

**FROM VIOLENCE TO “UTMOST  
HAPPINESS”: AN ANARCHIST CRITIQUE OF  
SOUTH ASIAN ANGLOPHONE FICTION**

**By**

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**NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES**

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## **THESIS AND DEFENSE APPROVAL FORM**

**The undersigned certify that they have read the following thesis, examined the defense, are satisfied with the overall exam performance, and recommend the thesis to the Faculty of Arts and Humanities for acceptance:**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **Title: From Violence to “Utmost Happiness”: An Anarchist Critique of South Asian Anglophone Fiction**

Imparting a new dimension to the critical inquiry, the current research is an anarchist critique of selected literary texts with an attention to violence in South Asian context. I have selected Uzma Aslam Khan’s *Trespassing* (2013), Arundhati Roy’s *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* (2017), and Nayomi Munoveera’s *Island of Thousand Mirrors* (2012) as primary texts. The strategic location of Pakistan, India and Sri Lanka, with poverty-ridden population, war-torn communal structures, an intensifying religious fundamentalism, ethnic homogeneity, and ecologically worsening environment, has inspired many writers to raise the question of affability of civilization in their creative writings. With the help of a multi-modeled theoretical framework, I question the logic of the present technological civilization founded upon the principle of “development” and “progress” as explicitly stated by hegemonic convictions and examine civilization’s bearing and implications for multiple forms of life existing in these locales, as presented by the writers. The contemporary elevation of civilization as harbinger of symmetrical power relations, class parity, social justice and “happiness” has been questioned by South Asian writers; they deem the current model of civilization as suffused with perennial violence and its proliferation of social injustice, class disparity, and strangulation of ethnic communities in the name of “nationalism” as genocidal. In addition to that, the alternatives voiced by these writers in their respective contexts are also studied and analysed. The thesis examines the atrocious consequences of land appropriation, alienation and objectification of human beings, disintegration of non-human life, only for economic and political gains, as engines of perennial violence. I explore if civilization and its strategies, as identified in the selected fiction, are subjecting all forms of life to erasure for the vested interest of a few segments. I contend that by narrating the violent strategies of civilization, manifested in the social, economic, political and environmental spaces of their lands, the selected writers state the disruption created for multiple forms of life and by giving an alternative solution for a violence-free life, the South Asian writers are broadening the scope of contemporary knowledge produced in this field.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>TTM</i>	<i>The Twilight of the Machine</i> by John Zerzan
<i>POP</i>	<i>Profit over People</i> by Noam Chomsky
<i>TOPGE</i>	<i>The Ordinary Person's Guide to Empire</i> by Arundhati Roy
<i>TGOST</i>	<i>The God of Small Things</i> by Arundhati Roy
<i>TMUH</i>	<i>The Ministry of Utmost Happiness</i> by Arundhati Roy
<i>ITM</i>	<i>Island of Thousand Mirrors</i> by Nayomi Munoveera
<i>COB</i>	<i>Conquest of Bread</i> by Peter Kropotkin
<i>WOR</i>	<i>Words of a Rebel</i> by Peter Kropotkin
<i>WGOB</i>	<i>What Geography ought to be</i> by Peter Kropotkin
<i>PTMIOP</i>	<i>Prisons and their Moral Influence on Prisoners</i> by Peter Kropotkin
<i>TCG</i>	<i>The Common Good</i> by Noam Chomsky
<i>TCT</i>	<i>The Culture of Terrorism</i> by Noam Chomsky
<i>PAT</i>	<i>Power and Terrorism</i> by Noam Chomsky
<i>ABAT</i>	<i>A British Anarchist Tradition</i> by Carrisa Honeywell
<i>AIA</i>	<i>Anarchy in Action</i> by Colin Ward
<i>GIV</i>	<i>Government is Violence</i> by Leo Tolstoy
<i>PAG</i>	<i>Patriotism and Government</i> by Leo Tolstoy
<i>CAP</i>	<i>Christianity and patriotism</i> by Leo Tolstoy
<i>TSOT</i>	<i>The Slavery of our Times</i> by Leo Tolstoy
<i>WIB</i>	<i>What I Believe</i> by Leo Tolstoy
<i>EOF</i>	<i>Ecology of Freedom</i> by Murray Bookchin
<i>TMBR</i>	<i>The Murray Bookchin Reader</i>
<i>FPR</i>	<i>Future Primitive Revisited</i> by John Zerzan
<i>TTM</i>	<i>The Twilight of the Machine</i> by John Zerzan
LIG	Low Income Group
RAF	Rapid Action Force

*PL* Precarious Life by Judith Butler  
*VN* *Violent Nationalism* by Simon Springer

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# DEDICATION

My dear parents,

My kids

Maryam,

Abdur Rahman,

&

Abdul Wahab

for your unconditional love, endless support and prayers.

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction to the background of the research. The chapter relates itself with the previous research in the field. It also mentions those factors that have prompted this research from an anarchist perspective. Further, the chapter unfolds aims of study, research questions, significance and rationale of the study, a brief introduction to important and recurring terms, research methodology and chapter division.

This study explicates the evolution of violence as imbricated in the modern scientific and technological civilization and its repercussions for multitude of life inhabiting South Asia, as depicted in the selected South Asian Anglophone fiction. Historically contextualizing the trajectory of violence, this dissertation argues that capitalist, and ethno-nationalist violence instrumentalize life in a ruthless manner. Through its narrativization of violence “as politico-economic tool, material experience and symbolic domination” (Visweswaran 3), the chosen literature illuminates how violence is inextricably woven into the very structures of civilization’s two most current tools – capitalism and nationalism. The selected literary oeuvre includes novels by Uzma Aslam Khan, Nayomi Munoveera and Arundhati Roy. These novels depict the current violent socio-political realities of Pakistan, Sri Lanka and India respectively.

South Asia is one of the most vibrant areas of the world which is a host to a number of ethnic, religious, linguistic, racial and class identities. Being one of the resource-richest locales, South Asia was subjected to violence of European colonization. The decolonization of South Asia brought a temporary relief from colonial violence; however, its recent history is a witness to the profusion of violence in its multiple forms including violence of the respective states against their own citizens; the retributory

violence of the insurgencies escalating to the point of civil war in certain locales; modern-day capitalism's rapacious penetration into South Asia through neoliberal policies under the guise of "development and progress". These different manifestations of violence are responsible for displacements, exacerbating poverty, unemployment, and commodification of multiple forms of life. Besides, the recent history of South Asia is characterized by the environmental degradation because of objectification of ecological life.

South Asian Anglophone fiction, a popular cultural witness to the multiple forms of oppression, has taken up these issues with remarkable accuracy and profundity. Amitav Ghosh, Nadeem Aslam, Uzma Khan, Arundhati Roy, Mohsin Hamid and many luminaries have stood up to the cause of addressing these problems in their peculiar style. But there is a scarcity of scholarly engagement of researchers with this most urgent and venomous aspect of South Asian reality. The violence question has not been paid enough attention in critical endeavours in academia. Only one doctoral thesis titled "Violence, Militarism, and the Environment in Contemporary South Asian Literature" by a Ph.D. scholar Saba Pirzada, deals with environmental issues in the contemporary South Asian literature by employing ecocentric approach. Given the increasing importance of South Asia as a site of natural resources, a consumer market for western products, a source of cheap labour for western industries, and a place to various nationalist secessionist conflicts, it becomes imperative to study the ways in which the violence in its multifarious forms is objectifying life in its various forms; for which anarchist lens is the most suitable perspective.

This dissertation aims to engage with some of these manifestations of violence that South Asians are subjected to, by employing anarchist lens, in order to foreground the factors responsible for and consequences of all these violent practices. Drawing upon the fictional representation of these conflicts in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and India in selected English fiction, the research seeks to establish that South Asian fiction, in foregrounding the most urgent problems afflicting South Asia, assume, the importance of literary text as "interventionist discourse" that raises consciousness among readers and draw attention to the urgencies depicted in them (Huggan and Tiffin ix). In this dissertation, I address how the selected novels show disgust towards the principles of hierarchy and domination

practiced against people: who inhabit resource-rich zones of South Asia; people inhabiting the same country but who are left out of the definition of “human” constructed by narrow nationalist paradigms. This dissertation also addresses the alternate ways of existence that transcend all hierarchy and domination and move towards the principle of freedom which offers happiness for all living beings inhabiting this part of the world.

### **1.1.1 Rationale of the Study**

The choice to do research on the twenty-first century South Asian Anglophone fiction from an anarchist perspective is prompted by the desire to explore the reasons and consequences of eruption of violence in last three decades in various parts of South Asia and by a desire to embed South Asian fiction in the anarchist discourse which is considered typical of the West. The choice of the political, economic and ecological conflicts in South Asia, as a temporal and spatial setting of the thesis, is mainly motivated by the fact that there is very little scholarly exploration on the literary expression of the causes and consequences of this widespread violence.

The rationale for this research is provided by the lacuna in the existing literary scholarship on the role of capitalism and nationalism and their objectifying mechanisms in the ever-growing relations of domination and subjugation, being the cause of various violent contestations surging in south Asia. In order to understand the fictional representation of the dynamics of the present disputations in South Asia, it is logical to select some representative texts that portray various aspects of the crises which have had very detrimental impact on the myriad of identities and multiple forms of lives in South Asia. This concern for the well-being of all inhabitants of earth brings about an espousal of literature and anarchism, exploration of which is the chief concern of this research.

The choice of the theoretical paradigm is also significant. Anarchism, as Benedict Anderson reminds, constituted an immense “gravitational force” (69) across the planet in twentieth century. It was, as he notes, the dominant element in the radical left and the main vehicle of global opposition to industrial capitalism, autocracy, and imperialism. Yet, despite its historical significance, anarchism as an international movement, has not been accorded attention; particularly the magnitude of anarchism’s historical involvement in various movements in South Asia has been elided completely. The most neglected area of academia is the exploration of postcolonial/ South Asian literary writers’ engagement

with anarchism. The standard overviews of anarchism's history scarcely take into account the Asian's struggle against hierarchical structures. George Woodcock, Daniel Guerin, and Peter Marshal reflect imbalance in accounting the historical struggle of Asian anarchists. The invisibility of anarchism in academia, particularly an exploration of literary writers' engagement with anarchist principles, prompts this research. Anarchism explicitly rejects doctrines of racial, ethnic and class inequality; it also champions the cause of emancipation. Interpretation of literary texts that call for transcending hierarchies to achieve true liberation, necessitates engagement with anarchist perspective. This research intends to incorporate South Asian Anglophone writers' literary productions in the vast anarchist discourse that has so far been colonized by Western representation.

