

Introduction: Violation of Human Rights in Nepali Fiction

Nepal has just come out of a decade long internal turmoil popularly known as People's War which was launched by CPN (Maoist) against the state of Nepal in 1996. Killings, rapes, dislocations, bombings, and disappearances of high magnitude occurred during the period. The Maoists started attacking the state by firing at the State forces and destroying government infrastructure. The state responded by counter-attacking. The attack and the counter-attack pushed the nation into the morass of uncertainties, instabilities and human rights violations.

Nepali literary writers could not remain untouched by the war's ravages which resulted into the writing of war literature. This kind of literature gives expression to the voices of the people whose rights have been violated by both the State and the Maoists. It also highlights the irresponsibility and disregard of the both forces towards the citizens and their human rights. Human rights violations which could have gone unnoticed and unexamined have been conspicuously recorded in Nepali novels like Thapa's *Forget Kathmandu*, Wagle's *Palpasa Cafe* and Dhakal's *Rato Aakash*. This dissertation studies these texts from the perspective of the literary theory of human rights. A contemporary theorist, Jean. F. Lyotard, says that by providing the chance for a victim to speak, we can maintain human rights. But as seen in the novel *Palpasa Café*, Siddhartha--a Maoist leader is shot by army before he could speak something. His fundamental right of speech has been snatched. In the same way, Agamben's concept of Muselmann is helpful in understanding the pain of sufferers. Muselmann is the state of unspeakability whereby the victims cannot express the pain. The character--Siddhartha--a Maoist rebel in *Palpasa Café* is shot and he is reduced to the status of Muselmann.

Texts like *Palpasa Café*, *Rato Aakash* and *Forget Kathmandu* seek to represent the voices of the victims of war. The narrative of *Palpasa Café* by Narayan Wagle moves around

Palpasa--a Nepali girl who comes to Nepal from USA to make documentary films and Drishya-- a character who dreams at making a café by the name of Palpasa. Both these characters become the victims at the hands of the Maoists. Dhishya is kidnapped, and Paspasa is killed in an ambush laid by the Maoists.

The narrative, *Forget Kathmandu*, starts from the June 2001 royal massacre at the Narayanhiti Royal Palace and ends with her account of her trekking experiences in remote areas in west Nepal--the Maoist-held territories. She notices poverty stricken young men and women joining Maoist party without any hesitation who has nothing to do except cutting grass. She justifies their strong determination in joining the party by saying, "Join the Maoist is what any spirited girl would do" (249). She says that if she was born in the rural area like these girls, she would also have joined Maoist. While trekking, she hears state security force atrocities in the village, "They were all married, with little children . . . the army raped them when they came to search their houses. How could they save themselves?" (213). She presents the army as rapers.

The novel *Rato Aakash* by Ghanashyam Dhakal presents a series of human right violations from the side of the state. The narrative of Dhakal seems to tend towards accusing only the state forces for the violations of peoples' rights. His characters like Abiral, Gagan, Ganga-- the poor village kids- take war as the ultimate way of liberation. First the novel points out the irresponsibility of the state for not caring the villagers' illiteracy, poverty and unemployment. Secondly he presents the war as a way to bring changes in society. He accuses the state for killing the innocent people in the name of search and kill operation.

While exploring the discourse of human rights in the novel *Palpasa Cafe*, the human rights violation appears so immense that bearing witness to such violations seems to be traumatic. The victims cannot report the events in entirety because they are physically and

mentally tortured and their account always contains some deletions. In the novel *Palpasa Café*, Siddhartha- a Maoist leader and friend of Drishya is suddenly shot and he falls on the ground. Drishya goes to the country side from the city. On the way he visits his friend Siddhartha and talks with him. However he is identified and shot by the state security forces. He moves his lips in order to speak but cannot say anything. His friend Drishya sees the entire scene and he reports about Shiddartha whose situation is similar to the situation of a Muselmann – Agamben's neologism of a victim's violence in the state of being unconscious as he or she can not report the shock. Muselmann is the threshold between life and death where a writer can speak from the viewpoint of sufferer. In the novel *Palpasa Cafe* it is Drishya who reports about Siddhartha. So the true witness of severe pain and who functions like Muselmann, is the survivor -- Drishya. However, what he says is not true witness because, as Agamben has argued, “Testimony however contains a lacuna and the survivor agrees about this” (21). Drishya reports about Siddhartha, “He was lying in a pool of blood was still breathing. He held my hand and opened his mouth to say something” (166). The survivor, Drishya, only sees his suffering; he is not the sufferer himself. Siddhartha cannot speak, his speaking capacity is lost. The loss of speech is the violation of human rights which Hanna Arendt focuses on. As Peg Birmingham says Hannah Arendt has formulated the notion of common humanity that is rooted not in an autonomous subject but in the natality – the linguistic birth. Without this linguistic birth the humans are living dead. As Peg Birmingham remarks, “Without this linguistic birth, human would literary be dead” (24). As seen in the novel *Palpasa Café* the character-- Siddhartha is deprived of natality as he is not given a chance to speak before he was killed recklessly.

While talking about ways of protecting human rights, Birmingham says that Arendt emphasizes on taking common responsibility by which one can protect human rights, “With the

deepening of our knowledge of other, we recoil all the more from the ideal of humanity, that ideal when purged of all sentimentality demands that humanity assume political responsibility for all the crimes and evils committed by humans” (6). As the quote says that the criminals should be given a chance to be corrected. They should not be considered to be evil. And it is common responsibility that makes humanity an ideal humanity-- the humanity where a man's crime is taken as a crime committed not by an individual but by community. But instead of taking common responsibility, as shown in the novel *Palpasa Café* the army and the Maoists accuse each other of being anti-nationalists. They go on killing each other not showing any concern to the common responsibility. When they see each other with the sense of enmity, there is a high chance of domination. The powerful one always tries to dominate and discriminate the powerless one.

Domination is a hindrance to human rights. If a person is politically conscious of his rights, he is less dominated and will get justice. According to Birmingham, Arendt’s notion of human rights lies in the understanding of power, freedom and justice, her understanding of freedom, in contrast, is political located not in “I will” but in the “I am able” (54). When a person is dominated, then his or her right is violated. He means to say that a human being should be conscious of who s/he is. Discrimination, domination and exclusion are the violation of human rights. As Birmingham writes, “Domination, . . . is the loss of power that occur only where there is central ruling power” (55). As seen in the novel, *Rato Aakash*, the state is a central ruling power and the marginalized characters like Abiral and Sunder are debased, dominated, victimized and tortured recklessly. Sunder is a school boy shot by the state forces. The focus on the concept of "Right to have rights" (132) is denied to them. Most of the characters like Abiral-a

poor village boy, Ganga- Abiral's sister, and Gagan- Abiral's friend are dominated, discriminated and violated. Richard Rorty talks about domination and exclusion as human rights violations.

Regarding domination and marginalization Richard Rorty opines that they are the sources of human rights abuses. He takes discrimination, domination, exclusion as the violation of human rights. He says, "When it comes to women, however there are several ways of excluding them from true humanity" (114). He brings the reference of Jews and Muslim who are treated as animals. As shown in the text, *Forget Kathmandu*, the state security forces are involved in the rape of innocent girls and mental torture. Thapa writes, "The army raped them when they came to search their houses. How could they save themselves? Their husbands have all accepted them, because they weren't to blame. But imaging their shame" (213). They also exploited female sexually. While interpreting the novel *Rato Aakash* and *Forget Kathmandu* from the perspective of Rorty, the state security forces come out as the agents of human right violations as they discriminate and violate others. Rorty's concept of human rights has association with the inherent dignity that is naturally given to human beings. The inherent dignity is inviolable. The moment it is violated, human rights is under attack.

Talking about the inviolable dignity, Michael J. Perry writes, "To affirm morality of human rights is to affirm the two fold claim that every human being has inherent dignity and is inviolable" (6). Perry clarifies that each and every human being's inherent dignity should be respected by the state. By inherent dignity he means to say that humans by birth have taken certain rights- right to life, right to liberty.

While analyzing the novel *Rato Aakash* from the perspective of Michael Perry's concept of inherent dignity, the basic rights that everybody should enjoy in a democratic country has been lost. The inherent dignity of humans has been lost as army atrocities and Maoist terror have

crossed the limit. To quote Ghanashyam Dhakal, “The police operation had turned the village scattered” (131)¹. The village has been disordered and covered with fear due to the police operation. In such condition, life becomes harsh, living with dignified life is impossible.

The narrator, in the novel *Palpasa Cafe*, sees his friend Siddhartha being killed by the state security force. He writes, “By then, the men had caught up with Siddhartha. He was completely surrounded. I heard three shots and he fell” (166). The narrator sees his friend Siddhartha being surrounded and killed by army; his inherent dignity is lost and violated. Narrator himself has narrow escape, he has also been humiliated by a female commando who kicked him on the way, “The girl kicks me and tried to say something again” (166). The inherent dignity of the narrator is violated as the girl humiliates him by not only threatening but also by kicking.

Every citizen as said by Michael Perry is endowed with inalienable rights. It is the duty and responsibility of state to protect the rights. Citizens are simply bearer of such rights. In this context, Todd Landman writes, “It has been typically understood that individuals and certain groups are the bearer of human rights, while the state is the prime organ that can protect or violate human rights” (9). According to Landman, the responsibility of maintaining human rights falls largely on the side of the state. It depends on the policy of the state as well. While analyzing the above mentioned novels from the perspective of Toddman, the state has been irresponsible and violator of human rights. There are several rights that citizens can enjoy: “1) Civil and political rights 2) economic, social and cultural rights and 3) Solidarity rights” (10). Toddman clarifies that civil rights includes the right to life, liberty and personal security. Political rights are rights to speech and expression as well as political participation. Toddman further writes, “. . . civil and political rights have been considered fundamental human rights which all nation states

¹ k|x/L ck[[zgn] ufp“ l5Gg leGg agfPsf] lyof] .

have adults and responsibly to uphold” (9). However, as seen in the novels above, the government has done nothing to protect the civil and political – the fundamental rights. Manjushree Thapa in her novel *Forget Kathmandu* writes, “Whole generations of children have seen their education destroyed. They are facing the basic questions of how to survive” (182). The children are psychologically tortured, and they realize that their education is destroyed. The government has been careless to this burning problem of the nation.

According to Thapa, troops sent to different parts by state against Maoist has created fear. Thapa writes “They just shot anyone who was outdoors in those days. They didn’t know who they were shooting, they didn’t care” (209). As the quote implies, people couldn’t speak anything. They had to be silent. Their right to speech was lost. The army men were blind in killing those who were outdoor without knowing who they are killing. Thapa brings the reference of an innocent student shot recently by army, as a boy in the village narrates about merciless killings of innocent people by army. Thapa writes, “When the army came into the room and asked him why he’d gone indoors, they took him to the stone tap below the village and shot him dead. His name was Tanka Bahadur Shahi. He studied in class ten at the Shree Mahadev Uchha Madhyamik Vidyalaya in Raravatiya” (209). An innocent boy studying in class 10 was killed without any reason. He was shot before he could speak. His interlocution as Jean Francois Lyotard in *The Other’s Rights* says is lost violated by the dominant group -- the security forces.

Lyotard focuses on interlocution – the two ways speaking as a way to maintain human rights. He says, “If a human being can speak, he is a possible interlocutor” (139). If the other is not let to enter into dialogue; his/her right to speech is violated. As we see in the above quotation, the school boy was shot by army before he could speak anything.

Lyotard further takes the right to speech as fundamental human rights as he says: “Let us take it that the capacity to speak to other a human right, and perhaps the most fundamental human right” (141). However, as seen briefly in the above narratives, this fundamental right is lost as the characters are deprived of possibility to speak due to either the Maoist or the state. The interlocutory capacity must be guaranteed to every citizen.

The objectives of my thesis are twofold: to locate the discourse of human rights violations in the above texts and to highlight the politics of the discourse of the human rights.

Manjushree Thapa’s *Forget Kathmandu* and Ghanashyam Dhakal’s *Rato Aakash* criticize the human rights violations by the State security forces; Narayan Wagle’s *Palpasa Café* lambasts the Maoists for violating human rights. Why is there a diametrically opposed representation? What is the politics of representation? Whose representation is more realistic? What is interesting is that both the Maoists and the State security forces perpetrate the violence in the name of protecting people’s rights to live?

In the same way, Ghanashyam Dhakal’s *Rato Aakash* also depicts the issue of human rights violation from the side of state. As shown in the novel, the army atrocities cross the boundary as it kills anybody without any proof that he or she is a Maoist. In the search operation by the State the army arrives at a house of Ganga Bahadur. The army don’t find them and kill their children instead, “Three shots . . .” (193)². The innocent four children are immediately killed. Another character Madikata, is a human rights violator and exploiter who is in nexus with the State security force and C. D. O.

On the contrary, Narayan Wagle’s *Palpasa Café* raises the issue of terror, violence, rape, killings prevailing in the city as well as village because of People’s War and Maoist activities. Wagle narrates his experience of being caught up by Maoist. Wagle is abused, threaten, and

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humiliated by a Maoist cadre time and again. Mostly the touching human rights violation comes when Palpasa, the innocent girl is killed in an ambush designed by Maoist which was aimed to security force. Wagle in the novel writes, “Our bus had been caught in an ambush laid by the people carrying those torches. I had survived only because I had got off the bus. And Palpasa had been killed only because she hadn’t” (146- 147). As quote says that life is uncertain and has become a matter of chance. The narrator sees Palpasa being killed in an ambush laid by the Maoists.

This dissertation argues that all the above texts represent the human rights violations committed during the war. Since the above literary outcomes are the product of war, a study of human rights violation helps to bring to the fore the inhumane attitude of the both state security force and Maoist forces. The victimhood is elided in these texts because the writers suffer from the blindspot of their subscription to political ideologies. The representation of human rights violation derives sharpness from the focus on what Agamben calls the Muselmann--speaking from the viewpoint of the unspeakability of the victims which the above mentioned texts lack.

Human Rights Violation in People's War

A decade long war led by Maoist party calling it 'People's war' intensified political, economical and cultural crisis. Political instability, unemployment, poverty, illiteracy were the common problems during the war which involved human right abuses: killings, rapes, dislocation, bombings and disappearances. People were trapped in vicious circle of attack and counter attack by Maoist and state respectively. Manjushree Thapa in *Forget Kathmandu* observes:

The Maoist insurgency and government counter insurgency on a way since 1996 escalated. We lost thousands of lives to war. thousands of ordinary people were orphaned and widowed, hundreds of thousands were displaced from their towns and villages and incidences of maiming , rape, unlawful detention, extortion, kidnapping, child conscription and disappearances rose rapidly.(1)

As quote implies, people were suffering due to the war. People were killed and thousands of ordinary people disfigured, kidnapped and displaced.

After the Maoist party submitted its forty point demands related to nationalism, public's well fare, people's livelihoods to the then government led by Sher Bahadur Deuba , the war started as Government was not in the condition to fulfill all the demands. Basic causes of birth and growth of insurgency were the widespread corruption, poverty, growing ethnic sensibility, and bad governance. In this context, Nischal Nath Panday writes, "Half of Nepal's population lives in absolute poverty, eighty percent of the children are thought to be suffering from malnutrition. Literacy is still low despite crores being poured annually in to education sector "(46). People joined the war as the policy of state did not address their problems. They were hopeful that the war will not only liberate them but also it would transform them from poor to

rich. They were against the state which was almost deaf to the common citizen. They also lost their beliefs on the leaders who were running the Governments, "The hopes of the people were held back by the same leaders who were expected to make their living conditions better. The plain truth was now the people started to dream again?" (46). As Panday talks, people were hopeful that the war would bring positive impacts on them. Manjushree Thapa also talks how people were hopeful in bringing changes due to the Maoist movement. She visits a Maoist girl-Binita who was willingly joining Maoist movement, she reports, "The movement is changing so many things"(179).

