the Himal and Kopila. Gurung believes that the sharing of love between different casts bring the culures to know nearby and helps to maintain harmony and national unity so the love is only the means of uniting the people for the sake of humanity and nationality.

In addition to this Gurung has envisioned the ethnic tolerance among the different ethnic peoples and love is to spring the nationality in these peoples. The novelist gives voice to the voiceless indigenous people through the representative characters Himal, Pashmina, Kopila, Ajay and so on. They have to echo the voice in order to establish egalitarian society in which the monopoly of establishment remaining no longer. But the conflict between them cannot sustain forever. Even the notorious dictators must kneel down in front of the people's rebel. Rebels also search for social reconciliation through communal harmony, ethnic co-existence and tolerance. Peace and progress of country is possible through the ethnic tolerance among the peoples in the society. Peace is like a great house that we must build slowly laying stone on stone. Peace can't be brought about all suddenly by a stroke of

pen, as it were no amount of legislation, no amount of treaties and pacts, no amount of high oratory will establish peace and good will on earth until the whole of mankind realises the necessity of unity, cooperation and ethnic tolerance in the interest of their own safety and comfort. So Gurung prioritises love in order to maintain harmony and brings the collage among the different ethnic peoples. He views that the love should be beyond the religion, caste and culture. It is the true feeling of attachment. Love can tackle the every impossibility and problems and brings the different cultural value as the one bond which is the possibility of ethnic tolerance.

III. Conclusion

This study on D.B. Gurung's "*Breaking Twilight*" the latest collection of stories explores politics of ethnic tolerance and Nepali nationalism especially in Nepali nation state, the focus point of Gurung, through the technique of stories telling, explores, the advantages as well as the pitfalls of nationalism in the text.

Nationalism subsumes a number of cultural communities within the state nourished by shared norms, traditions and history of struggle to defend the space they call their own. It does not mean that nationalism is an ideology of complete exclusiveness. Thus, Nepali nationalism depends on uniformity across various ethnic groups.

According to Gurung, nationalism is a feeling which germinates in the mind of individual belonging to the particular country. Furthermore, nationalism seeks similarity out of differences and emphasizes on unity. Nationalism was a programme of social engineering and the national state was to be its factory again full power by striving to establish a peculiar political form, the so-called panchayat democracy instigated division tendencies among the Nepalese precisely by proclaiming their unity as one nation sharing a common culture, the panchayat government adopted as assimilation policy, insisting upon creating a homogeneous development society. The new political system, called panchayat headed by absolute monarch was engaged in a project to attain national integration. But rather than developing a new model of ethnic pluralism, the Hindu rulers of the new regime engaged themselves in officially promoting, ethnic homogenization by imposing the monolithic concept of one nation, one culture, one language, one religion and one national identity to become a citizen of Nepal.

One had to speak Khasa language observe the caste system follow Hindu religion and wear Nepali dress (daura suruwal) any claim to ethnic identity was reduced to political rebellion during the panchayat period because it was supposedly considered to be a threat to nationalism. Nationalism has been a preserve of the rich and privileged class in all times and places. Even in modern nation - states nationalism is by and large articulated by members of the more conscious middle class.

The Nepali nationalism is also strongly felt by those whose language culture symbols and heroes are taken care of by the state. They are fully articulated in education media bureaucracy and culture, costumes and help create a self-conscious of nationalism.

Nepal where the idea of "Nepal nation" continues to represent the caste hill Hindu culture nurtured carefully by 238 years rule of a Hindu monarchy. Ethnic movements are attempting to create new ideas of "Nepaliness" nationalism, in place of the hierarchal "Nepaliness" that existed for two and half of centuries and was achieved by imposing a common culture. Efforts might be necessary to socialize Nepalese into the concept of a multination state which provides space to all groups living in the country.

From a mono-ethnic state, Nepal is emerging as a poly-ethnic polity with a more inclusive version of Nepali nationalism that recognizes multiple language, religious people, cultures and identities. D. B. Gurung brings forth his visions of social harmony and equality. In this novel he emphasizes the amalgamations of different cultures and peoples. He was in favor of peace, progress and prosperity of the country.

He views that the nation is colored with different cultures and ethnic peoples

and these peoples form a harmonious picture of the nation. He shows possibility of a perfect nation with the amalgamation, cooperation and respect within themselves.

Gurung further focuses on the inclusive nature of Nepali nationalism. For him Nepali nationalism has included the people in terms of race, religion, caste, gender and ethnicity. His characters suffer from this exclusive policy of Nepali government and hierarchical nationalism.

Nationalism is an ideology that puts the nation at the centre of its concerns and seeks to promote its well-being. The goal of nationalism should be national autonomy, national unity and national identity. In order to accomplish this purpose all people of the country have to get equality, justice and liberty. People should have respect towards other communities religious and cultures, only then the national unity will be stronger. They should acknowledge differences, diversities and heterogeneities. But Nepali political and religious leaders try to hold power by dividing Nepali people in terms of class, caste, ethnicity and gender. Because of which Nepali nationalism has become empty shell to common people.