An explication of the various modes of violence depicted in the novels would benefit from the discussion of how civilization has been conceived and theorized in anarchist studies. The two aspects that make the primary area of this research- violent capitalism and genocidal nationalism, are the off-springs of modern Western civilization. Civilization has been defined as "a type of society emerging some 5000 years ago" (Zerzan *Future Primitive Revisited* 56) and consisting of a number of interconnected features which include: domestication of plants and animals, continually intensifying division of labor and specialization, an emerging class structure, increasingly sophisticated technical means of production, urbanization and a demand of luxury, among the wealthy and powerful classes, complex trade and the expansion of territory, a professional military, and a centralized religious and political authority, which oversees an administrative bureaucracy, directs the military and controls the population.

It is imperative to emphasize here that my thesis does not reject civilization in toto; I believe that without the notion of continuity in history, we cannot explain the extraordinary efflorescence of culture and technique that we humans produced during various time periods. We have seen beautiful aspects of civilization in the form of unrelated evolution of complex systems in different parts of the world. Without the advancement of civilization, the great gathering of social forces in which, after ten thousand years of arising, stagnating and disappearing, cities finally gained control over the agrarian world that had impeded their development, yielding the urban revolution in



zones of the world that could have no contact with one another. I contend that the existence of history as a coherent unfolding of real emancipatory potentialities is clearly verified by the existence of civilization, the potentialities of history embodied and partially actualized. It consists of the concrete advances, material as well as cultural and psychological, that humanity has made toward greater degree of freedom, self-consciousness, and cooperation, as well as the foraging into agriculture and industry; to have replaced the parochial band or tribe with the increasing universal city.

Furthermore, civilization enabled humans to devise writing, produce literature, and develop richer forms of expression that non-literate peoples could have never imagined- all of these and many other advances have provided the conditions for evolving increasingly sophisticated notions of individuality and expanding notions of reason, which remains stunning achievement to this very day. My thesis does not take all these achievements for-granted, without asking what kind of human beings we would be if civilization had not occurred as a result of historical and cultural movements more fundamental than eccentric factors. My thesis acknowledges that these achievements are clearly civilization, they are a part of a civilizing continuum that is nevertheless infused by terribly barbaric, indeed animalistic features. The civilizing process has been ambiguous, but it has nonetheless historically turned the folk into citizens. Progress also appears in the overall improvement, however ambiguous, of humanity's material conditions of life, the emergence of rational ethics, with enlightened standards of sensibility and conduct, out of un-reflexive custom and theistic morality, and social institutions that foster continual self-development and cooperation. However lacking our ethical claims in relation to social practice may be, given all the barbarities of our time, we now subject brutality to much harsher judgements than was done in earlier times.

My thesis intends to criticize and unearth only those aspects of civilization that have exposed various forms of life to precariousness and usurped the possibility of happiness by using the ploy of progress. In my view, the futility of any practice can be judged by applying Leopald's ethics, "a thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability and beauty of the biotic community, it is wrong when it tends otherwise. Shaped by anarchist perspective, my argument advocates that any idea or practice that tends to increase hierarchies amongst humans and between humans and

natural world, is exploitative and violent; any idea or practice that involves the need for territorial expansion or resource extraction to fuel its systems of production and consumption is exploitative and violent.

### **1.1.2 Background of the Study**

This thesis contends that the modern industrial and technological civilization is the dominant placement in the contemporary era and its proponents present the current “civilized” scenario as a harmonious, symmetrical and a happy world; yet, the present world exposes a series of unkempt promises associated with civilization. The ever-encroaching civilization exposes the “happiness” to precariousness. Civilization’s promises of “a happy world” are fraught with dystopian reality that subsist in many a countries where it failed to bring peace, harmony and “happiness”. Civilization offers profound and unmistakable encounter with violence; it blockades the possibility for justice, aggravates poverty and insemminates inequality. This thesis strives to present a view that the Western industrial civilization bears economic and material fruits only for a small number of power wielders. The “development” and “progress”, so frequently lauded, thrives and swells at the rubble of various forms of life. The deterioration of life from a free and satisfying existence to an exacerbating regimentation coevals with the birth of civilization. One of the latest pathological developments bequeathed by civilization is the disintegrating core of society. Alienated from each other, the “civilized” people rely on material objects to achieve happiness but the advance of civilization ruthlessly scrubs happiness and liquidates humanity in South Asian context.

This thesis also contends that Western civilization’s most lethal weapon against South Asians is the division of labor and social stratification. Division of labor diminishes humanness profoundly; it alienates and commodifies a vast majority of the world population. The promises of welfare are met with genocidal aspects of modern capitalist system that turns people and biotic communities of South Asian region into objects only for material gains. In the name of economic prosperity, it divides people according to the economic logic of exchange and production. People, particularly those belonging to the lower class and third world countries, are trapped into the rubrics of efficiency, performance and instrumentality. Irredeemably pronounced in the mundane

activities and practices on which our dismal and disconsolate routine life is grounded, accompanied by an uninterrupted suffering and by the isolation that derives from “a growing object-and service-mediated existence”, civilization invokes only a sense of “inner emptiness” (Manicardi iv) which grows more urgent. Wherever civilization reaches through its tentacles of capitalism, industrialization, corporatism, market approaches and nationalism, the precarious life is not spared. Despite the claims of soaring GDP indexes of South Asian countries, life under the assault of Western civilization is miserable. Ever-increasing incompatible fundamentalisms of many types and the rise in suicidal practices in these regions of the world, stamp this acrid assertion in a most spectacular manner. New technological and scientific progress boasts of its booming success, but the replication of a number of incurable diseases points towards yet another lethal lapse of this brand of civilization.

The social stratification reaches an unprecedented scale in the age of globalization. Zerzan believes that fundamentally, globalization is the same old “division of labor” enwrapped in new fancy-clothing. He likens globalization with “urbanization, conquest, and dispossession”, all mutated forms of objectifying process taken to new heights. Using the ploy of “progress” and “development” Western civilization penetrates third world and launches its crusade against multiple forms of life. At the dictation of civilization, the desecration of life in third world proceeds at a quick tempo; with fast-track globalization, domestication of life, a process that started only a few thousand years back, has penetrated the most vulnerable part of the globe.

The current phase of capitalist expansion called “neo-liberalism” or “economic globalization” is the latest development of Western industrial civilization. This politico-economic arrangement “circumscribes the political rights and civic powers” (Chomsky, *Profit over People* 12) of South Asian countries. American led “neo-liberalism” enforces unfavorable policies on South Asian countries. To help maximize the profit of its big companies, American state ensures that South Asian countries keep their doors open for foreign investors. Third World countries, with weak labor laws, have almost no environmental legislation and unbridled soaring rates of unemployment, provide the most favorable conditions for Western business to prosper. Thus, civilization, wearing the cloak of “development” of poorer countries, aggravates disparity between countries.

Mohsin Hamid's narrator, Changez is informed by his American employer of the rapacious policies of America in these words: "The economy's an animal.... First it needed muscle. Now all the blood it could spare was rushing to its brain... you're the blood brought from some part of the body that the species doesn't need any more" (Hamid 58). Apart from a fast-depletion of the natural world, this penetration has culminated in the eradication of "individual and community autonomy" and compromised the health of people in third world.

The rapacious working of neoliberalism is exposed by David Miller and Gill Hubbard in their book *Argument against G8*. The book critiques the current manifestation of capitalism and argues that the world is rife with serious global social and environmental problems like worst pollution, highest mortality rates, lowest life expectancy, epidemic rates of drug abuse, poverty, which are seen as "isolated social facts" (220); yet these "apparently isolated realities are linked causally to other social facts" (220). The book traces the roots of all these problems in the "global capitalism" which has "taken control of life processes" (221); the people whose life is impacted by these processes, the Parliament which should be accountable for all these atrocities, the royalty, and civil service, all are turned into impotent entities with regard to the bigger decisions taken by corporate elite. Money has assumed the status of god and city engulfs people in its suffocating enthrall. Engineering of human consent has become more intense and more profound with the help of more sophisticated tools and gadgets, made available in the neoliberal age. On a close scrutiny of the working of the current asymmetrical relations, a nexus between various groups can be detected; "a whole range of corporate-funded groups, corporate-state elite partnerships, networks and social clubs" can be seen all working together against the human and environment. The writers term this nexus as "the global ruling class" (224) which decides the preferences, identities, and penalties of the people.

The peak business associations are not new, but they have taken on a new role under neo-liberalism by strengthening its hold around politics and thereby it launched its most lethal assault against democracy. The corporate interest is deemed significant and is preserved through corporate front groups and elite policy networks. The challenge to this interest of global capital is posed by democracy and democratic values, which must be

squashed at any cost if “corporatism” is to survive. The writers stress that the problems caused by capitalism resurge from time to time, “yet time and again corporate or imperial interests prevail, showing graphically the progressive destruction of democracy” (225). This “hollowing out of democracy under neoliberalism entails a system in which democracy is seen “as a sham”, and “business far too-powerful, and the economy inherently unfair” (227). Human life alone does not pay the price of civilization; the entire planet is moaning under its weight. Under the aegis of civilization, nature is considered an adversary to be conquered and used to get profit. After the encroachment of civilization, the non-human life has been subjected to malignancy, thus duplicating the manipulations that are exhaustively orchestrated at human’s life. The subjugation mentality entrenched in civilization leads man to destroy nature and supplant it with an artificial world.

This research sets out to examine the intersection between civilization and violence in contemporary South Asian context engaging a number of theoretically informed anarchist perspectives. The anarchist perspective provides the reasons for contemporary disconsolate realities; it advocates a critical gaze at the role of institutions that proliferate violence. To the anarchist writers’ vision, civilization encompasses negative and terminal fruits for various forms of life. For the present research the anarchist theory provides the analytical profundity in consonance with tattered human present and a dubious future of the vulnerable parts of the world. The anarchist writers refuse to be conciliated to the extremities of alienation and destructiveness brought about by civilization. Founded upon a firm body of archaeological investigations, they contrast the present suffocating existence with the social experience that was prevalent prior to the encroachment of civilization. They base their argument upon bestriding proof that before the Neolithic lurch from a foraging manner of existence to an agricultural life-style, the pre-civilized humans had appreciable liberty and “an ethos of egalitarianism and sharing, and no organized violence” (Zerzan *TTM* 45).