The war itself was so cruel that it killed massive number of people, destroyed infrastructures and created terror. In this context, Lok Raj Baral writes, "About 15,000 people have lost their lives" (207). Nepali citizens lost their lives and some others were trapped between insurgency and counter insurgency of the Maoist and the state respectively. In such a difficult situation, the soundbite 'New Nepal' sounded ridiculous to some but inspirational to the other. It was ridiculous because of loss and inspirational as people had become politically conscious.

Talking about the birth of People's War in Nepal Arjunkarki and David Seddon in writes, " On 13 February 1996 (four days before expiry of their deadline), the Communist party of Nepal (Maoist) declared People's War in Nepal, issuing a leaflet that called on the people of Nepal "march along the path of the People's War to smash the Reactionary state and Establish a New Democratic state" (23). The aim of the Maoist revolution was to abolish Monarchy and to establish as a Republican state. The Maoist party accused the then governments of being responsible for corruption, violence, exclusion and poverty. Govinda Neupane in this regards writes, "The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) is waging People's War since 13 February

1996"(306). The attack of Maoist security forces and counter-attack of state security forces led the nation towards uncertainties, instabilities and human rights violations.

Richard Rorty takes such an attitude of the State as the deliberate exclusion of human beings from the realm of true humanity—an exclusion which he takes as human right violations. He opines that women, minorities have been kept under the category of pseudohumans by excluding them from true humanity. He talks about the victims suffered at the hand of torturer and rapists. Though he talks about Muslim victims and women who are gang raped, his concept of excluding them from humanity is helpful in understanding how human rights violation occurred in Nepal. He writes, "We in the safe, rich democracies feel about The Serbian torturers and rapists as they feel about their Muslim victims .They are more like animal than like us. But we are not doing anything to help the Muslim women who are being gang raped" (113). As we see in Dhakal's narrative, the women are raped by the state forces. Rorty also opines that by respecting other, one can maintain human rights. He thinks that human beings have in added element that puts them in rational creature of world, "Respect for this ingredient provides a reason for people to be nice to each other" (115). The concept of being nice to other helps in stopping human rights violations. However in People's War, the state and the Maoist take each other as antagonistic forces. They were not nice to each other. He further tells that by manipulating others' feelings, sentimentalities, and emotions, one cannot maintain human rights. He is not satisfied with the pragmatics who argue that emergence of human right culture seems to owe nothing to morality, ethics, sentimental stories, "If it seems that most of the work of changing moral institutions is being done by manipulating our feelings rather than increasing our knowledge" (118). He means to say that by manipulating feelings and emotions one can not maintain human rights.

By focusing on being nicer to other, Rorty opines that human rights violations can be stopped. According to Rorty one way to stop human rights violations is by being nice to other. However during the People's War the state and Maoist didn't become nicer to each other and human rights violation continued. As Thapa writes:

Even in the ceasefire both forces used their power to destroy the basic liberties of people. Even after the ceasefire, human rights violations continued. A 14-year-old boy had recently been arrested by the security forces and detained as a Maoist. The security forces had also shot two girls point-blank in a neighboring village, two unidentified bodies had been found in a cleft elsewhere. (182)

Rather than being nicer to the people, as quote implies, the both forces continued their violence on common citizens. By being nicer, Richard Rorty means to say that we should respect other by decentralizing the ego that we have. We should according to him have feeling of brotherhood, equality and niceness among us. He states:

To get whites to be nicer to Blacks masks to females ferns to Muslim or straight to gays to help our species link up into what Robossi calls a planetary community dominated by a culture of human rights it is of no use whatever to say notice that what you have in common your humanity is more important than these trivial differences. (125)

As the quote says individual should be humanity oriented forgetting the trivial matters. When a human being becomes nicer to other by ignoring common things like caste, race, sex, religion, then human rights can be maintained. The boundary between you as other and I as me should be blurred thereby maintaining the human rights. Lyotard also focuses on merging between I and you as other. Lyotard argues that a man should be in the position to other by bringing the

reference of Hannah Arendt, he highlights that other should be respected. While talking about the ways of protecting human rights, he talks about respect to others. Being humanity oriented one can be human rights protector. He writes, " A human being has right only if he is other than a human being. Then the other can treat him as their fellow human being" (136). He argues that respecting should not be limited to familiar and elder people. It should be done to strange people. He says, "To banish the stranger is to banish the community and you banish yourself from the community there" (136). He means to say that the boundary between familiar and stranger should be blurred for the right practices. To include somebody as our one is to exclude another thereby not accepting others as receivers of human rights.

Lyotard argues that for human right protection, interlocution has to be maintained. The merging of 'I' and 'you' into one makes interlocution possible. However the right to interlocution is not being given to the characters like Abiral in *Rato Aakash*, Siddhartha in *Palpasa Cafe*. He writes, "The right of interlocution is not granted to every human being. The figure of the other is that a threat weighing on the national community from without, which cannot help but undermine its integrity" (139). He further writes, "If a human being can speak, he is a possible interlocutor" (139). However, the speaking right of every individual has not been granted. People are often denials of their possible interlocutor. They are denials of possible interlocution. He also talks about the concept of abjection or Muselmann, i.e., the situation where language cannot express the feelings, emotion and sentiments. In this regard Lyotard says, "Abjection is not merely when we are missing from speech, but when we lack language to excess. Our debt to announcement can never be acquitted" (145). When we lack language, we lack freedom, the autonomous self and right to have rights. When respect to other is lost, denied and ignored, human right is violated.

Roger Burggraeve also talks about respect for the other. According to him, the vertical relation between I and you should be dismantled and brought into horizontal relation where one equals the other. However the ego within the human steps him/her from realizing other as subject agent and doer. He writes, "The ego has indeed recognized the other in its separateness and exteriority which is too sad as other as strange and incomprehensible presence..." (87). As the lines say, the ego of a person ignores other as a subject. Madikanta—an aristocrat in the novel, *Rato Aakash*, treats poor people as if they are devoid of any subjectivity.

By bringing the concept of Emmanuel Levinas, Burggraeve talks about justice by respecting other as a part of whole humanity. He says, "Hence does it become clear now Levinas concept of justice is indeed intended in the broad sense of the word as doing justice to the other respecting him or her as other and in this light promoting his or her concerns before one's own" (103). He further writes, "A truly humane justice is thus possible on the basis of a 'humanism of the other' which stands in contrast with the classical humanism of the ego. The humanism of the other implies a de-throning and decentering of the ego" (105). By decentering the ego "I", one can respect other. He also writes, "The other is not my equal but my superior, the one who teacher and commands from a height which is ethical. The right of other is above my right" (105-106). He opines that no peace and human rights can be maintained without feeling of goodness for other. He says, "This demonstrates how justice and human rights cannot be accomplished when they are rooted in an unconditional willing-good -for-the - other" (107). The goodness in human being should appear as a desire, it can not be force-fully attained. He states,

This unconditional goodness is characterized by a desire to reach ever greater heights of Goodness. To the degree that I take up my responsibility for the needy, suffering and even dying other, committing myself to the realization of her basic

rights, there also grows in me the desire to achieve and build up ever more
Goodness. (114)

He means to say that the goodness should not be conditional. It should not have any ulterior motive. As a human being one should realize the sufferings of other as his own. The responsibility should be taken by the person who is not the victim or the other. If the feeling of common sharing and responsibility do not grow in human, equality and human right cannot be maintained. Taking the references of the report of Amnesty International – A Human Rights crisis, Karki and Sedden further talks about the atrocities of state and Maoists Report goes like:

The report provides a useful summary of the background to the current situation and then documents in some details the human rights violations perpetrated by the state security forces, and by the Maoist It also criticizes the government for permitting human rights violations in the fields but also for not having More decisive action regarding arbitrary detention, disappearances, deaths in custody and unfair trials. It criticises the Maoists for deliberate and unlawful killings, hostage taking, the use of child soldiers and human rights abuses by people's courts. (41)

As reported by Amnesty International, both Maoist and state security forces have deliberately killed innocent people. It has been said to be unlawful killings which are proofs for human rights abuses. Mukunda Kattel in "Introduction to the People's War and its Implications" tells how Maoist movement was developing:

What should be highlighted here is that the people's war feeds on a diet of political, social and economic deprivation and discrimination in Nepal. It is wrong to see the war solely as an imposition by some careerist politicians on the misled

rank and file of Maoist party. It is a response to the real concerns and demands of many Nepalese young people who were left to languish in despair and violence between 1990 and 1995, due to the failure of the state in the delivery of justice.

(51)

The reason of People's War has been the bad governance. The war feeds on a diet of political, social and economic discrimination and deprivation. Women were discriminated; ethnic groups and janajatis were humiliated in public. The war as the lines say is a response to the despair of people created by the governments. While paving the middle path, Pradip Nepal, talks how government and Maoists have been enemies of people. Nepal writes:

But in reality, the period after initiation of the people's war has been a period of needless sacrifice and an unnecessary torture. In this period, the people did not co-operate with the government. The government took the path of killing and violence. The Maoists however, failed to understand and respect the roots of the people's support for them. Their attention was focused on murder and violence.

As time passed, both the governments and the Maoists have begun to appear to be the enemies of the people. (416)

This quotation clarifies how Maoist's activities are hostile to common people. The violence and murder from both sides are the inimical acts to common people. Maoists only focused on violence and mordent thereby being enemies to common people and people in same pares of country started resisting against Maoists. In this context, Mukunda Kattel writes, "There are indications that political resistance to Maoists activities is now developing at the grassroots ...Maoists. Resistance committees have been formed in some areas at the grassroots to fight

them in an organized way" (67). The quote says, people who were not supporter of Maoists started to resist its acts in organized way. They also resisted because they didn't like the war.

Whether the arguments go in favor of against Maoists is not a great issue, what is important is the not a great issue what is important is the loss of humans, materials and resources. The fundamental right of these people has been violated. A number of injuries and disappearances caused by the decade long conflict indicate the human rights abuses. The village was mostly affected as villages were the bases for insurgents. The poor villagers were accused of either Maoists or a member of state force. Talking about pains of rural people, PremThapa remarks, "The rural country side suffered the most where the insurgents had their bases. The poor villages wars caught in the cross fire between the state security forces and the rebel forces. They were abducted and tortured in the name of supporting either warring forces" (2). The innocent people were victimized and behaved in irrational way by the both warring forces. Thapa further talks about the overall negative impacts brought by war. He writes, "Apart from human loss and suffering, the material loss was immense during the conflict. The nation's infrastructures for examples bridges, government buildings, offices and industries where hit to an irreparable state" (2). The country as he points out became socially vulnerable and politically unstable nation.

After launching of Maoist's movement the country 'Nepal' starts facing a crisis that has underpinned the political socio-economical and cultural values. People have been trapped in a vicious cycle of violence and counter-violence evolving from the People's War. Human right abuses are committed by both state security forces and Maoists security forces. Killings, bomb blasts, extortions, strikes are the example of human rights violations. In this context, Nischal Nath Pandey writes, "Since the start of the Movement, both the Maoists and the state security

force have embarked on a frenzy of killing, plunging the otherwise tranquil hills of the kingdom in a state of turmoil. Human rights violations are revenge approach has become the order of the day” (101). As shown in the lines, both forces have killed decoder. These incidents are becoming common. Human rights violations have been reported as a daily routine act.

As Maoists launched the war the state developed a policy 'Search and Destroy Action' and Jungle search operation. The rebel group also tried it's best to kill state security forces. In this political crisis it was difficult to separate innocent people from insurgents Panday farther writes:

During cordon and search and Destroy operations, Care is not taken to separate the innocent from the insurgents. Mostin the afternoon, this is difficult as simple peasants in the afternoon can become people including peasants have been killed and they were reported to be deadly guerrillas. (10)

Maoists also unnecessarily suspected innocent people as well-wisher, informers of state force. The war created terror and panic in people. The state and Maoist forces were attacking each other as they were the greatest enemies. Narayan Wagle in *Palpasa Café* writes, "Then a second round of attacks began. I heard a defeating noise like a landslide. Several houses nearby seemed to collapse. The terrified voices of the neighbors rose to a scream. Talking about the threats of war Panday further writes:

The perpetrators are rarely punished. While the rebels proclaim that informers, feudal landlords and enemies of the people have to be exterminated, the government in an effort to contain situation, start taking revenge on the insurgent – in both case the innocent victims are the poor and oppressed people of Nepal. (101)

Human rights abuses continue in the war as both forces start killing innocent people in the name of supporting the other. Along with killings, rapes, sexual harassment, disappearances, injustice, public torture are the main human rights abuses that happen in people's war. The fundamental right of human right to life has been snatched because of rampant gun culture which encourage both forces to kill people if they have doubt. Since the violations crossed the limit, people started to join Maoist Party by keeping their life at risk. Women also took part.

Women also willingly joined the war. They thought that Maoist party would support them. In this context, Indra Adhikari writes:

The issue of gender is highlighted more by the Maoists than by other parties. It is certain that human rights of women would be more prominently raised in the future in Nepal. All the exploited, subordinated, subjugated and marginalized women can no longer be included under the patriarchal social structure because the women have participated as rebels in the Maoist movement for taking revenge of for compensation to all kind of exploitation, and for emancipation from the subjugation and suppression. (82)

As the quote tells that the marginalized position of women as they thought would be uplifted by the Maoist party. The patriarchal structure always excludes women from the ruling system. As a result they joined war. Talking about aim of Maoist party, Indra Adhikari writes, "The communist party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-Maoist) has been waging the People's War (PW) since 1996 for establishing a communist republican state in Nepal instead of constitutional monarchy and the western model of democracy" (60). As lines show, the aim of Maoist party was to abolish monarchy and establish Nepal as a republican state. However, it was not easy to topple down the monarchy system; the war thought to be necessary thing.

The growth of the insurgency despite the challenges from the side of state went ahead in progressive way. When it waged war against the state it was in khukuri phase. It had to be limited in certain places. The rebels were few; they could be counted in fingers. Arms were also little the party either killed or punished the landlords who were unpopular in a particular village. Panday in this context writes about khukuri phase of Maoist party and its growth. Talking about bad governance, Lokraj Baral writes, "The continued disparity and exclusion are the principal regardless of the nature of their composition seem to be sensitive to improving the conditions of people "(196). The lines show that Maoist insurgency was a result of continued disparity and exclusion of ethnic, women, dalits from the mainstream politics. The ethnic people were deprived of power. They were considered to be ruled by. Talking about this, Manjushree Thapa in Forget Kathmandu again writes:

The Bahun caste as Royal priests and preceptors held religious authority. The Newars – the ethnic group indigenous to Kathmandu – held key posts in administration. Everywhere in power were the Chettries , Bahuns and Newars and a few rare members of remaining ninety odd caste and ethnic nationalities. Women too were almost invisible in the government. More than ninety percent of the country's population, therefore, found no representation. (52-53)

As Thapa talks, ethnic people were out of mainstream politics as they were hardly visible in power sharing mechanism. Women too were excluded from the opportunity. The attraction of people towards Maoist party grew as the party started the programmes related to social change like eliminating gambling, cards, and superstitions. In this context Indira Adhikari further says:

The Maoist ban on local gambling as well as punishment given to professional card player was satisfactory. The administrators have imposed sanction on

polygamy. It has been more strictly enforced than by the government. They have been dispensing justice immediately for the victim (first wife of the criminal). The Maoists also punish the person who exploits women sexually. (72)

The quote talks about how immediate justice was given to victims by the Maoist party. The Maoist earned popularity as they were against social evils and the State atrocities. They also restricted on multi marrying.