In this way, *Breaking Twilight* has become the document of social transformation. Social transformation is possible only when the interaction between two antagonistic forces is held. Equality, liberty and justice are the common issues in which all must become whether or not they are ruling clans. Social reconciliation and the empowerment of powerless people are materialized despite some nuisances.

In the collection of short story, he has proved his notion of ethnic tolerance and equality among the different cultural ethnical peoples. A bit of colour dropped into a vessel of water will spread itself and colour the whole water. The best way of obtaining justice is not by the use of force, and rebellion but by good will, cooperation

and ethnic toleration. He advocates possibilities of the social and cultural harmony in the collection of short story.

D. B. Gurung therefore in his collection of short story, "*Breaking Twilight*" breaks the traditional rudimentary concept of nation and nationalism and brings forth the multicultural nation which should be inclusively democratic and should respect the individual dignity.

Works Cited

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991.
- Bhabha, Homi K. ed. *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Chatterjee, Partha. *Nationalist thought and Colonial World*. Oxford : OUP, 1999.
- Czarnecka, Pfaff Joanna. "Vestiges and Visions: Cultural Change in the Process of Nation Building in Nepal". In David Gellner, Joanna Pfaff Czarnecka and John Whelpton (eds.) *Nationalism and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom: The Politics of Culture in Contemporary: Nepali* Amsterdam: Overseas Publisher Association, 1997.
- Dolp Ghale Tashi Tsering. Nepal's Exclusionary Democracy. *Journal of Indigenous Nationalities*, 2014.
- Eastrope, Anthony. *Englishness and National Culture*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Fanon, Frantz. "National Culture" *The Post Colonial Studies Reader* Eds. Bill Ashroff. Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin. London: Routledge 1995: 153-57.
- Gunther Bachelor, Nilamber Acharya, Pete Danmmann, Renu Rajbhandari, Bishnu Raj Upreti. *Nepal Building New Roads to Peace*.
- Gurung, D. B. *Nepal Negotiating a Path through Quagmire*, Koselle Prakashan, 2008.
- Hachhethu, Krishna. "Democracy and Nationalism Interface Between State and Ethnicity in Nepal", *CNAS Journal* 30.2 (July 2003): 217-52.
- Hangen, Susan and Lawoti, Mahendra 2013. *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nepal in Mahendra Lawoti and Susan Hangen (ed.), Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nepal: Identities and Mobilization after 1990*. London and New York Knowledge.

- Hill, Mike. "After Whiteness." *The Post Colonial Studies Reader* Eds. Bill Ashcraft et al. London and New York: Routledge, 1995, 201-7.
- Lawoti, Mahendra. *Towards a Democratic Nepal*. New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2008.
- Lawoti, Mahendra. *Transforming Ethnic Politics Transforming the Nepali Polity* in Mahendra Lawoti and Susan Hangen (ed.) *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nepali: Identities and Mobilization after 1990*. London and New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Lawoti, Mahendra. *Making Federalism Work: Promoting Societal and Institutional Congruence and Balancing Centripetal and Centrifugal Tendencies*. In Chaitanya Mishra and Om Gurung (eds.), *Ethnicity and Federalism in Nepal*, Kathmandu: Central Department of Sociology/Anthropology, 2010.
- Limbu, Basanta. Ethnicity, Federalism and Nepali Nationalism. *Ningwaso Journal of LSF*, 2014.
- Mabuhang, Bal Krishna. After Liberalism Marxism-Leninism and Maoism What Next "Ism" does Nepalese fate Adhere to ? *Contributions to Nepalese Studies Journal of CNAS*, 2012.
- Pfaff-Czarnecka, Jonna et al. *Ethnic Features: The State and Identity Politics in Asia*. New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1999.
- Ranamagar, Krishna Prasad. *Rebellion and Reconciliation in D.B. Gurung's Echoes of the Himalayas*. Central Department of English, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, July 2011.
- Rennan, Ernest. *What is Nation ? Nation and Narration*. Ed. Homi Bhabha Routledge: London, 1990.

Sharma, Raj Prayag. *The State and Society in Nepal*. Historical Foundation and Contemporary Trends Himal Books, 2004.

Smith, Anthony D. *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology and History*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.

Upreti, Sanjib. *Federalism, Social Justice and Democracy* In D.B. Gurung (ed.) *Towards Federalized Democratic Nepal friends for Peace Publication*, 2009.

Whelpton, John. "Political Identity in Nepal: State Nation and Community". In David Gellner Joanna Pfaff Czarnecka and John Whelpton (eds.), *Nationalism and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom: The Politics of Culture in Contemporary Nepal*: Amsterdam: Overseas Publisher Association, 1997.