The debate over the use of violence is productive and profoundly conducive to understanding anarchism’s engagement with the question of violence. The dialogue between the proponents of violence and those of non-violence is one of the many dichotomies presented by anarchist theorists and practitioners, and it further helps to

situate South Asian literary writers within the vast panoply of this school of thought. The spirited conversations ensue in which some anarchists (Bakunin 78) advocate that the use of violence as “the notion of being non-violent in a world that appears as unremittingly violent” is futile; whereas others express a commitment to “breaking the cycle of violence” as much as possible. Anarchism is a political/social philosophy that emphasizes, as its cardinal principles, certain values as self-governance, rejection of domination, according respect and practicing mutuality, adherence to anti-war and anti-oppression principles, practicing solidarity, believing in radical egalitarianism, and prefiguring the future society in which any possibility of violence is precluded. Anarchists reject the top-down violence of the state and corporations, and also rejecting violence, as a subversive activity, they contend that “violence begets violence” no matter who is utilizing it (Tolstoy, *GIV* 24). Some assert that an inherently violent system can only be taken down by force (Maletesta 6). Some anarchists work from a more evolutionary model, seeking instead to construct alternate societal systems to supplant the permeating violence of the present system, as Gustav Landauer defines the state as:

... a social relationship; a certain way of people relating to one another. It can be destroyed by creating new social relationships; i.e., by people relating to one another differently . . . . We, who we have imprisoned ourselves in the absolute state, must realize the truth: we are the state! And we will be the state as long as . . . we have not yet created the institutions necessary for a true community and a true society of human beings. (29)

Although anarchism has been associated with violence, disorder, terrorism and “bomb throwing” but most of the anarchists embrace non-violence as a strategy of revolution. The anarchism’s inchoate ethical engagement with the use of violence and its rejection makes it the fundamental premise of anarchism to preclude coercion in any form. Anarchism’s emphasis on sovereignty of the individuals is visible in April Carter’s contention who believes, “anarchist values are inherently and necessarily incompatible with the use of violence” (Carter 328). Anarchists (Goldman 64) argue that a few instances of “regicide” or destroying property cannot be compared with the scale of violence perpetrated by the rapacious activities of capitalism and the state. They point out that wars alone are responsible for hundred millions death in the twentieth century. They argue that we are subsumed in a sea of violence to such an extent that it has become unnoticeable for us; it has become “the medium of our existence, like water to a fish, and

thus largely invisible” (Amster 45). The acquisition of basic needs of life—from food and water to shelter, is thoroughly imbricated within the complex web of “a military-industrial complex” that increasingly trammels the globe. Our identities are inextricably imbricated with a fierce system. In our social context, we desire and exert our privilege and power over others as an acceptable everyday ritual, which Alexander Berkman perceived decades ago:

And as you are invaded and violated, so you subconsciously revenge yourself by invading and violating others over whom you have authority or can exercise compulsion, physical or moral. In this way all life has become a crazy quilt of authority, of domination and submission, of command and obedience, of coercion and subjection, of rulers and ruled, of violence and force in a thousand and one forms. (Berkman 43)

Berkman’s argument shows that the use of violence transcends cadres, parties, religious affiliations; rather, it is woven into the fabric of life for the majority of the planet’s inhabitants. Simon Springer (79), contends that the Western culture is expanding its violent activities and consequently the poor world is afflicted with structural violence of homelessness, poverty, and racism.

The anarchists claim that violence is unacceptable as a strategy of change. Berkman preaches that violence is used by ignorant people; it is “the weapon of the weak”. Further he argues, “the strong of heart and brain need no violence” (Berkman 4). In this view, anarchism represents the ideal of a "society without force and compulsion, where all men shall be equals, and live in freedom, peace, and harmony” (Berkman 5). The contemporary anarchists echo the same abhorrence towards the use of violence to absolve the society of its violent structures. These anarchists emphasize that anarchism is a condition of being free from violence, force, and coercion. In its ideal embodiment, it is the highest expression of non-violence. As Berkman opined, anarchism is, at root, a state of "peace without violence" which is affirmed by Herbert Read in plain terms: "Peace is anarchy” (Read 3).

The debate about the utility of violence or non-violence has been extended by the anarchists who have been proponents of revolutionary violence and who were involved in acts of murders to eliminate systemic oppression. Errico Maletesta, himself an advocate of subversive violence, declares it as "an unpleasant necessity," however acknowledges

categorically that "anarchists are opposed to every kind of violence" (Maletesta 4). Despite some anarchist's advocacy and praxis of violence, the primary support of anarchism is "the elimination of violence from human relations" (Read 18)

Anarchists' definition of violence encapsulates "seeds of ethicality and core principles" (Amster 56); this definition extends the terrain of violence from the "intentional commitment of physical harm to another person," to include that it "not injure living creatures" (Amster 56); likewise they broaden its domain beyond mere corporeality and admit other facets of "tyrannical and commanding behavior, such as curtailing freedom, circumscribing choices, recouping lively resources, imposing emotional impairment, or shaming and demeaning" (Amster 58). Uri Gordon's statement, "an act is violent if its recipient experiences it as an attack or as deliberate endangerment" (Gordon 25) is fascinating and indicates towards anarchism's stress on autonomy and self-determination by appointing the recipient, rather than the initiator, as a judge of the violent praxis.

A crucial feature of anarchism is that people must remain free to determine the conditions of their own lives, including their values and identities. Anarchists throughout history have recognized that "the aim of revolution is not to seize that power but rather to dismantle it, by removing its bases of private property and militarism" (Springer 87). A truly anarchist society overcomes violence through cooperative systems and participatory processes. The objective of anarchists is not to defeat the dominant structures through more force or coercion, or to change its "monopolization into a democratization of violence", but to strive to eradicate it and dismantle its current dominant position in all social relations. As Bart De Ligt observes that any revolution must not deliver the people "from one form of subjugation to another" (52).

One of the key issues that my research seeks to explore is the possibility of happiness in a violence-ridden world. My thesis seeks to trace the trajectory from violence to the realms of "utmost happiness"- a phrase I borrowed from Arundhati Roy's novel *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*. The concept of happiness is not only substantially important but a highly complex and multifaceted one. The complexity of the concept has further been aggravated by the collusion of a number of factors such as, globalization/neo-liberalism, the fast emerging new-fascism resulting in marginalization



and exclusion of certain communities. Apart from that an increasing inequality in accessing resources and opportunities jeopardizes the possibility of happiness of a majority of world population. The intersectionality of all these factors offers a new arena for debate and intervention. Different theorists, influenced by their philosophical, cultural, psychological and economic contexts, have explored happiness from different angles.

The dominant discourse on happiness is influenced by the field of economics which has offered a well-established tradition of inquiry into the notion of happiness (Bruni, 87). Economics, taking lead from Adam Smith, establishes links between the material prosperity and human happiness. Anarchists reject this notion of happiness which ignores a wide range of indicators that can be determinants in procuring happiness for people. My thesis argues that the failure of this school of thought to consider communal activities, individuals' relationship with a wide range of life possibilities in their surroundings foregrounds its limitations. This paradigm, by associating human happiness with only material procurement, does not reflect the essence of happiness; it is exclusive of a vast number of actors on whose cost this happiness is procured. In addition to that, the patterns of production and consumption practiced by this school of thought, push planetary resources to such an extent that threatens not the present of the planet but also its future. This model of happiness, dependent upon economic means, was questioned in Bhutan's "Development Philosophy of Gross National Happiness" conducted on April 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2012. The Prime Minister of Bhutan, H. E. Mr. Jigmi Y-Thinley showed his dissatisfaction with the current models and desired the prevalence of such system that:

... serves and nurtures the well-being of all sentient beings on earth and the human happiness that comes from living life in harmony with the natural world, with our communities, and with our inner selves. We need an economy that will serve humanity, not enslave it. It must prevent the imminent reversal of civilization and flourish within the natural bounds of our planet while ensuring the sustainable, equitable and meaningful use of precious resources. (*Report on Happiness*, 19)

My thesis claims that happiness procured through material gains is not tenable; procurement of happiness grounded on economic profits and gains (only) fails to take

into account the social and environmental costs. I argue that a new paradigm is severely needed that recognizes the parity between social, economic, psychological and environmental well-being; and to reclaim happiness for all, the concept of identity should be rethought; it should transcend beyond a narrow “we”, it must also be expanded beyond “here and now”; it should also include, in addition to the immediate family members, the tribe, the nation, and all members of earth. The new paradigm proposed by anarchists extends the embrace of happiness beyond this generation to the future ones. I contend that “utmost happiness” should include the most happiness and the least sufferings for the downtrodden, dispossessed, displaced forms of lives. The conception of happiness proposed by this thesis is inclusive of the value of social relationships, community life, and reciprocity, sovereignty of the people and integration of all forms of life. It offers a framework that can be used to judge happiness of the characters presented in the selected fiction. The ethics of care and the pursuit of equality through dissolution of hierarchy redefines the relation between the humans and the world they inhabit. This conception of happiness, proposed by this thesis, is holistic, wholesome and as Vandana Shiva says “ecological happiness”, a concept which includes not only humans but biotic diversity. The biodiversity constructed becomes a part of “the Earth Family”. My thesis stresses the importance of interrelation between human happiness and ecological sustainability; it argues that there is no happiness without the happiness and well-being of all.