The Maoist's appeal with the people is due to the irresponsibility of government. Dhruva Kumar comments in this regard:

People's War thus becomes a case study of government failures. The government has functionally failed in providing security, general welfare and representation to the people. The insurgency intensified along with governance becoming more conservative by shifting social responsibility to military activities . (105)

The Maoist rebellion had a humble beginning as the rebels were few, arms and ammunition were virtually non- existent and training was close to hill. All these require money, but the only way to get resources are to loot the public or government or both or from donation at extortion. This in –turn, can only be successful after a brief reign of terror has been established and the more moment get publicity in the national and international media.

As the growth along with popularity continued the war turned into rifle phase. As Nischal Nath Panday observes, "Rape and sexual harassment as well as disappearances and torture are main human rights abuses that occur time and again wherever the state security forces operate " (103). As he observes the country during war underwent through wrenching experiences of rapes killing. He writes:

According to human rights watchers the situation deteriorated since the state of emergency was declared in November 2001. During the emergency the state security forces arrested hundreds of people, and special counter terrorism measures have undermined the very tenets of human rights. The Maoists, who now control a sizeable proportion of the country, have taken around 500 people hostages. Fortuned scores of people, and recruited child soldiers. (101)

As the quote tells that the emergency period destroyed the hundred people. The counter attack measure carried out by the government undermined the basic tenet of human rights. Maoist also ignored the human rights as they constantly kept people hostage and killed other.

In a nutshell the various lines quoted above project how human rights violations were the common phenomenon during the decade long war. The innocent people were trapped in the war; they suffered mental and physical torture, dislocations, sexual harassment, kidnapping and killings. They were deprived of basic human rights. On the one hand government was unable to provide education, food, medicine, and other daily useable things on the other the war snatched their fundamental rights as it doesn't know any limit. Whereas the killing of non-combatants, bomb blasts, extortion and calling for Nepal bandhs and strikes of industrial and educational institutions are characteristics of the human rights abuses on the part of the rebels, the state response in the form of disappearances and extrajudicial killings has degenerated into human rights violations.

The Maoists were quick to identify this opportunity and gave their struggle an ethnic flavour. Ironically, the Maoists leadership is dominantly Brahmin, but the tactics worked in the Midwest, as Magars and janajatis supported the Maoists enthusiastically.

While the devastating news shocked everyone, nobody in Kathmandu had seen a gathering quite as massive as the one of mourners that went along with the dead bodies of the late King and Queen to the cremation ghat at Pashupatinath. Thousands shaved their heads in reverence to the late monarch. The Maoists were quick to understand this public sentiment, and disclosed for the first time that they had a working relationship with the late King and respected him for his nationalistic stands. As Thapa in *Forget Kathmandu* writes:

The Maoist, by contrast, were quick to try and capitalize on mass disaffection.

An early Maoist press release expressed concern for the lack of post-mortems of the massacre victims, and stated that the killings had been carried out by right-wing and anti-national forces(-a term that in their code language, described King Gyanendra. (28)

In this way Maoists were gaining popularity among the people. The Maoists, who now control a sizeable proportion of the country, have taken around 500 people hostages, tortured scores of people, and recruited child soldiers. They have targeted not only the security forces but also important infrastructures such as telecommunication network, roads, factories, and private boarding schools.

Pandey catalogs the violence unleashed by Maoists as:

1. The people's courts give death sentences to informers and workers of other political parties. Abduction is common.
2. Ruthless killings of policemen and soldiers along with non-combatants have created a stage of terror.

3. Looting banks and forcing 'donations' and contributions from businessman and common people has affected the lives of all citizens.
4. Seeking to impose narrow views and beliefs on others and frequent calls for Nepal bandhs has resulted in blatant misuse of muscle power.
5. Destroying public property, educational institutions, telecommunication towers, drinking water pipelines and power projects that often take decades to rebuild has cost the country dearly .(105)

As the points tell that the Maoists were involved in kidnappings killings, destructions and violence. Some of the most shocking revelations of the book as Pandey writes are as follows:

1. There were more than 21,084 incidents of human rights violation: 52 percent by the Maoists, 38 percent by the state, and the rest by others.
2. There were 4,952 persons killed in one year period out of which 3,297 were killed by the state alone. The Maoists killed 1,358 people while others killed 297 during the same period.
3. A total of 1,35,118 violations were recorded against the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)
4. A total of 4,873 violations were against the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)
5. Altogether 17,564 people were displaced, most of them due to Maoist threats.
6. Almost 46 under-aged persons were also detained during the period.

7. Rukum, a mid-western district, accounted for the highest number of deaths with about 500 killings, followed by Dang, Rolpa, Achham, Jumla, Salyan, Bardiya, Surkhet, Doti and Lamjung in the top. (10)

Pandey thus gives vent to his worries about human rights violations. He is concerned with the deteriorating situation of human rights. He fears the intervention of foreign forces in Nepal in the name of protecting the human rights. He writes the violence unleashed by the Maoists and state. He shows his worries in this way:

If the present human rights situations in the country keeps on deteriorating at the present pace, some analysis even fear inter-national or UN intervention in order to safeguard the rights of efforts on the part of the government and the Maoist rebels to respect human rights and civil liberties at all times may reduce the number of violations, international organizations such as the UN, the donor communities too, would want to assist in educating both their armies, rather than simply making headlines with appalling cases that only further terrify and intimidate the people of Nepal.(107)

In this way People's War launched by Maoist to establish Nepal as a republican State by abolishing the Monarchy, though was getting its aim but involved human rights violation. The ways taken by Maoist and government intensified human rights violation. Both the warring forces took each other as the greatest enemies. Their aim to finish each other undermined their commitment to human rights and civil liberties. By not being nicer and good to each other, they show their irresponsibility and negligence towards the citizens.

The Theory of Human Rights

Human rights assume the acceptance of equality and freedom of all people. These rights can also be taken as principles of moral propriety, ethics and right conduct, a set of objective directed toward achieving a better world.

Michael Perry states that human beings have born naturally with some inalienable rights. The act of a person should be directed towards establishing brotherhood and maintaining dignity for all. He states, "Member of the human family are born free and equal in unity and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood" (9). The sense of brotherhood is found missing between the state forces and Maoist forces as they want to kill each other. As seen in the novel *Palpasa Café*, the both forces are targeting each other. They don't show their concern if innocent people are killed, as Wagle writes, "Our bus had been caught in an ambush, laid by the people carrying those torches. The jeep however was safe. It was a police jeep" (186). What is clear from the quote is that the jeep of police was aimed to be ambushed but the bus carrying the common people is caught mistakenly. Had they have the concept of brotherhood, the Maoist would not have ambushed. Rorty says by forgetting the trivial things, people should move ahead with a sense of brotherhood, ethics, norms, values, and morals came into consideration when we talk about human rights. He also focuses on normative values, "Much of the international discourse on human rights is replete with declarations and normative claims that many human rights scholars and practitioners translate (un) wittingly into empirical claims which in many instances may lead to policy decisions human rights" (1). He opines that moral and ethical line of judgement is helpful in understanding the theories of human rights.

Perry further talks the human rights and inherent dignity which are inviolable. The inherent dignity can be maintained only when basic rights of human are provided by the state to

its citizen. A person, regardless of his color, sex, language religion, can enjoy the fundamental rights of human beings. A person's birth, property, origin are not important so far as rights are concerned. He says, "To say that every human being has inherent dignity that every being has, does not inhere in. It does not depend on any things a particular as a human being's race, color, sex, language, religion political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth of other status" (5). The inherent dignity is not a matter of race, class and gender; it is a matter of whole humanity. But as seen in the novel *Palpasa Café* the inherent dignity of a innocent village girl is lost as a Maoist rebel-Siddhartha forcefully instructs her to carry guns," You will have to use gun, shoot people, make bombs" (90). The girl has no other option except joining the war.

The inherent dignity does not have its foundation on race, class, sex and religion. While talking about rights, he talks two kinds of morality of human rights: religions ground of morality and secular ground of morality. They differ in nature but what is common is that both of them share same claim that everybody should enjoy rights. He talks about religious ground of human rights first. At the center of religions ground of morality of human rights, there lays faith on God. He writes, "The emergence of the morality of human rights makes the moral landscape of the twentieth century a touch less bleak" (4). Love to other is the motto of religions ground of morality. People tend to maintain human rights as they have sense of fear and terror of being punished by God. Loving motive is a process of maintaining human rights. He writes, "Every human being has inherent dignity says Sarah because and in the sense that every human being is a beloved child of God and a sister -brother to every other human being" (8). He means to say that by loving, caring and helping the poor we can maintain human rights. He also means to say that one way to maintain human rights is to have faith in God. However as Manjushree Thapa observes, the faith has been lost, "Falsehood results in a loss of faith; state-sanctioned falsehood

results in a loss of faith in the state"(53). She says that when we lose faith, we create falsehood thereby damaging the environment for human rights protection.

Perry further talks about non-religions ground of human rights. Unlike religions ground of morality the secular ground of morality talks about reason as the motto of human rights. He justifies this morality as, "The point here is not that morality cannot survive the death of God. There in not just one morality in the world. There neither are many nor is the point that one cannot be good unless one believes in God. By saying that there are other grounds of human rights, he intends to talk about secular or non-religions ground of human rights. Then he talks about morality and law. The law and secular ground of ground of morality human rights are linked. Whereas law is a matter of court, secular ground of morality is a matter of reason and rationality. He further writes:

We, who affirm the morality of human rights because we affirm it, have considered, to do more than prevent human beings from doing things that violate human beings. We have conclusive reason to do what we can all things considered, to prevent human beings from doing things that, even if they do not violate human beings, nonetheless lanes unwarranted human suffering . (34)

Preventing people from doing things that violate human rights is a way of avoiding unwarranted human sufferings. Then he spends much of his efforts in justifying which perspective is good from the perspective of victim. In this regard, he says "The relevant perspective belongs to those of us who, in coming face to face with the suffering, must decide what, it anything to do, or to try to do, about it, in making that decision, we must reach our own judgment about whether the suffering is warranted" (35). Then he describes how one morality of human rights is linked with other, he says:

This, then is the relationship of the morality of human rights to the law of human rights, this is how to the law of human rights, this is now we get from the morality of human rights to the law-more precisely to what we believe should be the law of human rights. We, who affirm the morality of human rights because we affirm it, should press our elected representatives.

1. To enact and enforce laws and policies aimed at preventing human beings from violating human beings or otherwise causing unwarranted human sufferings and
2. Not to rely on any law or policy that violates (or would violate human beings or other which cause unwarranted human sufferings. (35)

Regarding human rights and justice to victims, the ethical and juridical line of justice and human rights came into a line of conflict because the previous focus on morals and later focuses on laws. As seen in the novel *Rato Aakash* the law of the nation does not work nor the moral line of justice works. A character- Madikanta who has affiliation with the state forces says the laws are just for showing. He instructs the state security forces to kill anybody if he is suspicious as a Maoist. His activities and thinking prove that he is beyond the ethics and morals and the state forces respect his instructions. Dhakal presents him and the state security forces as human rights violators. The accusation as shown in *Palpasa Cafe* largely falls on the side of Maoists as they are depicted as the violators of human rights. The Maoist are projected as they are devoid of ethics are laws.

According to Giorgio Agamben, there is still confusion between ethical categories as suggested by religions ground of morality of human rights and juridical categories as suggested by non-religions ground of morality. He says, "Here the confusion between ethical categories and juridical categories (with the logic of repentance implied) is absolute" (24). While seeing

human rights violations from ethical points of views, juridical aspect is neglected. Ethical categories focus on feelings, emotions where as juridical categories emphasizes on law, reason. He further writes, "To assume guilt and responsibility which can at time be necessarily is to leave the territory of ethics and enter that of law" (24). Agamben tilts towards the territory of law thereby focusing human rights. He goes on arguing that even law alone cannot provide justice to victims because no witness is a true witness in entirety.

Much of Agamben's efforts lies on bearing out the witness, testimony so there real perpetrators can be punished and victims can get relief. However, bearing witness of gross violation of human rights is not so easy because one has to speak from the viewpoint of unspeakability i.e- Muselmann. The mediated and represented witness is always questionable as it contains lacuna. He says, "The true witnesses, the complete witnesses, are those who didn't bear witness and couldn't bear witness" (34). Agamben conveys the idea that bearing true witnesses is beyond one's capacity as complete witness doesn't bear witness, it cannot bear witness. When sufferer can not exactly say what it feels hence the witness contains lacuna. He says, " Since no one can bear witness from the inside of death, and there is no voice for the disappearance of voice- and from the outside- Since the outsider is by definition excluded from the event" (35). The meaning is that it is not really possible to bear witness, to tell the truth, to justify and testify the truth from outside Testifying something from inside is also not easy because sufferers suffer from unspeakability and writers misrepresent their pains.

The war involves human rights violations. The survivors cannot report truly what he/she has seen, felt and realized. The power of bearing witness lies not what it contains but what it lacks. The expression of survivors always contain lacuna, thereby misrepresenting the truth. While analyzing the novel *Palpasa Café* from the perspective of Agamben, the survivor-Drishya

accepts that he is unable to understand what Siddhartha—Agamben's concept of Muselmann, is saying, "He moves his lips. Blood was pouring out of his mouth. I couldn't understand what he was trying to say"(166). Since the victim's voice remains silent, the victimhood is elided in the text. Talking about this, Agamben says, "But not even the survivor can bear witness completely, can speak own his lacuna. This means that testimony is disjunction between two impossibilities of bearing witness; it means that language in order to bear witness must give way to non-language in order to show the impossibility of bearing witness"(39). By giving way to non-language, he means to say that the survival of the holocaust cannot speak the way other speaks. It is the pain or bodily injuries that speak itself; however, the representation of pain and injuries is twisted and misrepresented as no witness is true witness in entirety.

The representation of suffering by other is not true representation. The voice of something or someone cannot bear witness of sufferer's human rights violations. In this regard he says, "It is thus necessary that the impossibility of bearing witness, the lacuna that constitutes human language, collapses, giving way to a different impossibility of bearing witness- that which doesn't have language" (39). Even when one starts speaking his/her feelings the language becomes a hindrance in bearing true witnesses. The unspeakability is not always expressed; it can be felt, realized and understood. Impossibility of bearing witness doesn't have language. The lacuna, the lack constitutes human language. He further talks about the concept of muselmann the concept of speaking from the viewpoint of unspeakability. Human rights violations can be measured from unspeakability.

Speaking through the viewpoint of unspeakability, according to Agamben is a complex phenomenon, "... The muselmann in some sense marked the moving threshold in which man passed into non- man and in which clinical diagnosis passed into anthropological analysis" (47).

The muselmann is a stage where a man enters into non-man, where he can't speak his feelings and emotions.

Most of the survivors are unaware of the feelings of muselmann. He is symbol of unspeakability. Agamben says, "But the sight of muselmann is an absolutely new phenomenon, unbearable to human eyes" (51). The meaning is that the situation of muselmann is not bearable to human eyes. Other people cannot see the unspeakability of sufferer. For human beings the phenomenon of muselmann, is unbearable because the feelings of sufferer cannot be understood by other survivor. The dignity and self-respect of humans have come to the stage of muselmann, where dignity and self-respect have been useless, "The muselmann has instead, moved in to a zone of the human where not only help but also dignity and self-respect have become useless" (63). Muselmann is the zone where a man is not a man in reality. It is the place point where unspeakability dwells on. It is the stage where help and co-operation no longer work. It is the stage where consciousness of being is lost. Not only humanity and morality are also called into question, "... is a life of an experiment in which morality and humanity themselves are called into question"(63). Agamben thinks the man cannot think morally and humanly. It is also a stage where human beings neither demands nor conforms, "They have life to which human beings were reducer neither demands nor conforms to anything" (69). Thus it is the stage of unspeakability. It is a stage of silence; it is a domain of new world, "The muselmann who is it's most extreme expression is the guard on the threshold of a new ethics an ethics of a form of live that begins where dignity ends" (69). It is a new locale where a person is between life and death.