One of my claims in this thesis, which is further explicated in chapter four, is that the dominant Western discourse, built around the notions of “development/progress”, is erroneous and based upon capitalistic vision of profit-procurement. The progress and development lauded by the Western rhetoric is not what Shiva calls “a universalist category of progress” (*Staying Alive* 23); rather, it is the continuity of the old Western practices of resource extraction by using the garb of ‘civilization’ in past and ‘development’ in the current global capitalist era. The debates about progress/development have long taken the academy’s attention. Scientific development and economic growth, being the offshoots of the age of enlightenment (Shiva, *Staying Alive* 23) assumed the status of sanctity and hence, were considered above criticism. These ideas were used historically by the Western world to carry on with the accumulation of capital at the expense of resource-rich zones of the world, including

South Asia, where social fabric was subjected to unbridled violence, desecration and in some cases utter extermination of life; the current globalized scenario is seen as the continuation of and intensification of “development” by the Western world (Patnaik). The current principle of “development” is seen as imposition upon South Asian world, and hence violent in its essence. The language of development economies is seen as:

... a chapter in the Enlightenment dream, a dream that promised an orderly progress from poverty and ignorance to prosperity and modernity...an ideal that masks the instrumental role that development has played in maintaining global structures of neocolonialism and dependency. Instead of progress and prosperity, much of the world has experienced profound poverty, growing income inequality, high debt burdens, and environmental degradation. (Drucilla 58)

The proponents of alternate development/human development models (Shiva, *Staying Alive* 28; Sin 67) posit that the developmental model, based upon capitalist values, enters South Asia through neoliberal policies which are facilitated by WTO, IMF, and WB and are meant to maximize the profit of multinational corporations. This model of “development” is entrenched in violence against the third world. With the help of these international financial institutions, “the one percent of the world takes control of and exploits the resources” (Shiva, *Water Wars* 87) found in the third world countries. This “developmental” model presents a worldview which Gosh writes, “of just accumulate, accumulate, accumulate, consume, consume, consume” (*The Great Derangement* 65). It considers South Asian land as a “terra nullius” (Shiva, *Staying Alive* 23) and use it as a money-making object and a source of raw material. This industrialization that causes an unlimited greed for resource exploitation penetrates South Asia and plunders it in the name of “development” (Shiva, *Staying Alive* 25). For many anarchists, progress "in all its various guises [is taken] to be inherently destructive to biological and cultural diversity and to individual freedoms," (Zerzan, *Why Hope* 23) and the very notion of "progress" is little more than "an ideological smoke-screen used to justify the increasing domestication and enslavement of human populations and ecological landscapes" (Amster 38). This view thus rejects the "ecological humanism" of social ecology and its inherent progressivism as well.

My second claim in this thesis is that nationalism is a cultural/political construction which is concocted to benefit a few power-mongers. Nationalism is a

complex concept. It has been lauded as a potent tool to resolve issues of poverty, exploitation, and a multitude of socio-economic problems; but anarchist and postcolonial theorists see nationalism replete with structures of hierarchy and domination. For Franz Fanon nationalism serves a useful purpose in the struggle for independence, but it descends into a narrow, debilitating phenomenon after liberation from colonial rule is procured. Hence, the very transformation of the concept occurs and “the nation is passed over for the race, and the tribe is preferred to the state” (Fanon, 157). Fanon exposes “the cracks” inherent in nationalism which exhibit “the process of retrogression that is so harmful and prejudicial to national effort and national unity”. The rulers of the newly independent nations show “incapacity in rationalizing popular action”. Fanon exposes the selfish approach of the leaders who replace the rulers of the colonial elite; hence, after the declaration of independence, the leaders, far from addressing the basic needs of the masses and “the restoration of the country to the sacred hands of the people”, set “to become the general president of that company of profiteers impatient for their returns which constitutes the national bourgeoisie” (157). The self-interest of the leader compels him to withdraw from the people who empowered him and “ranges himself a little more resolutely on the side of the exploiters” (157).

One of the issues that this thesis seeks to address is the imbrication of heterogeneity with violence. Generally, the term “heterogeneity” denotes the condition of being composed of differing elements. In contrast to “diversity” which refers to the inclusion of different types of people (for instance, people of different sex, race or culture) in a group or organization, the concept of heterogeneity is broader. Heterogeneity describes the socio-cultural complexity and differentiation of social structures in modern societies (Horowitz 331– 332). Societies usually constitute of a number of different entities coexisting peacefully, but heterogeneity inherent in these societies becomes not only relevant, and visible but dangerously lethal when they are politicized, mobilized, and organized. Politicization, mobilization, and organization are the mechanisms which transform an otherwise harmless heterogeneity into cleavages. This entails that visible cleavages emerge as a result of a number of politico-economic factors.

Heterogeneity constitutes of a number of factors such as economic status and religious identity. But one of my queries deals with heterogeneity fomented by ethnic

identity. The term ethnic is interpreted in two distinct ways. In the popular discourse this term refers to “racial, or linguistic groups”. But in a broader sense, the term ethnic refers to all conflicts arising out of – race, language, religion, tribe, or caste (Horowitz 41–54). The heterogeneous groups aim towards “group recognition” and demand specific rights for minority groups, which all entails efforts towards “power-sharing. (Horowitz 4; Lijphart 38). Heterogeneities can be resolved by a condescending attitude of the majority; but mostly, instead of granting these rights, the majoritarian political community forces assimilation or integration of the diverse individuals into the dominant national stream. This enforcement of a homogenous identity is resisted in a violent way by the minority community and hence coexistence is imperiled radically.

The ethnic conflict is important with reference to the literary texts which unfold that ethnic contestations are heightened not only because of asymmetrical distribution of resources, but also because of vested interest of policy makers and politicians who garner political benefits by perpetuating the relations of domination and subjugation through a carefully planned program of violent homogenization. Consequently, the religious issue surfaces quite visibly and transforms into a violent civil-war that devalues and desecrate worthy lives of minority groups.

### **1.1.1 South Asian Anglophone Fiction and its Significance**

South Asia is a term that includes several nations, but for this dissertation, it refers particularly to Pakistan, Sri Lanka and India. South Asia has exhibited richness of literary productions in the last few decades. The literary achievements in South Asia stretch back millennia; Paul Brians comments that Indians wrote masterpieces when Europeans had yet to learn imaginary literariness. Although, modern fictional forms were imported from Britain during colonial period, yet the South Asian writers experimented with, transformed and brought South Asian fiction in prominence. The accolades, showered on South Asian writers like Mohsin Hamid, Mukherjee, Arundhati Roy and Amitav Gosh, account for the expanding global appetency for South Asian fiction. The popularity of the fiction can be gauged from the fact that the literary productions of these writers are translated into many world languages; consequently, these writings attract wide readership at home and abroad. The popularity of South Asian writers is caused, not only

because of successful marketing, but also because of the literary merits of the literary productions; as Brian writes: “Commerce can create a desire to write a best-seller, but it cannot in itself create good books” (5). South Asia has produced an impressive crop of very talented and sensitive writers who emerge to supply for the need for South Asian fiction and who, in a way, are the reason for this literary appetite. The growth of South Asian fiction, in global profile and commercial potential in the last two decades, accounts for its increasing prominence in English Literature curricula in various universities of the West.

South Asian territory is suffering from the aftershocks of Western scientific/technological civilization garbed as development; South Asian literary writers highlight the horrific impacts of this civilization in their literary productions. This literature takes its readers to the place where people have been alienated from other human beings through an instrumental mentality; the poor working class people as well as the “invisible citizens” are commodified to benefit big businesses; both local as well as Western. South Asian’s profound communion with nature has also been distorted; the imaginary landscape experiences floods, torrents, cyclones, an ever-growing number of extinct species, global warming, desertification of lush green landscapes and deforestation. Alienation from and objectification of nature, only for economic gains, distorts the South Asian landscape into “an inhospitable wasteland” (Manicardi v). The procession of civilization moves with acclivitous gusts of advancement to further disillusionment. Civilization fixes a very heavy price for South Asian characters to pay for its sustenance; it has built an artificial environment around them and detached the people from real life.

The commodification of the world, all-encompassing consumerist logic, and a divisive nationalism are all offspring of civilization that are here for a full scale assault. South Asian writers have also responded to the deleterious effects of “nationalism” which divide the people along the lines of ethnicities, races, and religions. The denial of equal treatment, particularly to religious and ethnic minorities, is a bitter fruit of civilization that is exploited by politicians; they construct and proliferate hatred among different ethno-religious groups for their vested interest. The ethnic and religious “homogeneity”

which has become a regular feature of almost all South Asian societies has not only been brought to limelight but also rejected vehemently by South Asian literary writers.

The writers selected for this investigation have certain common attributes. They tend to be well educated and belong to well-to-do class. They live either in urban territories of their respective countries or abroad. However, the residency status of these authors has not been a determining factor for this project, as the reason for their selection is their engagement with the problems faced by their native countries. The residency status of South Asian writers has never hindered these writers from exposing the violence perpetrated in their native countries. I agree with Alex Tickell that the often fraught “politics of authenticity” (Tickell, “Introduction” 5) that hangs on the author’s preference of staying abroad and wayfaring between the region of birth and region of stay does not influence their sensitivity towards perennial violence seeped deeply in their native regions. The world, visible through their fictional creation, is although multifaceted, yet they write about contemporary reality dominated by violence. As life is under siege in South Asia, South Asian writers pay instant importance and offer solutions out of this malaise. Realizing the profundity of loss and exhaustion that civilization has orchestrated against life in the regions of their origin, these far-sighted writers question the legitimacy of this very order called “civilization”. They call for an eradication of the social and economic order that compartmentalizes life into classes, castes, religions and species; they advocate for a social order that is capable of moving towards inclusion rather than exclusion, heterogeneity rather than homogeneity and multiplicity rather than a unitary mode of existence.

Another factor responsible for popularity of South Asian literature is the writers’ response to the fast-changing contemporary reality. Anita Desai’s assertion of placing Mohsin Hamid at the center of transformative literary imaginaries is significant in the context of South Asia; Desai substantiates that the publication of *Moth Smoke* in 2000 became a milestone that replaced the duller, and slower human surroundings recorded by South Asian writers in the last century with fast-moving life of “Lahore elite” (72). Hamid, in Desai’s estimation, brought to light the political and cultural landscape of South Asia into vision; in short South Asian literature is brought into centrality from oblivion. Desai recognizes the merit of the South Asian writers who capture the moment

and express the new social reality by turning towards “large-scale industrialism, commercial entrepreneurship, tourism, new money, nightclubs, boutiques, politicians and civil servants noted for greed and corruption” (Desai 72-74). Desai thinks that in the current situation, Huxley, Orwell, Fitzgerald cannot record the current social reality dominating South Asian social and political landscape. This unprecedented social crisis, emerging from South Asia’s quickened economic and statistic development, its inextricable link between planetary power structures and internal/regional politics demand fictional representation, which only South Asian writers can supply.