Human rights theorists also talks about the concept of common responsibility and rights to have rights. Agamben's concept of unbearability of testimonials problematizes the concept of maintaining human rights whereas, Birmingham talks about possibility of obtaining human

rights. He talks about common responsibility and humanity that lead towards achieving human rights. He tends towards talking about predicament of common responsibility thereby talking natality- he means to the linguistic birth where a sufferer can express his/her feelings, emotions and sentiments including pains and sufferings.

By bringing reference of Hannah Arendt, Peg Birmingham while introducing the problem of human rights talks about predicament of common responsibility and right to have rights. Arendt formulates a notion of common humanity that is rooted not in atonements subject but in natality- the inherent principle of humanity that provides ontological foundation for human rights. As he writes, "Arendt has formulated a notion of common humanity that is rooted not in an autonomous subject or in nature history or god instead she finds this principle in the anarchic and unpredictable event of givenness" (3). However as seen in the narrative *Forget Kathmandu* the sense of common humanity along with principle of givenness is lost as the state and Maoist attacked each other as Thapa narrates, "On 26 November, Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba deemed the Maoist to be terrorists and declared a state of emergency at the same time ordering the army into the counter-insurgency"(162). The state declared the Maoist as terrorists and the concept of common humanity was lost immediately.

While talking about predicament of common responsibility, the humanity assumes the political responsibility of maintaining peace and harmony thereby maintaining human rights. The moment the personal crime is taken as the crime of whole humanity the criminal is encouraged to stop the violation of human rights. As he says:

With the deepening of our knowledge of others, we recoil all the more from ideal of humanity that ideal when purged of all sentimentality, demands that humanity assume political responsibility for all crimes and evils committed by human

beings. At the same time this demand is terrifying. Herein lays the predicament of common responsibility. (8)

Arendt takes the act of taking common responsibility is an ideal in the sense that responsibility of crime committed by its individual. However the ideal when purged of all sentimentality demands the assumption of political responsibility of humanity for the crimes committed by all human beings. According to Birmingham, Arendt also locates the theory of human rights on the rights of have rights, "Arendt locates the principle of humanity that grounds the right to have rights in this archaic event of natality" (9). By being conscious of right of have rights one can maintain human rights. As the quote implies when somebody is not let to speak, he is denied of basic rights. As seen in the narrative of Thapa and Dhakal, the charactes are shot before they could speak anything. As Thapa hears what a villager narrates, "I was at home when the army came by on patrol. My niece, a child of six, ran into house if fear. They chased after her; firing at my house... my mother was shot in the knee, my niece was shot near the stomach"(212). The characters like the mother and niece as quote tells were shot dead before they could speak anything. Thus they are denied of human rights due to the state atrocities.

The right to have rights is taken into surety when natality gets formed. The linguistic silence stops them getting the concept of rights to have rights. Humanity should also assume the right to have right as basic principle. John Rawls in the law of people talks about human rights in the light of conscience, liberty and non political background. Birmingham writes, "The problem of reducing human rights to a political principle of liberalism is that this again equates rights with the status of the citizen" (10). A citizen should be guaranteed with the rights either the status of the citizen. Rawls says, "Human rights express a special class of urgent rights such as freedom from slavery, serfdom, liberty ...of conscience and security of ethnic groups from mass

murder and genocide" (qtd. in "Birmingham" 10). Rawls takes into consideration that human rights is getting freedom from slavery liberalism of conscience and expression of feelings.

By bringing the reference of Rawls again, Birmingham says" In the context of those urgent rights Rawls wants to maintain that human rights are something other than politically instituted positive rights"(10). In this context Rawls also says, " Human rights are distinct from constitutional rights or from the rights of liberal democratic citizenship or from other rights that belong to certain kinds of political institutions both individualist and association list" (qtd. in "Birmingham"10). Human rights are more ethical than constitutional rights. Constitutional rights are those rights guaranteed by a constitution whereas human rights are universally accepted rights that crosses the cultural, and geographical boundary.

Human rights are not always rights provided by law and constitution. Sometimes depending upon the situation of country, the state may restrict that becomes barrier of human rights. Human rights are universal. The rights may be situational and contextual depending upon the context. According to Birmingham, Arendt further forces on linguistic fatality. The birth of being through the linguistic domain is the real domain where human rights dwell, "Nativity ... is the condition for human existence"(12). Arendt basically focuses on linguistic natality. When we analyze the novel *Palpasa Café* from the viewpoint of natality, we find Shiddhartha as a devoid of linguistic natality as he is not let to speak before he was shot. By bringing the reference of Arendt again writes, "language she argues allows human beings to appear and without this linguistic birth humans would literally be dead to the world" (24). In fact life in absence of speech is literally a death the absence of speech stops people from being human beings. He further writes, "Through these linguistic birth humans become political kinds of beings" (24). He means to say that after the linguistics birth one becomes conscious of his freedom and liberties,

"This linguistic birth is the birth of the one that is the birth of the unique self. Thus the event of linguistic natality is the birth of the unexpected ad new. In other words, the birth of the political self is the birth of the unexpected word" (24). He or she begins in understanding the importance of self. The birth is unexpected unique and unnatural. It is unique in the sense that the new born self is aware of the freedom and liberty. The sense of being I that the new born self is aware of the freedom and liberty. The sense of being I that appears along with linguistic empowerment is unexpected, "The self is not consequence of speech instead the who is born in the very speaking itself" (24). He further says, "The natality is not combination of speeches but the sense of I along with empowerment of self comes in the very moment of speaking, by word and deed we insert ourselves into the public space"(24). Absence of words is the world of slavery, domination and imprisonment. As seen in the novel *Forget Kathmandu*, people are living with the absence of words and they are rather escaping from the village, "The Maoists had a disproportionate number of teachers throughout the country, teachers who had refused to go along their agenda"(182). They are devoid of the speaking agency. The self is empowered when s/ he starts speaking.

Birmingham also talks how a human being can be a new beginner through language. he talks about natality, initium and right to have rights. He writes, " Arendt's theoretical reformulation of the fundamental right to have right emerges out of her reflection of the initium inherent in the ontological event of natality that makes every human being a beginner" (36). He opines that a man can be a new beginner when he starts expressing the discomforts. The three narratives under discussion shows people were shot either by the state or the Maoists force without letting down any chance to speak. When the sufferers start expressing the pains and suffering, the act of sharing experiences makes listeners sympathetic to them. If one of the listeners is the writer, then he represents the pain figuratively through the medium of language.

Personal story telling regarding the individual or communal suffering highlights the violations which play role in drawing attention of human rights workers thereby paving a way to attain liberty from domination, slavery and ideology. Such narrative has contributed in enhancing human rights movements. However the narrator should understand the bodily pains as the sufferers are in the state of severe pain and therefore can't express the pain sufficiently.

Summing up, what this discussion of the theory of human rights cumulatively boils down to is that the literature of human rights should place maximum emphasis on the representation of the inalienable human rights of the victims of violence. While doing so, the spotlight should fall on the foregrounding of the subjectivity of the victim rather than the prose of otherness that is used to stereotype the other as the demon-villain. While capturing the subjectivity of the victim—what Agamben calls the *Muselmann* or Arendt calls *natality*—the affect that should be aroused is a moral condemnation of the horrific violation of the human rights with hectoring to the ambience of brotherhood and peaceful co-existence rather than evoking the feelings of animosity and revenge. An exploration of the discourse of human rights in the texts of Wagle, Thapa, and Dhakal, as the ensuing analysis will show, reveals the one-dimensionality of the representation of violence at the heart of the violation of the human rights narrativized in the texts. These texts villainize either the Maoists or the State with an affect that does not seem to foster a sense of peaceful co-existence but give a strong sense of animosity. Victimhood, understood as the situation of speakability of the victim, is his/her very unspeakability, with the overt muteness being offset by the body in pain—the somatic trauma expressing itself along moral rather prejudiced lines. This makes possible the agency of victimhood itself—an agency which becomes a far cry when writers of violence and human rights start ventriloquizing on behalf of the victims.

Maoist Security Forces as Perpetrators in *Palpasa Café*

This chapter argues that the narrative of the novel *Palpasa Café* by Narayan Wagle shows a series of human rights violations done especially from the side Maoist rebels. This novel projects Maoists as perpetrators and human rights violators. The narrative representations of particular incidents, witness, and testimonies present Maoist rebels as inhumane, irrational and insensitive. My main argument is that Wagle while showing the human rights violations, gives limited space to sufferers. It is because he, being a journalist, writes what he listens from the reporter, as he says in the novel, "My mobile rang. A reporter was calling. The Maoist had looted and bombed a bus. No casualties" (4). As the quote implies Wagle believes what the reporter says, it doesn't let victimhood to come out. Wagle is, however, successful to highlight human rights violations.

Since the novel is written within the background of People's War, this novel shows a series of human rights violations committed especially by Maoist rebel. Wagle in the novel talks how the rebel force killed those people who belonged to old elite. He writes, "Most of the people who are being killed are representative of old power elite" (82). What becomes clear from the quote is that Maoists have killed those people who were power holders and elite. It is human rights violations to kill those people. What the narrative of Wagle presents, is enough to tell how Maoists rebels were creating violence, terror and human rights violations.

Even Maoists leader accept that the innocent people are being killed in the name of enemy. A Maoist rebel Siddhartha while justifying the war accuses state for violations, "True some innocent people are getting caught in the crossfire. But consider how the crisis first arose was that it was the state which drew first blood? Didn't the state first arrest, torture and kill

unarmed people" (82). These abuses of human rights have been shown both the state and Maoists rebels are responsible for human rights violations.

The representation of Maoists as evil and perpetrator though depicts the issue of human rights violations in detail, however is problematic because he simply visits the sufferers. Wagle narrates, "Finally a boy came over and explained that the shoe was a symbol from the guerrillas, ordering the family to send someone to join their ranks. The woman had seen it consider her house that morning. After that, she hadn't drunk a drop of water or eaten a food all day; she had just sat there weeping" (126). This quote implies how Maoists have forced the innocent boys to join the war. Though Wagle as a narrator does not understand who the boy really is and whom he refers by guerrilla, tells how pathetic situation the people are living in. The suffering of woman is highlighted as she hadn't drunk a drop of water due to the Maoist atrocities.

By showing the miserable condition of the woman, Maoists are charged with perpetrators. It is bad to force people to join any organization, party or anything. The problem lies in the fact that the narrator easily believes on what the woman and boy narrate. Yet he presents the ugly picture of war as, "He and his comrades were trying to place a gun in the hand of a girl who was just a budding flower. They were trying to motivate other village youngster to join up as well. They were emptying the village of its youth and it upset me" (91). By placing a gun in the hand of a small girl, the Maoists have proved their barbaric form, yet the narrator lacks the true witness because he doesn't know anything about girl's situation. He does not concentrate on if she is happy to get the gun. However, placing a gun in the hand of innocent child cannot be justified in any ground.

How can they dare to place a gun in the hand of a girl who was supposed to read and write? The kids are motivated by Maoists to join the party to bring change. The village is

emptying. The Maoists have again shown their brutal form by emptying the village by making youths to join party. The narrator while presenting Maoists as evil is based on mediated truth. The title character -Palpasa is also frustrated with Maoists. In the novel she tells no one can go anywhere without their permission. It's simply dictatorship. It shows how they'd run the country if they ever came to power. And that could only be achieved at the barrel of a gun not with the support of the people" (184). According to Palpasa, the villagers are as same as prisoners; they cannot leave the house. Maoist party is also reported as the party of dictatorship. The gun suture of Maoists, according her, cannot be justified. Wagle as a narrator is not satisfied with Maoist activities. He writes, "My mobile rang. A reporter was calling. Maoists had looted and bombed a bus"(4). Looting and bombing a bus is a violation of people's rights. Despite the fact that what he presents is sufficient to say that Maoists are human rights violators, however he is bases his views on mediated and reported truth. The narrator is again interested in writing those events and incidents that demoralize Maoists. Since he is a journalist, he might have heard about other news that presents Maoists as humane as well why did not he include them? However, the depiction of human rights abuses is sufficient to explore the issues of human rights violations. Looting and bombing a bus is a misdeed - a violation of human rights and that has now become a common thing as the Maoist atrocities have crossed the limit.

He expresses his fear because of war. He shows his concern about the deteriorating condition of country. He presents Maoists as sources of suffering for people. His perspective to Maoists is conspicuous when he reports safe capital Kathmandu as unsafe city. He gives detail in this way:

A bomb might explode in the city claiming one of their lives. Or they might explode in the city claiming one of their lives of the man get caught in crossfire

while travelling outside the capital. His car might be ambushed. Anything could happen to deprive the couple of another afternoon like this. (36)

This reporting is sufficient to tell how fear, terror and conflict have covered the cities. Innocent people including the policemen have been ambushed. The reporting depicts the human rights violations. The basic rights to live have been snatched. Killing has become normal. Innocent policemen are killed during the war. As police go through the pail ambushed by Maoists and they are killed, "The policemen went up this trail. They died in an Ambush half an hour later" (101). This tells how Maoists have been killing people. Their basic right is snatched which they have obtained by birth.

By birth, a man is endowed with some "inalienable rights" (Perry 10). He or She is free to enjoy those rights. Nobody can force them to do something. However, as reported in the novel the victims are the innocent people who suffer inhumane treatment of Maoists which cannot be justified. The narrator simply narrates what he hears. The use of force on innocent people by the Maoist is another inhumane treatment. The citizens are forced to join the party. As a woman, in the novel says, "If I don't send my younger son to jungle, I'll have to go myself or I'll have to give them a hundred thousand rupees" (126). This woman is compelled to send a son to jungle to be involved in Maoists party. She does this in order to avoid economic burden. This example of human rights violations questions the nature of Maoists party. It is really surprising to say Maoist who is said to protect human rights abuses, has been the source of human rights abuses. The future of the Maoist soldiers is in dark and uncertain. Their life has been uncertain and gloomy. The whole villages are mourning; expressing their sorrows, there has been loss of material property. Wagle writes, "But then I began to think: whole villages are in mourning, hundreds of

houses have been abandoned, thousands of people face an uncertain future" (164). The villagers are victims as the Maoist force is creating a terror in the village.

The representation of characters and incidents in the context of People's War in a way tend towards projecting Maoists as evils. By highlighting the events like rapes, killings, kidnappings and violence done by Maoist, the novel questions the fidelity of Maoist towards the citizens. I pursue to explore if the narrator is ideologically guided? The problem in the narrative lies in the fact that whole narration is solely based on mediated representation. Though the reality appears in surface level, the real sufferings of real sufferers do not come out because of two reasons: the narrator simply writes what he hears from the reporter and even if he visits the victims, he cannot speak through unspeakability. When Drishya sees Siddhartha being soaked in blood due to the army atrocities- because they didn't let Siddhartha speak anything, he is tensed and unable to bear the pains," I closed his eyes, laid him down among the mustard plants and sat by his body beneath an orange tree, my tears falling onto him as his blood soaked my clothing"(166). Since the survivor- Drishya weeps like a child "I wept like a child"(166), he is unable to understand the feelings of victim-Shiddartha.

By highlighting the inhumane issue of human kidnapping, the novel undoubtedly shows how human rights have been violated. A character Drishya has been kidnapped by Maoist without proper reason. Phoolan in the novel says, "And Drishya would become just another name in a long list of the disappeared" (8). However, the narrator simply narrates the story of Drishya, he is unable to see the real sufferings of Drishya.

As the narration moves ahead, the narrator doesn't seem to be happy with the justification of destruction in the name of People's War. The slogan "Destruction in order to create" (82) is a contradictory slogan. The narrator presents the record of human rights violations like "But

people are being killed... most of the people who are being killed are the representatives of the old power elite. True, some innocent people are getting caught in the cross fire" (82). The narrator simply presents the data regarding how many people have been killed in the war.