The writers selected for this project are Uzma Aslam Khan, Nayomi Munoveera and Arundhati Roy. Born in geographically distant places, the lives of these writers have important parallels. There is a strong dislike for hierarchy, divisions, and a preferential treatment to a privileged class in their writings. They reject all justifications of rank and exploitation and advocate so in their imaginary creations; their anarchist vision calls for a violence-free society. They target all such forces that frustrate an individual’s life at a canonical level. In their writings, the hyper-industrialized system emerges as an obstacle and it must be eliminated to grab “happiness” for all individuals. The outcomes of an increasingly contrived and alienating “global industrial order” are examined in their literary presentations. The general crisis and its rapidly intensifying penetration, in all aspects of life, is the basic concern of the selected South Asian texts. Apart from the high-risk prone life of people, they focus on and seek answers to the challenges of heightening pace of species exterminations, multiplying dead-zones in their respective locales, ozone plunges, vanishing rain forests, the permeative intoxication spread in the atmosphere of their native territoriality and offer alternative solutions to the current malaise caused by civilization. They advocate prevalence of “happiness” through “kinship” with all forms of life.

### **1.1.2 Fiction about Politics**

The classification of fiction into tightly compartmentalized genres is necessary, yet the nuttiness of the genre, perceived in the light of “self-defeating theory” and the praxis of classification according to Stefan Firica (164), seems “utterly impossible”. Owing to the indefiniteness of a literary text, the edges between politics and fiction have become fluid



now in the age of total war, when people's lives are imbricated in the bigger decisions, made at not only national, but international scale. Hence, the writers selected for the current research manifest an urge to work on "trans-generic" approach. The legality of "political fiction" has been contested by Robbie Grillet who advocates "retreat within the realm of artistic form, where language suspends its referential insertion and signifies nothing but itself" (Grillet Qtd. in Firica 166). I do not agree with the position of Balzac who writes, "a good writer should leave out of his work the foreign body of politics, and busy himself with the creation of characters" (Balzac Qtd. in Firica 174). I argue, rather, that the fraught politics of "aesthetic autonomy" intends to push political fiction to the margin of art. An overview of South Asian literature exhibits that many South Asian writers resist the compulsion to keep politics out of literature. "Political literature" is no longer conceived of "a contradiction in terms, or oxymoron" (Firica 174). The current South Asian experience has brought about this unification; in the booming South Asian literature the "aesthetic autonomy" seems to be challenged. In South Asian literary landscape politics and fiction cannot remain "insurmountable incompatibility" (Firica 166). The fiction I selected for this project explicitly falls into the category of "Fiction about Politics" (Firica 174); Firica defines the fiction about politics as:

A novel about politics includes narrative units like elections, negotiations, corruption acts, conspiracies, rallies, strikes, revolutions, riots, insurrections, terrorist attacks, reforming, lawmaking, bill passing, lobbying, party switching, and other events related to the parliamentary, governance, or party life. (174)

The main concern, of most of South Asian fiction, is to bring to light the contention between power and powerlessness. Arundhati Roy asserts that the central concern of all her writings, irrespective of the genre, is "the relationship between power and powerlessness and the endless circular conflict they're engaged in" (Roy, *TOPGE* 13). The inviolable ribbon connecting Roy's fiction and polemical essays is her strength to "challenge the boundaries that are setup between the powerful and the powerless" (Tickell, *Arundhati Roy's The God of Small Things* 10). Roy has commenced her fictional creation with attack upon oppressive yet legalized structures working against women and Dalits. In her second novel, she draws in many other entrenched social inequalities, and presents an alternative solution to all kinds of divisive politics. The

South Asian writers are profoundly interested in the relationship between personal lives and bigger, broader national and international affairs that cast ominous impact on the personal lives of people. Borrowing Tickell's words, I contend that "public turmoil of a nation" (Tickell, *ARTGST* 19) is the broader contour of the fiction selected for this project.

## 1.2 Theoretical Background

The current thesis strives to explore the reasons for and consequences of the prevalence of violence and the possible ways of its eradication in South Asian context. South Asian fiction is shaped by "a lawless and unaccountable operation of power" and offers a world in which violence can be downplayed. Ethical/religious/national frames for conceiving a countable and worthy life are contested by the chosen writers. Through their literary imaginations, the South Asian writers chart out a way where human beings are obligated to stop the further dissemination of violence. In my opinion, no serious inquiry into fiction about violence can be complete without engaging with Judith Butler's ethical position. For that very matter, I rely on Butler's definition of violence for the current research; for Butler:

Violence is surely a touch of the worst order, a way a primary human vulnerability to other humans is exposed in its most terrifying way, a way in which we are given over, without control, to the will of another, a way in which life itself can be expunged by the willful action of another. (Butler, *PL* 28-29)

The violence, depicted in South Asian literature, is related to "corporeal vulnerability" which is manifested in the form of incarceration, confining in concentration camps, drowning, incineration, killing, dismembering, and burying alive. The corporeal vulnerability emphasizes interdependence and an unavoidable relationality. The exposure to violence of others emphasizes interdependence. This vulnerability and interdependence cannot be willed away despite our desire according to Butler; she thinks that the relationality binding us all to each other makes us, physically vulnerable to each other. This relationality or awareness of our physical vulnerability is an unavoidable facet "of our social and political lives in which we are compelled to take stock of our interdependence" (27). Keeping the framework of Butler in mind, I agree that it is our liability to reckon the centrality of violence in our relations with other human beings and

with non-human lives. It is only by considering this vulnerability to violence, and its repercussions that we can pledge to protect life against any kind of assault and its diabolic impact. I contend that we must assume our collective obligation for the corporeal existence of others if we want “happiness” to prevail in our surroundings.

### **1.2.1 The Anarchist Critique of Capitalism**

The analysis of the selected fiction spans over three chapters, each discussing different yet interrelated aspects of violent civilization. Fourth chapter of this thesis analyses Uzma Khan’s novel *Trespassing* and Arundhati Roy’s novel *the Ministry of Utmost Happiness* from anarchist perspective. In developing a nuanced anarchist critique of capitalism through the interregional study (on Pakistan and India) my goal is not to ignore distinct politico-economic context to present a homogenizing picture of South Asia. Instead, the study provides a complex analysis of the anarchist implications of the intensification of violence and thus highlight the value of literature as “a site of discursive resistance to attitudes and practices that not only disrupt specific human individuals and societies, but [also] pose a threat to the entire ecosphere and its network of biotic communities” (Huggan 703). The companion pieces of fiction selected for this chapter depict how Western industrial capitalism displaces the indigenous communities, disrupt the subsistence farming, and jeopardize justice by using the ploy of development and progress. A blend of anarchist theorists is employed to interpret the selected fiction. The framework consists of Collin Ward’s theory of “Social Organization”, Murray Bookchin’s theory of “Social Ecology”, Vandana Shiva’s theory of “Earth Democracy”, Rudolf Rocker’s perspective on “Nationalism”, Patnaik’s critique of “Neoliberalism”, and a Reconstructivist stance offered by Vandana Shiva.

Collin Ward, a twentieth century anarchist, offers insight about organization of human society along anarchist lines by utilizing the concept of “Social Organization” worked through the principle of “mutual help. Ward’s perspective is utterly practical and desists from waiting for some distant future happiness to dawn upon humans; rather, he believes that in any human society alternatives to unjust and unequal power structures are always “already there, in the interstices of the dominant power structures” (Ward, *Anarchism* 31). He aligns anarchism with the informal practices through which the

ostracized segments of any society survive and sustain in strictly classed societies. These informal practices serve as a model of a mutually-supported social set-up. Ward defines anarchists as:

...the people who make a social and political philosophy out of the natural and spontaneous tendency of humans to associate together for their mutual benefit. Anarchism is in fact the name given to the idea that it is possible and desirable for society to organize itself without government. (Ward, *Anarchy in Action* 19)

The motivational social imagination integral to Collin Ward's anarchist theory is conversant with "the here and now" instead of visions of some distant future; harmony in such a society "operates side by side with, and in spite of, the dominant authoritarian trends of our society.' This anarchist perspective inaugurated by Ward succeeds in putting anarchist ideas "back into the intellectual bloodstream" (Goodway, *Anarchist Seeds beneath the Snow* 313). Collin Ward highlights the existing anarchist propensities within every society and focuses upon the 'constructive, pragmatic approach" to effect a positive change (Honeywell 137). Trained as an architect, Ward explicates anarchism employing the backdrop of architecture and town planning. Ward's idealistic and constructive approach inaugurates "a pragmatic and piecemeal plan of change" (Honeywell, 137) by showing commitment to the conceptions of freedom.

Ward delineates a "non-revolutionary picture of anarchist social change" in his book *Anarchy in Action*. Subverting the widespread notions about anarchism as a violent and impractical ideology, he combines marvelously "the individualistic notion of self-help" with the "more communitarian emphasis on mutual aid" and introduces a concept of "freedom as socially responsible autonomy" (Honeywell 138). He sees anarchist tradition as germane to contemporaneous issues afflicting humanity and an approach that suits modern politics. Ward explicitly brings to light the meaning of an anarchist society as "a society which organizes itself without authority" (Ward, *AIA* 18) and that such a society has always been there "like a seed beneath the snow, buried under the weight of the state and its bureaucracies, capitalism and its waste, privilege and its injustices, nationalism and its suicidal loyalties, religious differences and their superstitious separatism" (Ward, *AIA* 18).

Ward's conception of anarchism propagates that the future relies not much on "a handful of technocrats" (Ward, *AIA* 17) dictating the people about their day-to-day needs; rather, it lies in the hands of individuals or groups, who believe and practice self-help. These people construct their own concavity and manage their ordinary needs and find ways for satisfaction. Ward does not derive its significance from its vision of a "comprehensive social change" which might be brought about in some distant future, but through people's active engagement with social change to create "anarchist spaces, albeit provisional, within existing society" (Ward, *AIA* 20) and relishing the small changes while they last. Ward strongly believes that the objective of anarchism is society's transformation; but if the society cannot be transformed in its entirety, the anarchists should strive to create "more anarchic" spaces. Ward is convinced that "the concept of a free society may be an abstraction, but that of a freer society is not" (Ward, *AIA* 20). Ward's brand of anarchism proposes that instead of "the episodes of permanent protest" anarchists should strive for "a social vision: a working, always provisional conception" of a beautiful society.