Maoist atrocities as narrated in the novel continue, Maoist's main targets are the rich, the powerful, the exploiters and bourgeoisie. The violation of human rights is realized when Siddhartha instructs an old man to send her one daughter to join war. He tells that she has to leave the school. Making somebody to leave the school is a violation of human rights. The Maoist leader – Siddhartha tells, "Your daughter had to leave school" (89). When Wagle sees such scene, he is afraid that the girl will be killed, "Tomorrow she could be cut down by a bullet, carried away in a basket and buried in an unmarked grave, she'd be drenched in blood, far from her father and brother" (90). He instructs her, "you have to carry guns, shot people, and make bombs" (90). This shows that violations of human rights from the side of Maoist. The gross violation of human rights appears in the novel as the children who have never carried guns, have to carry, "From this conversation, I realized the children hadn't seen the guns Siddhartha and his companions were carrying" (90). The children are forcefully ordered to carry the guns by Maoists. The child's right has been violated substantially.

The narrative continuation further demoralizes the Maoist as, "A bomb had ripped his school apart. After that, forty of his classmates had been abducted and held for two days; the head-master had been killed" (104). The narrator brings several incidents at once which justifies that Maoists are evil.

The narrator faces problem as he is trapped in the war. He passes through the dead bodies resulting from the war, he writes, "A little further on, several policemen in dirty uniforms were resting against a wall which was half destroyed. From behind , a number of dead policeman were

being carried out and laid besides the living" (134). In this way, narrator projects the dead bodies of policeman; however, he is reluctant to demonstrate the same fact with Maoists since so many rebels were killed in the war. He further writes, "One of the policeman resting against the wall stretched his legs and saw an unexploded bomb. He looked anxious but didn't move. Beside him, two police officers lay dead, sprawled like drunkards with their faces to the grounds" (135). This quote indicates that police's life is insecure, they die like cattle. They are not given any respect after they are dead.

Despite the fact that the novel has represented issues of human rights, but the representation is the mediated representation. He bases on the mediated reality. He is neither a victim directly, nor he is able to speak from the view point of muselmann. He doesn't see and observe the victim he simply writes what he hears.

He denies the fact that people were also deliberately joining Maoist. However, He narrates in the way that Maoists have no other job except making people join the war. He further expresses he anger on Maoists "He and His comrades weretrying to palce a gun in the hands of a girl who was just a budding flower" (91). He simply says she is a budding flower. What does a budding flower need to grow? Does not she need education? Does she have environment to join the school? Is not the poor situation already a problem? Does her family support her in being educated? Does the government provide food and education to her? What else she can do except joining the war? Wagle doesn't need to study about the background of the girl as he only needs the proof that demoralizes the Maoist forces. In reality, he lacks true evidences witnesses. He only depicts human rights violations.

As the narration proceeds ahead, the representation of human rights is projected as the narrator writes: "They (Maoists) were emptying the village of its youth and it upset me" (91).

Maoists have been emptying the village which is an evil job. But the emptiness of villages lies in lack of education, awareness and in the devoid of personal identity of common people. The state is also responsible for human rights violations as it didn't address the misery and pain of common people. These people have already been victims of state's policy. However, only the act of Maoist's attempt of emptying village upsets the narrator.

The horrific picture of war is presented where victims have been shown to be the State forces not the Maoist forces. Wagle as a narrator observes:

A little further several policemen in dirty uniforms were resting against a wall which was half destroyed. From behind it a number of dead policemen were being carried out and laid besides the living. One of the policemen resting against the wall stretched his legs and saw an unexploded bomb. He looked anxious but did not move. Beside him two police officers lay dead sprawled like drunkards with their faces to the ground. (134-135)

Through the miserable condition of police as presented by the quote, the writer creates sympathy; respect for state security forces. The wounded policeman stretching the leg is the most pathetic situation that creates sympathy for them and hatred for Maoists. The death of so many people due to the war in general and the death of Palpasa particularly cannot be justified in any ground. First of all she is a human being having inherent dignity secondly she is an innocent and a truly honest girl. She is killed in ambush designed by Maoists targeting state security forces. The violations basically have been said to fall on the side of Maoist.

Another issue of human rights violations is the kidnapping of Drishya by Maoist. After Drishya was found missing his secretary Poolan Chaudhary was worried. How can a man be abducted? The narrator being hopeless writes, "And Drishya would become just another name in

a long list of the disappeared" (8). Phoolan also suggested Wagle to be careful f documents and photos... you are in some of photos" (8). So she lets him know that situation is very critical due to Maoists' atrocities both in village and City. Drishya is not found probably he has been killed. But why? What is his fault? Perhaps he didn't know neither did Phoolan. He was kidnapped in broad daylight, "I learned later that they had made him walk a short distance then put him in an unmarked van parked nearby" (5). The planned act of kidnapping and disappearance of Drishya is a gross violation of human right that the novel seeks to explore. The narrator expresses his anger to kidnapper by saying. Narayan Wagle in the novel writes, "Every paragraph made me think about the fundamental rights our constitution was supposed to guarantee. But now it was possible for the protagonist of my novel to disappear because those responsible for upholding these rights had become their most flagrant violators" (7). The Maoists according to him are the violators who were said to be responsible for upholding human rights.

Drishya himself is abducted while going to village. The security personnel suggested him not to go. However he goes and Maoists suspect him, "They interrogated me, asking my father's name my grandfather's name. They searched my bags shouting at me asking why I'd come there without their permission" (184). As he become nervous since he could not think that he should take Maoists's permission, he was further searched out" After I'd answered all their questions they wrote down may name and description. What to do with me. They me I a house in a Village for two days they didn't hurt me but I was their prisoner in the end they told me I had to leave. I'm really furious. I can't believe the way they acted" (184). As quote implies, he is too furious with the Maoists since they unnecessarily abduct and ask him irrelevant questions. The inherent dignity of human being has been lost along with abduction. After Drishya is abducted he cannot tell where he is and why he is there. He even doesn't know why he has been abducted.

Because of the attack and counter attack of Maoist and government respectively several houses are destroyed. The attack is as some as landslide which doesn't leave anything. The villagers at once were panic stricken are afraid of death. They cannot do anything except screaming. The world has been a complete silence during the war as many people have been swept away by the flood of war. The baby inside the belly die unborn the pregnant women are victimized. People have if not killed been crippled physically and mentally tortured. Funeral procession has become a common day to day phenomenon.

Because of the attack by the Maoist, the government uses helicopter to eliminate Maoists. The policemen in the name of sensitivity of security enter into the village which has been reported to create a problematic situation for the villagers. Outside the house, the situation is more dangerous and critical. The government also kills the alleged Maoist. So Wagle at this point depicts the killing of the security forces by the Maoists. The road is littered with bullets and bombs. The security forces of state are found dead. A row of dead policemen was carried out. Drishya even after walking long with Maoist doesn't know where he is going. He even did not care why he was being taken to the camp of Maoists since they don't tell. He talks about the negative side of revolt like killings, kidnapping and torture.

The problem of such representation is that he cannot represent the issue of human rights violations truly. The real victimhood is invisible in the narrative. It is ignored, denied, and avoided. By listening others, Wagle presents Maoists as perpetrators. All the recorded facts, testimonies, evidences are included in the narrative with a determination to endorse the desire to present Maoist rebel as evil. Because of this, suffering is elided in the text.

State Security Forces as Evil in *Forget Kathmandu* and *Rato Aakash*

Manjushree Thapa in *Forget Kathmandu: An Elegy for Democracy* presents the issue of human rights violations committed especially by the security forces of the State. By presenting them as perpetrators, she talks about those events which are so touchy in dealing with human rights violations from the side of the State. She presents the state security forces as violator of human rights. While presenting the state security forces as violators of human rights, she fails to speak from the perspective of real sufferers and victims.

The reporting in that Thapa makes accuses the forces led by the State as the violators of human rights. The collection of testimonies, witnesses makes it clear that the decade long war involved a lot of human right violations especially from the side of state.

What is more surprising for her is that the State which is supposed to be the prime organ and which should provide individual the fundamental rights- is snatching the rights from individuals. The state has played a double role: it has been loyal to king and elite group but is killing, kidnapping and giving mental as well as physical torture to people. The responsibility of a state lies in the act of treating individuals equally with the principle of equality. Killing any citizen in the name of Maoist is the violation of human rights. As seen in the novel, the characters have been behaved differently by state representative. The narrator's anger on state security forces continues as she writes, "International and other human rights groups were saying that up to half of those killed by the security forces were not Maoists engaging in combat, but unarmed Maoists and innocent civilians" (101). She believes on the report showing gross human rights violations from the side of state forces but she never thinks that the represented truth may contain lacuna, neither is she herself the real sufferer.

Her experiences on trekking to war affected region reflect the feeling of the survivors who accuse the state for atrocities. The violation of human rights by Army is projected by collecting different testimony. In the text, she writes what a villager narrates, "I was at home when the army came by on patrol. My niece, a child of six, ran into house if fear. They chased after her; firing at my house... my mother was shot in the knee, my niece was shot near the stomach" (212). This record of human rights violation by army supports her claim that the State forces were the perpetrators. However she does not ground her argument on the concept of Muselmann .i.e. she does not show her concern on the real suffering but depends on what other people say.

What we see feel and realize as a reader is immense suffering caused by evil forces represented by state security forces. However what is confusing is that the book only takes state forces as perpetrators or evil. Thus the narrative of the text is open to the several questions. As an observer of victim's suffering the narrator tries to project the sufferings. One reason is because she has a privileged position as human rights worker. Thus she records those events that justify human rights violations. She spends much of her efforts in projecting state forces as criminal, evil and violator of human rights. It would have been good if the narrator had highlighted the suffering of victim objectively as well as collectively rather than presenting the state atrocities. The victims who survived in cross-fire accuse the army for the atrocities.

There is no representation of suffering faced by narrator herself so what she represents as victim's suffering lacks the true feelings and emotions of sufferers. She believes on other's saying. She never thinks that victim may not be neutral politically. She takes what the sufferer says as witnesses. Almost no record can be found regarding what the narrator experienced in the violence. One way of true representation of human rights violation is through the concept of

Muselmann, which she lacks because she is neither the Muselmann nor feels the pains that the sufferers undergo.

One of the wrenching experiences that a person fails to face is the physical torture that many characters undergo in the novel. These characters are also mentally tortured as they are threatened, exploited and abused. The gross violation of human rights is so immense that any reporting lacks the true representations of victim. Child abduction, disappearances, dislocations, was the common problems to be faced and dealt with. Thapa writes:

The Maoist insurgency and government counterinsurgency on way since 1996 suddenly escalated. We lost thousands of lives to war. Thousands of ordinary people were orphaned and widowed, hundreds of thousands were displaced from their towns and villages, and incidences of maiming, rape, unlawful detention, extortion, kidnapping, child conscription and disappearances rose rapidly. (1)

As reported by the reporter or narrator, during the period of Maoist insurgency and government counter insurgency, Nepal faced tremendous problems. Thousands of people have been killed, orphaned, widowed, displaced, tortured, raped and humiliated. Taking the advantages of political instability powerful people started involving in rape, unlawful detention, kidnapping, and disappearances. But the problem lies in the fact that she does not see the mediated reality with critical eyes. She is gullible as she believes what other people say.

The accusation largely falls on the side of the State, Thapa further writes, "Royal Nepal Army, Whose first loyalties- many felt- were to the king and only then to the country. If the army got involved, the democracy would be lost" (142). It shows she is angry with the army. To

eliminate Maoist revolt government used army. The army's first loyalty should be in favor of common people. However they first supported king and obeyed kind's order.

The army men misuse the power by entering into the village in the name of search operation and then emptying the village. Thapa writes, "Army troops would reach the districts in two weeks to get the security situation under control" (149). The narrator brings the reference of Amnesty International to show army atrocities. The report shows how Amnesty criticized police's execution, torture and disappearances, "Meanwhile, Amnesty International had begun to criticize the country's police execution, torture and disappearances, and the Maoists for passing death sentences in their 'people's courts' and recruiting children into their ranks" (153). By bringing the references from the Amnesty what Thapa does by highlighting the violation is that more than Maoist it is the State which is not responsible for protecting the human rights:

The army moved into 'search and destroy' mode, which the public were told was more aggressive than their earlier 'cordon and search' mode. In bald defiance.2500 Maoists stormed the town of Mangalsen, the headquarters of Achham District in the west, on 17 February 2002- exactly six years since the start of the insurgency. (163)

The army behaves as if it has no other aim except killing Maoists and its supporters. The state force can go anywhere in the name of search and kill operation. The army people are more aggressive. The state forces blindly torture people resulting deaths. It tries to make an excuse by telling that violence should be controlled to maintain the peace and harmony in the society.

Thapa writes, "The state security forces must kill the Maoists for the protection of you and me" (166). The logic given by army that state security force used to give was not satisfactory

Because of the war Nepali people are trapped between the two forces. They are never safe. Thapa writes, "Even in the ceasefire both forces used their power to destroy the basic liberties of people. Even after the ceasefire, human rights violations continued" (182). Maoist sometimes uses the stately of ceasefire however event in the ceasefire, human rights violations continued. As the line tells fourteen years old girl has been taken and accused of being Maoist by police force. The state force as lines indicate also shot two girls land is covered with unidentified bodies.

The innocent people like children women old men and many others have been killed and disappeared. The violence does not know any boundary. It crosses the limit. The life is very complex. Thapa writes, "That night we were too tired to talk to anyone. The following morning, though, we asked a man who was drinking tea at the lodge whether it was true that two women had been killed here by state security forces" (200). As the narrator goes for trekking, she talks with people on the way. She narrates what she hears from a man. The man says state security force killed two innocent women. In the same way the narrator also moves beyond her personal observations about human rights violations by bringing references from Amnesty International. Thapa writes:

Of the 142 people killed by the state security forces, all were alleged to be Maoists killed in combat. Amnesty International and other human rights groups were saving that up to half of those killed by the security forces were not Maoists engaging in combat, but unarmed Maoists and innocent civilings. (200-201)

The fact is that Government kills innocent people in the name of the Maoist. The killed people were the alleged Maoists were in fact innocent civilians. The uninterrupted violence at once increased as the state forces started to kill anybody they liked, "They just shot anyone who was

outdoors in those days. They don't know who they were shooting. They didn't care. They shot Dilli Sir from across the village. From that distance, how could they know if someone is a Maoist?" (209). They had become wild and mad because of power. They just kill anybody if they doubt. They even didn't know who they were shooting. A boy coincidentally goes indoors as the army comes. They become sure that he is a Maoist. Thapa writes, "When the army came into the room and asked him why he'd gone indoors, they took him to the stone tap below the village and shot him dead" (209). As the lines show no body is safe because of state security force. The boy is shot simply because he goes indoor from outdoor.

Because of unemployment and poverty people have been moving from one place to another. The army men cannot stop even a single second without killing the people who unfamiliar and strange in the village, "This was where, on 24 February 2002 the security forces had shot dead more than 34 workers, including 17 who had come here all the way from Dhading District, near Kathmandu, to find work" (220). More than thirty four workers have been shot by the State security forces. They also searched the house. The job seekers are killed

The State which is supposed to fulfill the basic need of people is unable to provide jobs to citizen. Even government officers accept the fact. The CDO tells to Thapa, "To solve the Maoist problem the must alleviate poverty' he said easing into his chair. First we must improve the education sector. And we must create income-generating opportunities" (222). CDO tells that by alleviating poverty one can solve Maoist problems.

She is frustrated as she visits Manma bazaar, Thapa writes, "The poverty of the villages, the compulsive, haunted way that the villagers had talked to us, the besieged feel of the district headquarters and the loss of civilian rule had all sparked off a sudden panic in me" (226). Because of poverty and loss of civilian rule, the chance to maintain human rights is lost. She felt

dizzy to be in the lawless place, "The next morning I woke up desperate to leave Manma. I would have left the whole district if I could have"(226). By showing the pathetic condition of Manma, she is showing her concern about the irresponsibility and negligence of the state.