For Ward, anarchism offers pragmatic solutions to challenges ranging across a broad array from "housing of the homeless people; education of the down-trodden; transportation for daily commuters; food; energy resources; water" (Ward, *Housing* 147) and many more problems concerning the daily life of people. The suturing link between the possibilities, he offers for all these challenges, is the way each interposition draws people towards an "integrated social vision of the Garden City" (Ward, *Arcadia* 6). Ward's ideas about city planning are significant from anarchist perspective. He proposes a society based upon a combination of industrial and agricultural produce addressing the needs of the local people. The anarchist city consists of a territoriality where manufacturing units and housing schemes work conjointly; this city consists of many small cities joined together but prevented from developing into a unitary urban landscape. Hence, instead of a conventional bifurcation between town and country, the anarchist city becomes "Town-Country" inhabiting the qualities of both territories and affording the needs of people. Such an architectural arrangement, Ward imagines will be self-governing and self-catering, depending least upon the center. His vision of anarchism is modest and honors the way in which people explore satisfaction which is already present

in their surroundings. Ward fetes at how people create spaces for themselves and carve them in accordance with their own needs. For housing and planning, Ward stresses the need of direct unalienable access to basic necessities of life in order to maintain independence; only by getting direct access to the basic needs, people can be free of victimization and abuse.

Ward's vision of pedagogical approaches is also revolutionary. He is a bitter critic of the state-controlled and market-oriented educational agenda. He thinks that the community-oriented overtures to education have been severely damaged by the state and its educational preferences. Subscribing to "anti-schooling movement" (Ward, *AIA* 118) he writes against the national system of state education and argues that this kind of educational system produces "submissive, apathetic, undifferentiated masses" (Ward, *AIA* 118). He asserts that such schooling will not succeed in producing "adult decision-making" (Ward, *the Child* 178) power in children. The students attending these schools will only serve as "consumers, with the powerful aid of the advertising industry" (Ward, *the Child* 178); such children will depute the power of decision-making to others at crucial moments. Ward complains that much of the facilities designed for children occlude them from decision-making which results in their being "listless and ungrateful consumers of services" supplied by others (Ward, *the Child* 181). He strives to fight the case for children to enjoy a learning environment in which they can interact with the real life-like situations and resultantly grow as "confident, creative, social and autonomous beings". The real education does not mean learning facts from books and cramming them, but it is culled from the physical and social environment, he opines. The learning experience gained inside the social and physical environment motivates children toward active engagement and participation, thus preparing the child for a sensible and responsible citizenship. Ward's insight into children's usage of their environment is gained from his book *the Child in the City*, in which he emphasizes that children, when given a free hand, creatively appropriate the spaces available to them. The "suburbia" is an "unfinished habitat" which provides plenitude of experiences and ventures for children where the children explore the secluded places close to the weeds and hillock. Happy in an open environment, children run and play, and turn "the soil smooth by feet and bicycle tires" (Ward, *the Child* 71), and hang a piece of rope round the tree branch and convert

this un-trampled piece of land into an impromptu playground. Ward's self-help and "mutual-aid" solutions to the contemporary problems are significant in many ways and his insights inform my critical exploration at various points.

Murray Bookchin's theory of "social ecology" provides a broader theoretical framework for this chapter; it provides a counter-narrative to the Western celebratory rhetoric of industrialization, by highlighting how 'progress' is being gained at the cost of instrumentalization of people and their living environment. Bookchin is an anarchist theorist who has produced a vast body of work critiquing the current capitalist system of oppression and domination. Bookchin started his academic career by showing propensity towards anarcho-primitivist strain of anarchism. Initially, Bookchin was a committed primitivist who believed in and propagated denunciation of civilization and technology at any cost. For him, the choice was either anarcho-primitivism or annihilation. He propounded that civilization in all its various guises is inherently destructive to biological and cultural diversity and to the individual freedoms. In his view, technology which he called "megamachine" would expunge all form of life from the planet. Bookchin, however dissociated himself from anarcho-primitivist stance as he evolved as a theorist. In his latest book the *Postscarcity Anarchism*, Bookchin, shows his distrust of the primitivist stance. He posits that with its tendency to place human needs on a par with those of non-human systems, primitivism denies the unique capacity of humankind to transform its environment, as well as denying the responsibility this quality carries with it to do so in positive ways. He posits in his later writings that in calling for a return to pre-agrarian life-ways primitivism comes closer to "eco-fascism" that callously ignores the specific needs and powers contained within human existence. He dissociated himself from primitivism also because in his view romanticizing pre-civilized cultures, primitivism takes on a cult-like, pre-rational aura that is titillating in its eccentricity but short on concrete programs for confronting the major crises in our midst. Since it is impossible to turn modern people into tribals-primitivism can only play a part in marginalization of anarchist thinking. Bookchin believes, "to oppose the activities of the corporate world does not mean that one has to become naively romantic and bio-centric"; the critique of civilization doesn't have to mean the ideological rejection of every

historical social development over the course of the last ten or twenty thousand years ago” (*Post Scarcity Anarchism* 89).

Bookchin tried to bring a reconciliation between civilization and primitivism by valorizing the potential of new technologies that might “begin to provide food, shelter, garments, and a broad spectrum of luxuries never imagined by pre-literate cultures” without denying human dignity or destroying the environment” (*Postscarcity Anarchism* 90). Bookchin sees a liberatory role of the modern technology in promoting alternative energy resources, increasing food production, remediating degradation, and processing wastes among other positive potentials. He also contends in the latest book that the reasoned application of appropriate technology could yield greater decentralization and local control, thus harmonizing with the core principles of anarchism i.e. decentralization, Reharmonization with natural world, and antiauthoritarianism. Bookchin, never renounced these basic core principles of anarchism, though he renounced a stern primitivist stance altogether as he gained more insights about anarchism’s core principles.

Bookchin’s dissociation with anarcho-primitivism accounts for his understanding the significance of constructive dialogue between civilization and primitivism; he acknowledges that the failure of a dialogue between civilization and primitivism is quite unfortunate and undercuts the basis of social theory and herein lies the basic paradox of primitivist stance that it tends towards the discovery of absolute truths, which once attained, close off discussion, critique and questioning; that is to say, it closes off freedom.

He also understands that primitivist stance runs the risk of becoming simply a reversal of the traditional false dialectic. Now it is the civilization that is repugnant and irredeemable, while the primitive promises absolute fulfilment. For him primitivism was problematic in that it assumes a universal standpoint i.e. all civilization is evil. He understands that if anarchism is to remain “anarchism”, it is bound to remain open to at least the possibility of retaining some features of civilization. In the *Postscarcity Anarchism*, Bookchin provides the basis for rejecting ideas and practices that will reintroduce what we are only now coming to sense and known as the structural determinants that breed alienation in many wide-ranging forms. So, to him, the types of



technology or modes of production might be retained but only if they be reconciled with human freedom and identification with Earth as the place of our lives. Bookchin's book *Postscarcity anarchism* provides a bridge between civilization and primitivism.

However, Bookchin's broader contour of systemic oppression is to be enhanced by post-colonial/ South Asian perspective. Vandana Shiva, Prabhat Patnaik and Abdullah Ocalan's perspective on alternative realms is useful for profound and systematic analysis of the selected fiction. There are multiple benefits that make me go for Postcolonialism as a contributory theory. It not only broadens the base and scope of anarchism but also imparts comprehensiveness to the research by infusing the theoretical perspective of those thinkers for whom oppression is a day-to-day reality.

Murray Bookchin's "social ecology" is a useful concept because it explores the historical roots of the contemporary social and ecological dislocation. He sees capitalist exploitation as a part of broader larger principle that he calls "legacy of dominance" that had made inroads in agricultural societies and continues till contemporary era. His theorization of the post-industrial malaise of the modern civilization emerges from his engagement with "organic society". The organic society refers to 'a spontaneously formed, non-coercive and egalitarian society'; an early natural pre-literate/pre-civilized society that emerged from innate human needs for consociation, interdependence and care' (*EOF* 5). This pre-literate society constituted of inter-human relations free of hierarchy, and of humanity's relationship with nature as marked by a 'deeply embedded co-operative spirit' (*EOF* 48). He points out that human relations in that earlier social organization were marked by 'intense social solidarity internally and with the natural world' (*EOF* 44). Bookchin situates the disintegration of the modern society in the emergence of hierarchies in the outlook of that organic society; the richly articulated 'unity in diversity' was destroyed with the incipient emergence of social hierarchies. This he terms "a legacy of domination" which emerged through the manipulation of primordial institutions and sensibilities. The hierarchical mentality became the root-cause of the existing exploitation of people as well as nature by a few people. Hence, he posits that with the emergence of the legacy of domination, the vision of social and natural diversity was altered; the organismic sensibility that celebrated different phenomena as "unity in diversity" was transformed into a "hierarchical mentality" which sees relationships

between every form of life as not only “mutually antagonistic” but also marked by relations of inferiority and superiority” (*EOF* 8).

Bookchin’s engagement with post-war capitalism marks an important attempt to redraw the contours of the critique of capitalism. He posits that capitalism’s sweeping power, which it gives to “economic”, makes it different from the other historical societies. He pays importance to the emerging ideological currents defined by Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham for facilitating “a full onslaught of the market” on social fabric. Smith and Bentham legitimized “private vices as public virtues” (Bookchin 96) and paved the way for an increasing encroachment of economics into the ethical domain. Bookchin posits that these trends were further facilitated by the emergence of technological innovations. Bookchin pays sufficient attention to the extent to which ‘the most striking feature of the capitalist market is its ability to unravel the previously existing “highly textured social structure”, to invade and divest earlier social forms of their complexity of human relations’ (*TES* 228). He draws attention to the increasingly impoverished sources of social bonds, and indeed of the self, that are available in advanced capitalism. Hence, he comments:

The reduction of all social relationships to exchange relations literally simplifies the social world. Divested of any content but the brute relationships of buying and selling, of homogenized, mass produced objects that are created and consumed for their own sake, social form itself undergoes the attenuation of institutions based on mutual aid, solidarity, vocational affiliations, creative endeavor, even love and friendship. (*TES* 231)

Dismissive of exchange relations, that saturate a society with competition, Bookchin contends that we are faced by a system in which there is not only an erosion of the principle and praxis of mutual aid, but “the reduction of people to the very isolated objects they produce and consume”. Bookchin posits that the emergence of hierarchy is responsible for the destruction of ecological environment. Far ahead of his time, Bookchin’s critique unearths in the early 1960s the role of advanced capitalism in creating ecological impasse. He argues that the emergence of the legacy of domination is accountable for objectification of nature; the “hierarchical relations between humans and nature were preceded by hierarchical relation between human and human” (*TES* 4). He stresses the importance of eliminating all hierarchical relations to achieve really free

society. Capitalism in its current form is unacceptable to Bookchin; he claims persistently that capitalism relies for its survival and growth upon a continual accumulation; hence, it inevitably consumes its own “ecological base”. He likens the current form of industrial capitalism with an “untreated cancer” which must, out of necessity, devour its own host. He believes that an “economy structured around the maxim ‘Grow or Die’, must necessarily pit itself against the natural world (*EOF* 15). He emphatically posits that the current systems of social relations must be subjected to scrutiny and alternative modes of existence needs to be excavated from the pre-literature cultures of organic societies.

Capitalism’s thirst for profit cannot be quenched unless land appropriation of rich-resources zones of the world is appropriated which makes an important part of my explorative journey. This discussion draws upon Postcolonial theorists (Prabhat Patnaik & Utsa Patnaik) who trace the roots of this wretchedness of South Asians in colonialism and its rapacious mechanism. The “civilizing” mission and “developmental” ideology is laid bare by Utsa Patnaik who explores the reasons for rising poverty of the South Asians and finds the links between capitalism and imperialism and their nexus with colonialism. Excavating historical roots of the process of land-appropriation, she writes, “in order to serve its material expansion, the civilized world descended to a level of barbarism on a scale that the world had never seen before” (Utsa, 10). The civilizing mission of the first World is accountable for immiserating large segments of its population. She establishes that the high living standard in advanced countries is actually dependent upon the imports from “the richer, botanically diverse lands” of the South.

Patnaik stresses the centrality of land in the era of global capitalism. For the burgeoning capitalism the importance of land has increased manifold. Patnaik puts it thus, “The peasantry of the global South is under historically unprecedented pressures today from attacks by capital not merely on its livelihood, but also on the very means of securing that livelihood, namely the land it possesses” (Utsa 12). The entire thrust for free-trade in agriculture, is to “re-open the lands of the global South to meet the increasing demands of the North” Patnaik stresses; the same acquisitive greed drives modern day capitalism which uses the ideology of free-trade and seeks to subordinate the use of developing countries’ lands to the maintenance and further enhancement of living standards in advanced countries. Patnaik develops the link between the present day

neoliberalism and historic process of colonization, enlists the reasons for Western world's expressed interest in South Asia. He believes that the present day neoliberalism is "an echo of colonialism" (277). He further states that in the colonial period the mechanism was a mix of drain and deindustrialization- while in present times, the mechanism is through public expenditure cuts, some degree of deindustrialization in the sense of traditional activities being replaced by those under the aegis of multinational corporations, such as Walmart replacing a host of retail traders, and also winding up of institutional support system by the state that had been developed for agriculture and other petty producers like handloom weavers adversely affecting their income" (277). Through these and many other strategies, the global finance has assumed "supreme hegemony" in South Asia.

Utsa sees the worst consequences of the present day capitalist ventures for the local agriculture where the exotic demands of advanced countries are prioritized. The objective of promoting "free-trade" through neoliberalism is to "bring about a further intensification of the international division of labor in agriculture. She throws light on the working mechanism of neoliberalism which is:

The imposition of deflationary cut-backs in state spending in nation-states; second, openness of developing countries in particular to trade and capital flows through dismantling trade barriers; third, the dismantling, in developing countries only, of all price support mechanisms which existed earlier for stabilizing prices for peasant producers, who constitute a large or major section of the population; and fourth, a sustained attack on peasant-owned or-occupied land in the name of development. (Utsa 9)

Patnaik's argument helps to understand the plight of South Asians whose every possibility of livelihood is jeopardized by the current arrangement of "free- trade" which goes under the veneer of "development" of the poor countries as depicted in the fiction.

Vandana Shiva's explication of the relation of domination and subjugation in the Western countries and South Asian countries helps understand the neo-imperialist tendencies of neoliberalism. She rejects the current definitions of development on the grounds that such a concept of development that "threatens survival itself... is mal-development" (Staying Alive, xvi).

Shiva identifies “corporate globalization” as a contributing factor in increasing violence of exclusion. With corporate culture taking roots in India a shift is experienced towards an “ownership society,” where everything, including people, the land, water, and biotic world are assigned roles in a possessor-possessed relationship with individuals or corporations. Property that was once considered communal or natural, is now owned by corporations. She accuses capitalism, corporatization, unjust development and globalization for this trend. All those areas which offered ‘an unparalleled expansion of productive possibilities’ are instrumentalized and the concept of productivity is exclusive of the poor, indigenous population of third world countries. The system that values only material profits and the benefits to the market, and ignores the cost that poor people and nature have to pay, needs rethinking.

She debunks the “neocolonial” implications of neoliberal development. Simply put, neoliberal development acts out a neocolonial, imperialist relationship to the land and to the communities living on those lands. In colonial times, the exploitation of developing countries was direct, with governments from Western countries blatantly seizing resources and utilizing them to benefit their own economies; now multinational corporations run by Western elites, sometimes with the collusion of elites from the developing countries (mostly contrary to the interests of the poor), employ new techniques to extract resources from developing countries. Multinational companies “are the new East India Companies” (*Soil Not Oil* 34); these corporations are free to extract goods, capital, human labor and indigenous knowledge from developing countries.

### **1.2.2 Genocidal Nationalism**

Tracing the intensification of genocidal violence depicted in South Asian fiction, chapter five discusses Nayomi Munoveera’s novel *Island of Thousand Mirrors* and Roy’s *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* to show how the conflict between the advocates of a homogeneous existence on one hand and a more inclusive and heterogeneous existence of different ethnic groups on the other hand, is stoked by a few people who have their vested interest in perpetual conflicts between different communities. The novels are textual representation of the plight of common citizens who are being instrumentalized and in extreme cases subjected to violence of erasure. The novels also show that postcolonial ethno-nationalist movements distort and use the concept of nationalism to justify their

militant ideology and subject people to violence. In this regard Munoveera effectively shows how the leaders of the separatist movement use militant codes to endorse the role of militancy as a marker of humanity, and thereby indoctrinate other members to consciously deploy violence and aggression, against the local population as well as the majoritarian community, as a means to ensuring dominance. Munoveera and Roy use their narratives to showcase opposing viewpoints to rework the notion of nationalism.

This discussion is supplemented by Rudolf Rucker's concept of nationalism as propounded in his book *Nationalism and Culture* and Abdullah Ocalan's concept of democratic confederation. Rucker challenges the concept of "nation" as an organic concept and dissects the whole idea to locate the "universal catastrophe" inherent in nationalism. He argues that "nation" is "a purely political notion" germinating from the adhesion of men to a definite state for purely "political endeavor". He defines nationalism as "the organized selfishness of privileged minorities" (189) that is used to achieve their own plans. He warns that the fact usually glossed over is that behind all the sentimental terms like "national sphere of interest"; "national spirit", "national cause" and "national culture" lie hidden the vested interest of power-loving politicians" and "money-loving businessmen". Nationalism becomes a commodious blanket to conceal their personal rapacity and their plans for political power from the sight of the world. He admonishes that "nationalism is only a will toward the state at any cost and complete absorption of man in the higher ends of power... love of fellowmen is to be crushed by the greatness of the state for which individuals are to serve as fodder" (182). Nationalism and its blunt hostility to the freedom of people and its support of utmost militaristic objectives moves towards fascism which declares candidly that individuals exist for the state and not vice versa. Rucker believes that nationalism in the hands of fascist movement has assumed an appallingly ossified shape in the liquidification of individuals" (189).

Rucker discusses at length, the concept of "nationalism" as a trope by revolutionary, separatist movements. His rejection of nationalism is firmly established on the grounds that "A people cannot be liberated by subjecting it to new and greater power and thus starting again around the vicious circle of stupidity" (191). Rucker deems that real freedom of human beings can be achieved only through man's liberation from the engineered power of the state and the constrict bondage of nationalism. He sees

nationalism as “openly part of business” (204). Abdullah Ocalan’s rejection of the concept of nationalism and advocacy of “Democratic Conferederalism” further helps to analyse the selected texts in a postcolonial situation. Ocalan posits that prior to the establishment of nation-states, the borders were more fluid, and flexible; with the establishment of nation-states, monopolization of all social processes” was aimed (9). Diversity and plurality was fought, an approach that led to assimilation and genocide. Nationalism is constrictive because it aims at “creating a single national culture, a single national identity, and a single unified religious community” (9). Ocalan believes that the call for a separate nation-state results from the interests of the ruling class or the interests of the people since “another state would only be the creation of additional injustice and would curtail the right to freedom even more” (14). Hence there is a need of democracy without a state.

### **1.2.3 Reconstructive Vision**

Tracing the possibilities for an alternative social organization, the chapter six uses the selected fiction to show that South Asian writers propose a vision of radical social transformation in which the only hope for the politically dispossessed people of South Asia lies in developing independent and self-sustaining culture outside the dominant political and capitalist structures. The vision offered by these writers provides an insight into an ecologically-balanced society which is premised around an ethically-guided organization of society. The dream of a violence-free and ecologically balanced society where “happiness” prevails for all forms of life, is possible only away from the Western civilization.

By drawing upon the concept of “eco-community” of Bookchin, “Earth Democracy” of Vandana Shiva and “Anarchism in Action” by Collin Ward, this chapter celebrates the traditional ways of life recouped from the “organic societies”. Recouping the hidden “legacy of freedom” is the most hopeful and defining feature of Bookchin’s social ecology. Like other anarchists, Bookchin does delve into the principle of “natural spontaneity”. Bookchin suggests that an ecological understanding of natural processes, in all their kaleidoscopic complexity, allows for a high degree of spontaneity, yielding a variegated ecological situation. Bookchin claims that ecology offers firm philosophical support for “a non-hierarchical view of reality’ (*EOF* 24). He emphasizes that ecology

discloses the interdependence of all living things. Emphasizing the general importance of “symbiotic mutualism” in fostering ecosystem stability, Bookchin argues that ecology knows no ‘king of the beasts’ or ‘lowly creatures’. He associates all attempts by ethnologists to describe ecosystems in hierarchical terms or to uncover relations of domination and subordination in animal behavior as ‘anthropomorphism at its crudest’ (*EOF* 26). Bookchin posits that science of ecology, debunks the erroneous assumptions interwoven in marketplace ideology that values nature not more than a “resource dump”; based on science of ecology, the “social ecology” offers an alternative vision of nature as the ‘image of unity in diversity, spontaneity and complementary relationships free of all hierarchy and domination’ (*EOF* 352).