The book *Forget Kathmandu* presents state security forces and Government as violators of human rights. Thapa also accuses Maoist for the loss of infrastructure, bridges and building. However the anger of Thapa is mostly poured on state security force. The then government led by Sher Bahadur Deuba declares Maoists as terrorists who were supposed to be killed wherever they were found, "On 26 November prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba deemed the Maoists to be terrorists and declared a state of emergency at the same time ordering the army into counter insurgency" (162). The army then tries its best to kill Maoist as well as its supporters thereby leading the nation towards human rights abuses. The non -Maoists were victimized. The next day four policemen and twelve alleged Maoists now call terrorist by government are killed in Darchula District"(162) . The innocent people are killed in the name of Maoists. Speaking from the point of view of human rights perspective, the act of killing people is the violation of human rights. Even if they are proved to be Maoist they should be allowed to speak. Their interlocution is snatched.

The gross violation of human rights is visible in the lines," The state of emergency which was to last ten months would eventually was nearly a forty three hundred people dead (as against 1800 in the previous six years of the insurgency ... The number of alleged Maoists killed by the state..."(162). The government is proved to be undemocratic when it passes the terrorist and disruptive act, "By passing Terrorist and Disruptive Activities ordinance" (162), the government can kill Maoist on spot. However it has no rights to kill innocent people but as shown by Thapa, army men become blind enough to kill anybody they like. Thapa forcefully claims that state is

responsible for human rights abuses, "With the state security forces of the alleged Maoists they killed up to 40 percent were innocent civilians said human rights workers" (162). This quote points towards human rights abuse. They become mad and blind behind power. They misused power.

Since the situation becomes further complex, the government realizes that only by killing those Maoists will not solve the problems. Even then, the government doesn't care about human rights basic liberties and fundamental rights of civilians. Rather the state by ignoring the basic assumptions of a democratic nation re-enacted the terrorist and Disruptive Activities ordinance, "On 10 April the government reenacted the expired terrorist and disruptive Activist Ordinance Which severely restricted civil liberties" (164). The state doesn't care about liberties of people the "Rule of engagement? Rule of law? Civil liberties? Human Rights?" (166) have been common things to be lost, disappeared and ignored. The state behaves undemocratically. It doesn't care about innocent civilians neither if cared the human rights and liberties. What it wants is to kill as many Maoists or alleged Maoists as possible without caring for the rights of individuals.

Thapa brings several example or events of cruelty in order to prove the army atrocities. The army men do not let the captured man to speak anything. He has nothing except waiting death. The state forces catch the two Laxmis, the alleged Maoists. The State force doesn't concern about the individual rights, they take the individuals and shot them dead," There were many army men and just two of them. They passed the fields. And then I heard the shots other people in the village actually saw them being shot" (200). How can the army kill them even if they are Maoist? They are in fact innocent women. They are denied of possible interlocution. They are shot as if they are animals. The State security as guided by the government doesn't let

them spread anything; they make them receiver of pain and bullets. They die due to the cruelty of the state.

Thapa visits the poverty and war stricken village. The poor village suffers starvation, unemployment and several diseases. However Government is unable to fulfill the basic needs of people. Thapa writes, "This was by far the poorest village we had passed yet. There was not a tract of government here, not a single sign of what the Nepali state had done in all its centuries of existence. Beyond the scrappy village was a vista of inky hills high on the horizon" (203-204). A state is a prime organ which needs to fulfill the basic needs of people. However as indicated by the lines government of Nepal has shown no sign of its entry and act towards the uneducated unemployed and superstitions. Is not a state responsible for maintaining basic rights of individuals? The state should provide the primary education to its citizens.

In order to justify state security forces as perpetrators Thapa further talks with a student. The student says, "last year they shot the ward chairman... he was not a Maoist. He was in the UML it was about three in the afternoon and he was washing his hands at a house before a snack. It was this kind of country yard" (208-209). The boy further says, "The army shot him he died at the spot" (209). The spot death of this man justifies irrationality, cruelty, arrogance, violations, and abuses of state security forces.

Thapa's trekking to war affected region reflects the painful feelings and experiences due to the cruelty of the state so as to conform the state atrocities. The violation of human rights by Army is projected by collecting different testimonies. She talks with a man in the village who says, "I was at home when the army came by on patrol. My niece, a child of six, ran into house if fear. They chased after her; firing at my house... my mother was shot in the knee. My niece was

shot near the stomach” (212). This record of human rights violation by army supports her claim that state forces are the perpetrators.

The death of this man terrifies his pregnant wife who just gives birth to a baby after 3 days of her husband death," His wife was pregnant ... she gave birth to their son three days later " His wife becomes widow and his son becomes an orphan and he is dead due to army atrocities. What is the crime of man his wife and son? The evidences talk that army atrocities have crossed the limit .After the Maoist attack on Achham on 1 march 2002; the state force has come to village to find out Maoists. They accuse villagers for supporting Maoists. While showing cruelty of army, Thapa writes, "The army thought tie was a Maoist. They think everyone from outside is a Maoist you see. They took him from his house down to river they made him dig a pit them they make him sit inside it crouching like this them they pour kerosene on him and set him on give " (210). The man i set on fire as he is a life how could he bear the pain? What about his human rights? Is not the state cruel violator of human rights? The man is being taken his right to information is snatched his right to life has also been violated. He is treated as if he is non- living has inherent dignity is denied.

Thapa further intensifies the atrocities and cruelty of state security forces. They have been reported of killing innocent people. The narration goes like:

More than 30 houses had been burned by the army throughout this area the men in the country yard told us. It is only now that we are able to sit around in the open like this it is only now that we are eating proper meal it is only since the ceasefire that we have even returned to our homes we were living on terror before them . (210)

As the quote implies that army has destroyed and burned the houses in not being successful to capture Maoists. People have a hard life and they were living in terror even after a Maoist supporter says, "The war has been hard on people. People want relief but the government must follow the rules of ceasefire" (192). The army men don't follow the rules of ceasefire, they walk in village carrying guns in their hands, and they still kill the people they suspect. People in the village are fed up with government.

The faith of individuals on the state has been lost due to government's irresponsibility and negligence towards its citizens. They feel they are injured, othered, marginalized and betrayed by the government. One of the villagers in the novel says, "Their parliament didn't come even once during the entire state of emergency to see how we were facing. The government left us fed for ourselves against the Maoist and the army" (211). It is duty and responsibility of a state to know, understand and address the problems of people. However the government did nothing to redress the problems of common people before and after as well as during the war .the government is also both directly and indirectly violating the basic human rights.

The state is irresponsible; non-sensical for not making any efforts in improving the situation of people in village. In order to eliminate Maoists, the army also drops bombs from helicopter. The thrown bombs take many innocent people's lives away. The non-sensical act of dropping bombs from helicopter itself is a violation of human rights. A woman in the village talks with Thapa and Malcomb. She says:

The army dropped bombs from a helicopter ... a helicopter flew over the village hovering over the stretch between its upper and lower reaches. An 11 year old boy was standing close to his house near his front porch when a bottle shaped explosive fell out of the helicopter it landed in the fields near his house exploding

and shrapnel hit struck the boy in the back. The helicopter went on to drop four more explosives in different parts of the village. (213)

The helicopter creates terror on innocent people, destroy the lives people. They behave as if the common people have been supported to be killed like ants. The state security forces misuse the power it has. Troops sent to different parts by state against Maoist kill anybody who is outdoor. People can't speak anything. They have to be silent. Their right to speech is lost. A boy in the village narrates about merciless killings of innocent people by army, "They just shot anyone who was outdoors in those days. They didn't know who they were shooting. They didn't care" (209). The boy brings the reference of an innocent student shot recently by army, "When the army came into the room and asked him why he'd gone indoors, they took him to the stone tap below the village and shot him dead. His name is Takka Bahadur Shahi. He studies in class 10 at the Shree Mahadev Uccha Madhyamik Vidyalaya in Raravatiya" (209). An innocent boy studying in class 10 is killed without any reason. He is shot before he could speak. His interlocution says is lost violated by the dominant group - the security force.

Lyotard focuses in interlocution – the two ways speaking as a way to maintain human rights. If one is denied of his/her possible interlocution, by the same token the inherent dignity along with interlocution has been denied. He says, "If a human being can speak, he is a possible interlocutor" (139). If the other is not let to enter into dialogue; his/her right to speech is violated. As we see in the above quotation, the school boy was shot by army before he could speak anything. Lyotard further takes the right to speech as a fundamental human rights as he says, "Let us take it that the capacity to speak to other a human right, and perhaps the most fundamental human right" (141). The interlocutory capacity must be guaranteed to every citizen.

Otherwise violation of human rights can be traced out to the point where true victims are denied of their possible capacity to speak.

Ghanashyam Dhakal's *Rato Aakash* also depicts the issue of human rights violation from the side of the state. As seen in the novel, the army atrocities cross the boundary as it kills anybody without any proof that he or she is a Maoist. In the search operation by the state the army reaches to a house of Ganga Bahadur and his wife. The army doesn't find them and kill their children instead. The innocent four children are immediately killed. Another character Madikanta, is a human rights violator and exploiter who has affiliation with the state security force and C. D. O.

The book raises the issue of terror, violence, rape, killings prevailing in the city as well as village because of People's War and army activities. Dhakal narrates his experience of being caught up in war, abused, threatened, and humiliated by a State cadre time and again. he shows how Abiral and his friends' inviolable dignity and inherent dignity have been snatched by the State force.

Talking about the inviolable dignity Michael J. Perry writes, "To affirm morality of human rights is to affirm the two fold claim that every human being has inherent dignity and is inviolable" (6). Perry clarifies that each and every human being's inherent dignity should be respected by the state. By inherent dignity he means to say that humans by birth have taken certain rights- right to life, right to liberty.

While analyzing the novels from the perspective of Michael Perry, the inherent dignity of humans has been lost as army atrocities and Maoist terror have crossed the limit. To quote Dhakal, "The police operation has turned the village into panic, scattered. Everywhere it seemed

empty and vacant. It seemed as if whole village has been displaced” (131)³. In such condition, life becomes harsh, living with dignified life is impossible. Each and every citizen is endowed with inalienable rights but practically they have been lost.

It is the duty and responsibility of state to protect the rights. Citizens are simply bearer of such rights. In this context Todd Landman writes, “It has been typically understood that individuals and certain groups are the bearer of human rights, while the state is the prime organ that can protect or violate human rights” (9). It depends on the policy of the state. While analyzing the novel *Rato Aakash* from the perspective of Toddman, the state has been irresponsible and violator of human rights. There are several rights that citizens can enjoy: “1) Civil and political rights 2) economic, social and cultural rights, and 3) Solidarity rights” (10). Toddman clarifies that civil rights includes the right to life, liberty and personal security. Political rights are rights to speech and expression as well as political participation. Toddman further writes, “. . . civil and political rights have been considered fundamental human rights which all nation states have adults and responsibly to uphold” (9). However, as seen in the novels above, the government has done nothing to protect the civil and political – the fundamental rights. Thapa in the novel writes, “Whole generations of children have seen their education destroyed. They are facing the basic question of how to survive” (182).

This speaking capacity was snatched by the state which is clearly visible even in the novel *Rato Aakash*. In search and kill operation, police reach to a house where four boys were in deep sleep. *Assai*, without knowing who they are, ordered, “Shot! . . . He starts firing. The deaths have been pouring making the environment shocked. The wind was also singing the song of

³ k|x/L ck|]zgn] ufpF l5Gg leGg agfPsf] lyof] . htftt} z'Go–z'Go / l/Qf]–l/Qf] dfq b|lvGYof] . o:tf] nfUbYof], l;+uf] ufpF g} st} lj:yflkt ePsf] 5 .

cruel death” (89)⁴. He also fires recklessly. They kill four boys immediately. Being happy, the police man to shoot. They have to do what they are ordered to do. Otherwise they have no chance of promotion. There has been undeclared policy of giving reward to those policemen who could kill more Maoists. As Dhakal thinks the more killings brings the more awards. That is the reason why security forces wanted to kill people.

Most of the characters in the novel are physically abused; mentally tortured as they don't stop joining the Maoist. The character- Madikanta is presented as violator of human rights he belongs to the elite class and the class enemy of Maoist rebels. He constantly suggests police to kill the Maoist on spot. The State respects Madikanta who is an elite, power holder, as well as representation of the State and he ignores common citizen. He makes a commitment to eliminate the Maoist. Whereas the forces of the State ignores common people and kill them in the name of Maoist.

As seen in the novel, the characters are deprived of education as they lack money. They suffer unemployment, poverty and illness. Government fails to provide the primary education to its citizens. A character like Abiral doesn't go to school not because he doesn't want to read but because he doesn't have fee to pay. Human rights issues in a democratic state like Nepal are very important. The narrator gives more emphasis on human rights violations. The narrator progressing questions the loyalty of state security forces towards nation. Army's duties and responsibility along with fidelity is repeatedly questioned in the novel.

Madikanta justifies why he joined party. In the novel, he says, "I have welcomed democracy by heart but its opponents and their activities have been started to appear. Thus I

⁴ 7f]lsb] Ū=== clg d'To'sf k/f{x? jftfj/OfnfO{ :tAw jfgfpb} nufft/ alif{/x] . olxj]nf ju]sf] xfjfn] klg lgb{oL d[T'o'sf] lut ufO{/x]sf] lyof] .

joined party for the protection of democracy " (45).⁵ The character 'Madikanta' is against the Maoist growth. He wants to eliminate the party by plucking out the roots of Maoist party. He justifies why he joined Maoist Party. This indicates that Maoists, according to him, are barrier for democracy. Thus he joined party to protect democracy by eliminating Maoists.

Madikanta takes Maoists force as anti-democratic forces, he also justifies why he joined party. It, as he says, is to protect democracy. However his intention is to destroy Maoist and it's supportive forces. Villagers are ready to fight against the state forces by keeping their life at risk. The village boys discussed about joining the war, "Liberty or death we have only these two options. We will never seek third way" (49).⁶ The poor villagers like Abiral, Ganga are ready to fight with Madikanta and state forces. Madikanta for them is evil, exploiter and perpetrator. They are ready to die in war but are not ready to step back. This narrative also explores how people have been politically guided and joined the people's war. They are ready to be killed than to be dominated. Abiral and his friends discuss about joining and completing war. They are firm that they have no third way except liberty or death. Madikanta does not want to label Maoist as a political force. He says:

It is also a political revolt but it should not be labeled as revolution of if we see it politically it makes great difficulty. People would join the revolution significantly.

If we accept it as political revolution space has to be given to rebel and behave

⁵ k|hftGqnfO{ d}n] lbn} b]lv :jfut u/]sf] 5' t/ o;sf lj/f]wL :j/ / s[osnfkx? klg ;njnfpq yfln;s]sf 5g . t;y{ k|hftGq ;+/lf0fsf lgldQ d kf6L k]jz ub{5' .

⁶d'lQm ls d[To', xfd|f nflu lo b'O{6} dfq af6f x'g]5g . t]>f] af6f] xfdLn] slxNo} klg /f]Hg] 5}gf}+ .

accordingly. Again communists can never be political being. They are truly looters and criminals. (81)⁷

Madikanta is afraid of Maoist party will become political power accepted nationally as well internationally. He is not ready to accept Maoist party as a political party. He claims that it is a disorderly organization, chaotic group. He does not will to give any space to the Maoist rebels; he wants to abolish whole party by using force. He never thinks communist can be political beings. Rather he thinks they are looters and criminals.

Madikanta is not ready to accept the Maoists force's act as revolt or revolution. He thinks it is a mob, a collection of unemployed people who otherwise would be looters, dacoits and criminals. He views that this force should not be taken as a political force. Otherwise Space has to be giving to them if the state accepts them as political forces. He instructs the policemen by saying, "Suppress them in a way that nobody would dare to hold his head high" (82).⁸ Madikanta along with army and police commands the state security force to suppress them in a way that no one would again dare to raise the head. The killing must be so cruel, inhumane and barbaric that people would be afraid of joining Maoists.

He commands police to suppress Maoists in a way that nobody would join the Maoist party again. He creates fear and terror. He orders police to kill the forces led by Maoists. He says, "Right communists are transferable bacteria to expand the revolt and disorder. They should

⁷ x'gt of /fhg}lts ljb|f|x xf] , lsGt' o;nfO{ cfGbf]ngsf] txd fGott lbg' x'b}g . cyft{ o;nfO{ /fhg}lts ?kdf x]g]{ xf] eg] lgs} cK7\of/f] kb{5 . dflg;x? emg ljb|f]xlt/ nfUb5g . k|hftGqdf /fhg}lts cfGbf]ng elg;s] kl5 To;} cg'?k ljb|f]lxx?nfO{ Jojxf/ klg ug'{ kb{5 . km]/L sDo'lg:6x? /fhg}lts kf6L slxNo} klg x'g ;Sb}gg . tL lJz'4 8fFs' / ck/fwL x'g .

⁸ o;/L bdg ug'{ kb{5ls km]/L s;}n] 6fpsf] p7fpg] ;fx; gu/f]; .

not be given a chance to live" (83).⁹ He takes Maoist forces as evils of society; they are also the bacteria which easily expand the revolt and disorder in the society. He thinks that communists have no right to live. They are the transferable bacteria to grow political inconsistencies, disharmony and chaos in the society.

Madikanta is so frightened by the Maoists forces that he takes them as virus. They are, as he thinks virus which transform the disease of revolt too significantly that there is no way to control. Thus he commands police to kill them on spot. A police officer kills the innocent people and enjoys the death, "They died in sleep didn't feel the sense of death. This is happy death we have to shoot when we get chance otherwise there is no chance of promotion. Are you afraid of Boys?" (90).¹⁰ The police officer enjoys the death of innocent people. He teases the common people. He treats them as if they were non-humans. He also says that killing people leads to promotion. The more killing –the more rewards is the motto of such officer.

In the night a policeman of operation wants to have sex with Ajita, "With the help of light he saw her with sexual impulse" (126)¹¹. However she resists and says "Shoot me on my breast than to rape me" (126)¹². This book further demonizes the state security forces by showing or presenting negative activities of army or police. They involve in rape, they rape the innocent women while going for search and destroy operation. A policeman with his force reach to the house of Ajita, he looks her from the view point of sex partner. Ajita resists.

Violation from the side of state as reported by narrator is prominent as the state forces are involved in the killing, raping, and destroying houses. However the representative of state

⁹ 7Ls To;} ul/ sDo'lgix? ;dfhdf ljb]f]x / czfIGtsf] ;^qmfd /]u km}nfpg] ls6f0f\ 'x'g . ItgnfO{ jfRg] clwsf/ lbg' x'b}g .

¹⁰ lolgx? lgb]fd] d/] , d[To'sf] cfj; ;Dd kfPg\g . of] ;'vb d/Of xf] . df}sf k/]sf] j]nfd 8fF^a8'a 7f]lsxfNg' kb{5 . gq k]df];gsf] rfG; x'b}g . Itldx? 8/fof]ls Sof xf] s]6fxf]<

¹¹ Ps k6s nfO6 jfn]/ ;lxn] clhtfnfO{ sfd's gh/n] x]¥of] .

¹² OHht n'6\g' eGbf a? xfg 5fltdf uf]nL .

violation is one sided, full of loopholes. As the state forces go to village in search and kill operation, they also misuse the power by raping the innocent women and girls. An officer sees Ajita with sexist eyes. The forces further discuss about eliminating Maoist party.

Madikanta is happy when policemen talk about *Kho Ma* operation. Being joyous he says, "Yes, Yes *Khoma*, means search and kill- I know this campaign. It can be effective to eliminate Maoists" (189)¹³. He is further worried about the success of the operation and says, "It cannot be successful if we only kill those who carry weapons, we only kill those who carry weapons we have to kill those who carry communists views and support communism"(189)¹⁴. Madikanta along with other state security forces discuss about killing not only Maoists but those who support Maoists.

They conclude that the well wishers of Maoist should be killed by making different strategies. He doesn't care about the human rights of people. He behaves as if they are denials of human rights. He instructs the force that the state force should kill not only those who carry guns but also those who carry Maoist belief and ideology. He also says that people's supporting Maoist should be killed. Madikanta instructs the policemen that they should kill not only the Maoist forces who carry weapons but those who carry Maoist belief and those who support communism. Police is guided by "The more killing the more rewards"(192)¹⁵. The commander is very enthusiastic at the killing of common people. He is politically blind enough to misuse his power. He kills people to get rewards.

Ganga Bahadur and his wife have not returned to house yet it is dusk. The police of search operation reach his house and find their daughter instead. The talk begins:

¹³xf] xf] vf]df cyf{t vf]h / dfg cleofg yfx 5 dnfO{ . of] k|efjsf/L x'g ;Sb5 .cft|sf/L lgd"{n ug{ .

¹⁴xltof/ jf]Sg]nfO{ dfq vf]Hb} lx8\g] xf] eg] vf]df cleofg slxNo} ;kmn x'b}g === olx df]sdfd vf; sDo'lgj6 ljr/ jf]Sg] / ltgsf ;dy{sx? nfO{ ;vfk kfb}{ hfg' kb{5 .

¹⁵hlt w]/} xTof Tolt w]/} k':sf/ .

'Where is your brother'?

'Not at home'

'Where are your parents'?

'Have not returned from farm yet'

...

'Shot ... shot... shot... (193) ¹⁶.

In the name of search operation, the State forces go to home, threaten and even kill the family members of Maoists, Maoists supporter and suspicious people. They go to the house of Ganga Bahadur, however, they don't find him as he with his wife has not returned from the field. When his children respond the force cruelly, they shot the two sons. The sons are killed.

Abiral is humiliated in the marriage procession of Madikanta. He returns back to home being depressed. He also doesn't will to go to school because his family does not have money to pay for the fee," School has told me to come with fee it has been three months since. I have not taken. Now they have said to cut my name from register" (10)¹⁷. As Madikanta discusses with CDO about the ways of eliminating Maoist from the country, he becomes happy when CDO has already sent the police force started its operation almost at two o'clock. Dhakal writes, "Four teams had been sent each team consisting fifty members. Inspector Samvu has led a team "(84)¹⁸. The state force enters the school with guns thereby terrifying the Maoists and students, "This team first of all entered into school. The class had just started after recess; Headmaster came out

¹⁶ v} t]/f] bfO{ < 3/ 5}g < af cdf v} < sfd jf6 3/ kms][sf 5f}Gg < ... 8\ofd...8\ofd... 8\ofd

¹⁷ |km; lnP/ cfp] eg]sf 5g, tLg dlxgf eO;Sof] gnu]sf] cj t gfd klg sfl6G5 /] .

¹⁸ krf; krf; hfgsf] 6f]nL ul/ b'O{ ;o hjfgnfO{ rf/ 6f]nLdf ljefhg u/LPsf] lyof] . Pp6f 6f]nLsf] g]t[Tj :j+od OG:k]S6/ zDe'n] u/]sf] lyof] .

after seeing the police forces at once" (84)¹⁹. Police forces enter into classroom and order teacher to go out subedar Ratna Bahadur doesn't come out he resisted ... suddenly he was handcuffed" (84). Ratna Bahadur resist "I need arrest warrant" (84)²⁰. Police threatens and mocks him, "Oh you need law now...you don't need law to create terror" (84)²¹. He was beaten fallen after he cost balance blood started pouring down from the mouth. When students came to rescue Ratna Bahadur, the inspector fires blindly and he shots Sunder- a student of the school immediately. People say," Sunder has been shot ... Sunder has been shot ..., Sunder has been shot" (85)²². This operation as said by police has three goals, "If the wanted men are found, they would be killed for making an attempt to escape, secondly suspicious people who support Maoist party will be arrested and in the name of searching looted weapons by Maoists, all the houses will be searched" (86)²³. The quote proves the army atrocities as they are after eliminating the Maoist rather than solving the problems.

Gross violations of human rights violation are traced effectively in the lines, "There is no home which is not looted, and rape has crossed the boundary. I have not heard of such tyranny before" (99)²⁴. A villager narrates," They took sons away in the name of Maoists, Money (taken as debt) for daily usefulness has been taken away, they (police) left nothing what can be done

¹⁹ of] 6f]nL ;j{k|yd ljBfnodf k|j]z u%of] . dWofGg kl5sf] slff ev{/} z'?ePsf] lyof] . ljBfno k|f^u8df PSsf;L k'ln;x? b]lvP kl5 x]8df:6/ jflx/ lgl:sf] .

²⁰ lu/km\tfl/sf] k'hL{ rflxof] .

²¹ P clxn] lgod rflxof] . cft'is dRrfpg s'g} sfg'gsf] h?nt k/]g .

²² ;'Gb/ nfO{ uf]nL nfUof] === ;'Gb/ nfO{ uf]nL nfUof] === ;'Gb/ nfO{ uf]nL nfUof] ===.

²³ of] ck|]zgd] tLg cf]6f nlo /flvPsf lyP . klxnf]df vf]lhPsf dfG5] km]nfk/] eg] efUg vf]h]sf] lgx'df l;WofOlbg], bf]>f]df ;+sf:kb jf k'ln; ck|]zgsf] lj/f]w ug]{ nfO{ lu/km\tf/ ug]{ / t]>f]df n'l6Psf jGb's vf]hg] gfd]df k'/f] ufp"sf] vfg tnf;L lng] .

²⁴ gn'l6Psf] 3/ g] 5]g . JnTsf/n] ;Ldf gf3]sf] 5 . olt ;fx|f] cTofrf/ ePsf] dlxn] klxnf slxNo} ;'g]sL lyO{g .

when government becomes looters" (111)²⁵. The army men as the lines show have crossed limit by creating economic, political and military violence in the village. They have functioned like human rights violators. Dhakal further writes, "After the arrest of Abiral, the police force entered into village they became angry as they couldn't find rebels, they entered into house as they were hungry, thirsty and tired. They emptied each and every house in the name of search operation ...they pulled the granary stores, they scattered the grains" (113)²⁶. They pour their anger on common people by creating violence. They show their barbaric nature as they behaved with Abiral in animalistic way, "The door of prison opened. Prisoner being frightened saw towards door. Two men brought Abiral into prison by dragging him and closed the door. Everybody's eye was filled with pain" (121)²⁷. Abiral after being caught up by police is denied of human rights. He is not let to speak but is commanded to listen.

Madikanta's rage crossed the limit when court declares Abiral as innocent and free man. He is also afraid of growing political sensibility of Maoists forces. He doesn't agree when the police talks about rule of law which stops them to shoot whoever they find. Madikanta says, "if you talk about law, how can you allow killings in the country where there is no capital punishment? How can you say they are disappeared in jail? The law and constitution are not only for showing, They are for our people not for the enemies (opponents)" (187-188)²⁸. He guides

²⁵ 5f]/f nfO{ t nu] nu] jvf{nfO{ g'g t]n ug{ ;fx'F sf9]/ /fv]sf] k};f klg n'6] jf]' ,s]xL 5f]8]gg 8fFsfx?n] . s] nfUb5 / ;sf/} 8fFsf kN6] kl5 .

²⁶clj/nsf] lu/kmtf/L kl5 k'ln;sf] 8km\kmf ufp"leq k:of] . ;ef h'n'; ;lsPsf] / vf]h]sf] gjtf km]nf gkb{f pgLx? qmf]wn] pGdt ePsf lyP . ef]s, Kof;, ysfO{ / l;n] r"/ ePsf k'ln;x? 3/ leq k:y] . sf]lx gb]v] kl5 n's]sf]] dflg; vf]Hg] lgx'df 3/sf s'gfsfKrf 9'Gy] . sf]7f / esf/L kN6fpy] / cGgkft 5l/lbGy] .

²⁷ vf]/sf] 9f]sf p3]of] j]Gbx? em:s]/ Ps} k6s 9f]sf lt/ x]/] . clj/nfO{ b'O{ hgfn] l3;fb}{ vf]/leq kN6fP / km]/L 9f]sf j]Gbf u/] . ;]sf cf"vf lk8fn] el/Psf lyP .

²⁸ sfg'gsf s'/f ug]{ xf] eg] d[T'o' b0b lgif]b ul/Psf] d'n'sdf dfG5] dfg{ sfx" kfO{G5 < h]nleq jf6 uoa agfpg sxf" ldNb5 / < sfg'g ;+ljwfg eg]sf b]vfpgsf nflu x'g . cfkm\gf dfG5]sf nflu x'g . lj/f]lwsf nflu xf]OGg .

the police to shoot the Maoist on spot without any delay. He also instructs them not to care about human rights, laws and other rights. Dhakal in this regard writes:

This area has not faced such a cruel police operation before. The police had entered into the Maoist-affected area being divided into different groups. The stream of blood flowed in that night; tears knew no limit, the crying and chaos have further made the environment pathetic. So many mothers' laps were emptied, so many women became widow. (192) ²⁹

The police operation has been so hard that people had a hell life. They have no way out either. Then the force sees a group of porter eating and sheltering in a jungle. They were tired and hungry. So many innocent people have been killed by the state force which is an ugly form of human rights violations.

Though the novel is successful to expose the human rights violations, it fails to present a true victimhood. The narrator fails to be unbiased one reason is because she has a privileged position as human rights worker. Thus she records those events that justify human rights violations. She spends much of her efforts in projecting state forces as criminal, evil and violator of human rights. By doing this she fulfils her hidden claim that state forces are the violator of human rights in surface level. Had he spoken from the viewpoint of Muselmann, it would have been good to bear the witness of human rights violations. If the narrator had highlighted the suffering of victim objectively as well as collectively rather than demonizing the army, the real victimhood would have been exposed. The victims who survived in cross-fire accuse the army for the atrocities.

²⁹ o; eGbf cl3 Tof] lf]qn] w]} ck]];g y]u]klg, To; /ftsf] eGbf eofgsf ck]];g em]n]sf] lyPg . sdf08f] k|x|/x? ljleGg ;d'xdf af"18P/ cftf]sf/L cf/f]lkt lf]qdf k]j]z u/]sf lyP . jLeT; sfnf] /ftdf /utsf] vf]nf] jUof], cf";' sf] n]vf] kf]vf] s]lx ePg . 5flt ljbL{Of{ jgfp]g] lrTsf/ / sf]nfxfn] jftfj/OfnfO{ sf?l0fs jgfof] To; /flt kl]g y'Kk} cfdfsf sfv l/Qo / sltsf l;Gb/ k'l5P .

In the same way, Thapa in *Forget Kathmandu* charges at the army for human rights violations. There is no representation of suffering faced by narrator herself. She believes on other's saying. She never thinks that victim may not be neutral politically. She takes what the sufferer says as witnesses. Almost no record can be found regarding what the narrator experienced in the violence. One way of true representation of human rights violation is through the concept of Muselmann, which she lacks. Human rights issues in a democratic state like Nepal are very important. The narrator gives more emphasis on human rights violations. By presenting the violations of human rights from the side of state, the narrator progressing questions the loyalty of state security forces towards nation. Army's duties and responsibility along with fidelity is repeatedly questioned in the novel.

What we see feel and realize as a reader is immense suffering caused by evil forces represented by state security forces. However what is confusing is that it is saying that security forces as perpetrators or evil. Thus the narrative of the text is open to questions. Thapa projects the security forces of state by presenting them as perpetrator, criminals and violators. While demonizing the state security forces, she selects those events which are so touchy in dealing with human rights violations from the side of state and presents them intentionally in order to prove the state security forces as violator of human rights.

The collection of testimonies, witnesses makes it clear that the decade long war involved a lot of human right violations especially from the side of state. What is more surprising is that the state which is supposed to be the prime organ which should provide individual its rights is snatching the rights from individuals. The responsibility of a state lies in the act of treating individuals equally with the principle of equality killing any citizen in the name of Maoist is the

violation of human rights. As seen in the novel *Rato Aakash*, the characters have been behaved differently by state representative. The state respects Madikanta, and ignores common citizen.

As seen in the narratives of Dhakal and Thapa, the characters are deprived of education as they lack money. They suffer unemployment, poverty and illness. Government fails to provide the primary education to its citizens. Character like Abiral doesn't go to school not because he doesn't want to read but because he doesn't have fee to pay to school. By reporting the human rights violations unleashed by the army, both books suffer ideological influence. Thus the true victimhood is elided in the partial representation.

Summing up, these two narratives highlight the violations committed by the state security forces. Narrators while doing so, give limited space to victims. Intentionality of selecting those events that demoralize the force of state creates the problems in bringing out the victimhood. The selection of events that gives negative impression of the forces led by state though conveys that the state force are responsible for violations. However this one-dimensionality of representation does not highlight the victimhood-- the sufferings that come not through the language but through the exposure of bodily pains and injuries.

Conclusion: Elision of Victimhood

The narrator of the three books *Forget Kathmandu*, *Palpasa Cafe* and *Rato Aakash* try their best to prove either state security force or Maoist security forces as perpetrators. However, these narrators fail to speak from the view point of unspeakability, i.e Muselmann . No matter how successfully and effectively (s) he claims to represent the violations, however, he or she twists, denies, or removes something because of narratorial self being shaped by certain ideology.

The narrators of the books base their argument on mediated representation, the representation which is twice or thrice removed from reality. The represented, mediated and reported truth do not fulfill the concept of Muselmann . Neither the narrators are speaking from the view point of unspeakability nor are they the victims themselves. *Palpasa cafe*, *Forget Kathmandu* and *Rato Aakash* explore the issue of human rights violations during People's War. The narrative flow of each narrative construction focuses on violations of fundamental rights. The problems in narrative lie in the fact that the narrators are somehow ideologically guided. They are unable to pave the middle way thereby being reluctant to be neutral in speaking from the Agamen's concept of Muselmann i.e speaking from the view point of unspeakability.

The narrative of the three novels talk commonly that war has affected the life of Nepalese significantly. However through the discursive practice, the writer produced knowledge about social reality. They create discourses to produce meaning. Through the discursive practice, they hide reality, distort and present things in different way in order to support their claim. Otherwise why do writers present the same thing in several ways? Stuart Hall in this context writes, "The statements within a discursive formation need not all are the same" (292). The writers perceive the same thing in different way as they have different belief systems. He further says, "A discourse is similar to what sociologists call an ideology a set of statements or beliefs which

produce knowledge that serves the interests of a particular group of class. Why then, use discourse rather than ideology” (292). A writer while writing a literary piece is going to be influenced by his ideology. The three books mentioned above are not the exceptions. Dhakal has Marxist ideology which is visible in the narrative directly whereas other narrators' beliefs are indirectly stated.

Since literary piece is considered to be a discursive practice. It is a domain where victimhood is denied, aborted and misrepresented. Hall writes, "A discourse is similar to what sociologists call an ideology, a set of statements or beliefs which produce knowledge class" (292). One reason which Foucault gives is that ideology is based on a distinction between true statements about the world (science) and false statements; statements about the social, political or moral world are rarely ever simply true or false: and the facts do not enable us to decide definitively about their truth or falsehood, partly because facts can be construed in different ways. The very language we use to describe the so-called facts, interferes in this process of finally deciding what true, and what false.

The language on one hand is helpful to communicate and on the other hand hides the reality. The meaning produced by discursive practice is ideologically motivated. Hall writes, "Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. But it is itself produced by a practice; discursive practice- the practice of producing meaning. Since all social practices entail meaning, all practices have discursive aspects" (291). Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. But it is itself produced by a practice: discursive practice- the practice of producing meaning. Since all social practices entail meaning, all practices have a discursive aspect. So discourse enters into and influences all social practices. The novel *Rato Aakash* from the beginning to end aims at accusing the state security forces as violators of human

rights. It produces knowledge about Maoist and state forces as good and bad, protector and violator of human rights respectively. The narrator writes, " The army raped them when they come to search their houses" (213). As the line shows, the army behaved like animals by raping the girls.

Dhakal, nowhere in the novel, *Rato Aakash* talks about the rapes perpetrated by Maoist forces. He produces meaning that Maoists are good rational and humane. He appreciates the activities done by Maoist and becomes angry with state security forces and government. He produces discourse to serve his ideological interest. In this context, Hall writes, "Most social scientists now accept that our values enter into all our descriptions of the social world, and therefore most of our statements, however, factual, have an ideological dimension" (293). As seen in the novel, Manjushree Thapa *Forget Kathmandu* seems to provide the factual details revealing human rights violations however she is logically motivated in order to justify state as violators of human rights. Those who produce the discourse also have the power to make it true – i.e. to enforce its validity, its scientific status.

The presentation of statements as true is not true in reality. The statements about social political reality are produced ideologically. Most of the social scientists now accept that our values enter into all our descriptions of the social world and therefore most of our statements however factual have an ideological dimension. Indeed it gives considerable weight to questions of power since it is power, rather than the facts about reality which make things true.

While talking about *Forget Kathmandu* from the perspective of victim the novel doesn't address the real suffering of victims. The narrator simply talks with Maoist forces and comes to a conclusion that state forces are evil. They are dutiful to king and government not for the innocent people. She becomes the force is really bad but because she is guided by Marxist ideology she

writes, "Join the Maoists is what any spirited girl would do" (4). The way she produces the statements about social reality denies true victimhood, it distorts the real suffering of victims and painful stories. The discursive practice simply exposes the violations of human rights but the representation of violations contains loopholes, lacuna and is full of miss representations. Those who produce the discourse also have the power to make it true i.e. to enforce its validity, its scientific status. Discourses are ways of talking thinking or representing a particular subject of topic. They produce meaningful knowledge about that subject. This knowledge influences social practices, and so have real consequences and effects. Talking about ideologically biased discourses, Teun A van Disk writes:

In theoretical terms ... this means that implicit information is part of a mental model of (the users of) a text but not of the text itself. That is, implicit meanings are related to underlying beliefs, but are not openly directly completes or precisely asserted for various contextual reasons including the well-known ideological objective to de- emphasize our bad things and their good things. (103)

As quote shows writer in literary piece applies the policy of positive self our good things and their bad things are emphasized and by the same token our bad things and their good things are de-emphasized.

Though a writer may try to be ideologically neutral however the ideology comes unknowingly. This leads towards denial of true representation of victimhood thereby leading towards misrepresentation. In this regard further writes, Disk writes, " Our actions are frequently accompanied by language and conversely much of what we say is accompanied by action" (140). It is the language that accompanies the action or the thought of a writer. Action is the act of

writing which is done through the language and if the language is twisted, the true representation is not possible.

A literary piece is an ideological construction which affects discourses and on the other discourses influence discursive as well as non-discursive social and political processes and actions. In other words, discourses as linguistic social practices. The true representation of victims as real suffered is denied because the true representation stands in contrast opposition to what a writer thinks ideologically. His attempts to be neutral suddenly diverts in ideological dimension. His practice of true representation through discursive formation is politically culturally colored, what he produces is mixed with political interest. Norman Fairclough in this context writes, “All practices are practices of production. They are the arenas with which social life is produced, be it economic, political, cultural or everyday life” (122). The practice of writing literature involves political mixing along with literary outcome. As seen in the novels, the identity of state force and Maoist force have been formed or produced ideologically.

While analyzing *Palpasa Café* from the human rights literature, problem in representation arises. The representation constructs the social practice. Representation is a process of social construction including self construction. Representations enter and shape social processes and practices. Representations through genres are diverse ways of acting of producing social life in the semiotic mode. Everyday conversation meetings in various types of organization political and other forms of interview and book reviews are the examples. Semiotics in the representation and self-representation of social practices constitutes discourses. Discourses are diverse representations of social life which are inherently positioned –differently positioned social actors see and represent social life in different ways different discourses. The self is

constructed as if it is good, rational and the other is identified as bad irrational evil and emotional. Thus true representation is ignored and victimhood is denied.

The three novels under discussion in this research successfully highlight the violation of human rights. The human rights abuses which could be unnoticed and unexamined have been reported and become conspicuous before readers. However the political or cultural boundary or ideology plays a great role in presenting people war, the same event in different way. The narrator of *Palpasa Café* presents the Maoist forces as perpetrators whereas *Forget Kathmandu* and *Rato Aakash* present state security forces as perpetrators. Thus true victimhood is denied lacking and twisted. The narrator suffers from the ideology.

. It would have been good if the narrator had highlighted the suffering of victim objectively as well as collectively rather than demonizing the army. The victims who survived in cross-fire accuse the army for the atrocities. The narrator depends on mediated reality, and other's representation. There is no representation of suffering faced by narrator herself. She believes on other's saying. She never thinks that victim may not be neutral politically. She takes what the sufferer says as witnesses. Almost no record can be found regarding what the narrator experienced in the violence. One way of true representation of human rights violation is through the concept of Muselmann, which she lacks. What we see feel and realize as a reader is immense suffering caused by evil forces represented by state security forces. However what is confusing is that it is saying that security forces as perpetrators or evil. Thus the narrative of the text is open to questions.

Manjushree Thapa in *Forget Kathmandu* demonizes the security forces of state by presenting them as perpetrators. While demonizing the state security forces, she selects those

events which are so touchy in dealing with human rights violations from the side of state and presents them intentionally in order to prove the state security forces as violator of human rights. What is more surprising is that the state which is supposed to be the prime organ which should provide individual its rights is snatching the rights from individuals.

The collection of testimonies, witnesses makes it clear that the decade long war involved a lot of human right violations especially from the side of state. However true victimhood is denied, it is elided and twisted as the narrators suffer from blindspot of their subscription. Otherwise they would be able to pave the middle way thereby presenting human rights violations from the perspective of victims. They suffer the blindspot of their subscription to the political ideology they belong directly or indirectly.

Ghanashyam Dhakal in *Rato Aakash* produces knowledge about Maoists at and state. For him, Maoists are protector, helper and honest where as state forces are violator of human rights. Through discursive practice in the novel, he tries to prove state forces are evil. On the contrary, Narayan Wagle in *Palpasa Cafe* accuses Maoists for human rights violations.

All the three writers have a privileged position of writer. They have power to make things true. They enforce the validity. That is, implicit meanings are related to underlying beliefs, but are not openly, directly, completely or precisely asserted for various contextual reasons, including the well-known ideological objective to be – emphasize our bad things and their good things. The question of ideology also arises here; discourse is ideological in so far as it contributes to sustaining particular relations of power and domination. The three books depict the gross violation of human rights underwent in People's War. Either security personnel or Maoist rebels have violated the basic principles of human rights. These books successfully present the human rights violations in the decade long war. However, the narrators each novel suffers due to

the blind spot of his/her subscription. They talk about uses, pains, miseries from the surface level. They fail to speak from the point of view of victims. They go to see victims carrying a fixed attitude. Thus the pathetic situation of the victims does not come out before readers thereby denying the true victimhood.

Rato Aakash slams the government for being negative to common people. It does not make any delay in taking action against those involved Maoists. The state forces have been identified as perpetrators. *Forget Kathmandu* also shows the anger on security personnel for violating the rights. Innocent people are killed, tortured and disappeared. *Palpasa Cafe* on the contrary, shows irresponsibility of Maoists for violation of rights. Despite the fact that these books have brought the issue of human rights violations, they lack true evidences, testimonies and proofs to accuse Maoist or government particularly. They also misrepresented the victimhood. The true victimhood is denied, avoided and ignored.

As shown in the books, the importance of individual liberty, freedom of thought and expression is denied to individuals by which they can be expected to make the best of their potential to know and create. Neither the human dignity nor the individual freedom is respected. It is violation of human rights when children are denied for education, babies denied for food, women are denied for active role. It is violation of human rights when children, women and disable are sold into slavery of hard work and prostitution. It is violation of human rights when young kids are exploited physically and when girls are enslaved by the painful rape.

Hillari Clinton in this regards says, "Let me be clear. Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the view of their governments" (205). He means to say that people should enjoy their rights to join politics, assemble group. As shown by the books, respect, promotion and protection of

human rights have been ignored. The government has been deaf to these burning problems. Extortion, looting, call for Nepal bandhs, kidnapping have crossed the limitation. The beauty of the three books lies to the point that they show human rights violations which have become increasingly common day to day. Violence associated with the Maoist insurgency and the government's counter insurgency operations have shaped Nepal's politics thereby shaping the political, economic and social structure causing widespread terror, torture and insecurity. On the one hand, the direct terror, torture and killings are the violations of human rights, on the other, the general insecurity prevented people from fully enjoying their rights.

Narrative has power to change the truth. They narrators modify the sufferings from their perspective. Victim becomes visible but the force beyond the curtain remains invisible. These books thus remain unsuccessful to foreground woes of victims from the perspective of sufferers. Narrative is not only a matter of reporting of an event but also a matter of giving more emphasis to particular issue thereby presenting an ideologically constructed text before its readers. Manjushree Thapa records the violations as if she is truly a human right activist. She pours her words of anger to state security forces.

The representation of sufferings invokes moral sympathy towards sufferers. It also calls for moral responsibility to the perpetrators. However, the representation could not be unbiased. Minimum space is given to sufferers. In the context of a decade long insurgency, *Forget Kathmandu*, *Rato Aakash* and *Palpasa Cafe* fail to explore true victimhood. All the text are less concerned with giving voice to victims rather they are busy in demonizing either state or Maoists. The victims have been economically, politically and culturally oppressed. They are not given any agency to claim the victimhood; they are not given any space to speak of their wounds.

The valorization of one force over other or demonization of one force over other is an obstacle for crystal clear representation of victimhood. *Rato Aakash* takes war as an ultimate way of liberation; it thus supports the Maoists who have waged war to bring liberty, sovereignty and national consciousness. Thus Dhakal rather than paving the middle way makes attempts in devalorizing and demonizing state security forces. He brings references of army atrocities to support his claim that army institution is an evil thing. He mentions the events which prove Maoists as protector and army as evils. Because of this one side representation, victimhood denied. The pain of real sufferers does not come out. It remains unexplored and undocumented.

Forget Kathmandu also talks army atrocities. This book highlights the events that clarifies that army is a bad name to hear. According to her, state forces are loyal to elite groups not to the common citizens. She brings the reference of sexual abuse, physical and mental torture, emptying of village created by army to prove that state security forces have created havoc, chaos, disorder thereby violating human rights. She talks about pains very lightly. She does not give much space to victim. Thus victimhood is elided.

Palpasa Café, on the other hand, projects Maoist as criminals. The narrators pour the words of anger to Maoists who have caused inconsistencies, disorder, killings and abduction. The narrator is not happy with his friend Siddhartha who is a Maoist party member. He invests his time on accusing Maoist thereby not letting the voice of sufferer come out. Wagle, through the novel, picturizes the human right violations but he is not able to speak about human right violations from the point of view of unspeakability.

Thus, the real victimhood in above mentioned texts is denied, aborted, elided. The pain of real sufferers is missed in the three novels. Each narrator fails to speak from the point of view of

victims. By just describing the pain, we do not do any justice to victims; we should rather focus on the events which are indescribable.

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