Bookchin’s anarchist theory constitutes ethical principles in which only those forms of human interventions are allowed which facilitate a blooming of biotic variety, diversity and complexity and check all those interpositions that reduce ecosystems to profit accumulation. The future society envisaged by him is informed by a broader, and richer ethical commitments. Specifically, there is an emphasis on prioritizing a “commitment to freedom” (*PSA* 116) over mere ‘justice’ and its concerns for the rule of equivalence. The future society based on the mode of interdependence will honor the commitment to ‘the equality of unequals’. Bookchin’s visionary society acknowledges that people are born unequal in many respects and need support and assistance from others; hence, they need to be compensated for their inequalities. The “equality of unequals” does not offer only compensatory mechanisms but a vision that articulates in care, responsibility, and a concern for all forms of life; it is committed to alleviating the sufferings, plight and difficulties by interventions.

The ecotopia propounded by Bookchin is based on egalitarianism. Here the relations of domination and subjugation are transcended. Discouraging the celebration of material gains at the expense of natural world he argues “we need to recover our own fecundity in the world of life” (*EOF* 315). Here a balance between humanity and nature is refurbished and such a relation would articulate a ‘new appreciation of the region in which a community is located’ (*EOF* 194). The humanity’s dependence on the material world is made a ‘visible and living part’ of culture (*PSA* 134), through bringing the garden into the city. More broadly, it is argued that we should aspire to live balanced



lives, lives that allow for intellectual, physical, civic, sensuous and ecological modes of being.

Vandana Shiva's "Earth Democracy," presents a philosophy that foregrounds interdependence between all inhabitants of the world- "the earth family", what Shiva expresses as "the community of all beings supported by the earth." Earth democracy offers a non-violence based vision of social organization in which:

The concern for human and nonhuman species comes together in a coherent, non-conflicting whole that provides an alternative to the worldview of corporate globalization, which gives rights only to corporations and which sees humans and other beings as exploitable raw material or disposable waste. (12)

Interdependence between human beings and nonhuman species, producers and consumers, is the pivotal theme in earth democracy. Shiva emphasizes that the wellbeing of one group of people or species cannot come at the cost of another group's. Instead, true liberation from the oppression of corporate globalization occurs when different groups of people and species collaborate to affirm one another's freedom and development. Thus, Earth Democracy is necessarily antithetical to globalization and neoliberal development.

For the current crises facing South Asian milieu, Shiva brings up practical points about how people, who resisted consumerist and capitalist tendencies for centuries, should be looked to for solutions. She argues that big corporations and servile governments will not offer any solutions. The people who are not addicted to exotic products and who do not define life as 'shop-till-you-drop', but rather define it as looking after the earth and its living community, can provide guidance. The people who are reduced to being "disposable objects" in the dominant productive system could be relied for their "wisdom, knowledge and values, the cultures and skills that give humanity a chance for survival". These unnoticed people can bring alternative development successes that occur every day. Shiva acknowledges:

Far away from the glare of global media, ordinary people are making history, not by organizing arms to fight a global empire, but by self-organizing their lives—their resources, their cultures, their economies—to defeat the empire by turning their backs to it, rejecting its tools and its logic, refusing its chains and its dictatorship. (*Earth Democracy* 182)

The theoretical and practical aspects of Shiva's notion of earth democracy bring to the light the importance of resistance and citizen action. Although this task appears daunting, Shiva reminds us that the conglomeration of many crises posed by industrial capitalism in third world countries furnishes us with the convergence of equally potent opportunities, "to create living economies, living democracies, and living cultures". Shiva insists that earth democracy flourishes in the fecund soil worked by the earth, the human imagination and human action. These protests were significant because they called attention to the fact that the current international and economic world order are sources of injustice for the majority of the world's citizens and these protests will lead humanity's way towards "ecological happiness".

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

The argument of my thesis can be summarized as the following thesis statement:

The selected South Asian Anglophone fiction discursively articulates that civilization is suffused with violence. Engaging anarchist theoretical exegesis, this thesis intends to expose the disparity existing between the professed benefits of civilization and the stark deterioration resulting of the espousal of civilization. The thesis intends to prove that civilization provides the powerful with substantial capacity to amass wealth and power, which results in exasperated dispute, dispossession, social discord and slaughter of various communities as depicted in the fiction. Civilization destroys community and creates a ruin. By elucidating the multiple directions in which violence gets engaged with civilization, this thesis intends to make space for a critical reimagining out of civilization; it intends to substantiate that ruin can be healed only by reverting to a "Primitivist" stance which acknowledges the right of all species to pursue "happiness".

### **1.4 Research Objectives**

The current research intends to probe the following points:

1. To investigate the asymmetrical power relations hidden under the so-called "developmental projects" that subject South Asian people to violent practices.
2. To denude the genocidal aspects of nationalism covered by the glamorous cloak of civilization.

3. To explore the alternative ways of society's organization which offer a healthy way of life to all inhabitants of the earth.

## **1.5 Research Questions**

The research poses following research questions:

1. In what ways the South Asian writers, in their texts, engage with various manifestations of violence done by developmental ideology?
2. How do South Asian writers, in their fiction, respond to constrictive nationalist ideologies' genocidal tendencies?
3. How does Anarchism correspond with the prospects of accommodation and integration of heterogeneities and pluralities in the selected South Asian fiction?

## **1.6 Delimitations**

My critical probe will be limited to the study of selected South Asian Anglophone fiction written by Uzma Aslam Khan, Nayomi Munoveera and Arundhati Roy. Although these three writers are prolific writers and their other works inform my exploration, I have delimited my investigation to the critique of *Trespassing*, *Island of Thousand Mirrors* and *the Ministry of Utmost Happiness* respectively. All the three texts are significant by virtue of bringing the war-riddled territory into limelight by critiquing various factors responsible for violence and offering an alternative to the violent politics played out at bodies of dispossessed territories.

It is significant to mention here that the writers selected for this exploration are all women, but the women's exclusive inclusion in the current investigation is not prompted by their gender alone. For this selection, I concord with Paul Brians who asserts that "it so happens that a large number of the most talented and popular writers of South Asian fiction are women" (6).

## **1.7 Significance of the Study**

This thesis is significant in many aspects. Although the selected literary texts have been analyzed by critics employing a number of theoretical perspectives, but only a fistful of research articles are available on the politics of violence being played on bodies of South Asian inhabitants. Apart from that, there is no book-length study available on these

literary texts. Particularly, the academy suffers a dearth of any serious studies conducted on these primary texts using Anarchist theoretical perspective. This thesis explores various dimensions of anarchist theory. Despite anarchism's historical significance, it has not been well served by the academy. Too often its history has been buried and its struggles in the trajectory of labour movements across the globe has been sidelined. This disregard towards anarchism as a theoretical framework is extended towards imaginary production in South Asian context. This thesis will be of significance to make its readers not only recall anarchism and its significance in generating struggles against imperialism, capitalism, and nationalism on fast track of new-fascism, but also reestablish it as a theoretical paradigm for literary texts engaged with the question and ethical dimensions of violence. The brief overview of the texts and my theoretical perspective indicate the importance of this critical exploration in South Asia which may later help other researchers to investigate the fiction of other South Asian writers using anarchist theoretical lens. The present research explores various aspects of civilization and tries to find out alternatives to the current world dominated by violence. A study with such parameters has not been conducted so far. My in-depth analysis of the selected South Asian literary texts is an innovative research field and it promises ground-breaking future explorations.

Violence in its multifarious dimensions is the subject of this thesis; violence that has usurped the world generally and South Asia particularly is the primary locus of discussion. This thesis will help its readers understand the politics of violence both implicit and explicit. Understanding vulnerability of people, their injuriability, the precariousness of wretched humans, at the mercy of other more privileged human beings, will help generate ethical consciousness about the ruthlessness of a politics based on violence. The emphasis of the thesis is our interdependence; the acknowledgement and recognition of interdependence will lead the readers to consider the worth and sanctity of other lives and help arrest the fast engulfing cycle of violence.

The thesis has its pedagogical value. The tragic and violent happenings in the selected fiction pose a serious threat to the future of the dominant political systems established in the locales selected for this research. It will help the readers to understand the impact of narrow conception of nationalism on democratic values. The thesis explores

the profoundly troubling arena which, if not given due attention, will endanger our understanding of differences. The ideals of respectful pluralism and the rule of law that has been threatened by a few people for their vested interest, emerge from this thesis and forces the readers to consider how to foster relationships based on respectful terms with people of other beliefs.

Living in a human-modified world puts another heavy burden on researcher. This thesis bears this responsibility and explores the ecocidal practices that have become a norm only for short-term benefits. This research project will also remind the readers of their duty, and responsibility to work for changing people's perceptions and ethical considerations about their relation and attitude to nature. As currently the South Asian world is facing severe environmental issues, it is crucial and imperative to impart ecological perspective in academies. This research will be beneficial for the public in general. It will raise consciousness of people regarding the role of unbridled capitalism's detrimental effect on the nature and the sustenance that it provides. Such knowledge and a sense of responsibility at the public level will help in changing perceptions and ethical considerations among the public and will contribute to the efforts of protecting the South Asian environment which is imperiled by the greed of capitalists.

In addition, the current research is also significant for common readers. The possible usefulness of this critical investigation can be gauged in other contexts where civilization has threatened to usurp life prospects. This research demonstrates, through an in-depth analysis, how the instrumental mentality of the power wielders subject life to extinction, and further it explores the alternative way leading towards a world of "happiness". It can contribute by informing the people of some of the horrific ways of civilization and suggesting a happier world waiting to be unfolded. The present research advocates accommodation and harmony between multiplicity, rather than homogenizing life in iron-box situation.

## **1.8 Structure of the Study**

The division of the chapters addresses the main thematic concerns of my exploration. In chapter One the research topic is introduced and the background knowledge is furnished.

The theoretical framework, and research questions are also stated in this chapter. The chapter closes with the significance of the study.

Chapter Two provides the review of literature pertinent to my exploration. It consists of two parts. The first part deals with a brief overview of anarchism leading toward the Anarchist approaches applied to the present research work. The second part deals with the reception of the selected three novels in academic world.

The third chapter deals with the conceptual framework and research methods of the study. I apply the same research methods and tools for all the three texts. The purpose of this chapter is that the study can be conducted within the limits postulated by the framework.

Chapters four, five and six deal with the analytical exploration of the selected literary texts. To facilitate the readers in tracing the general trajectory from violence to “happiness”, I have discussed two novels together in chapter four and five. The fourth chapter deals with violent capitalism which serves as corollary of civilization. In this chapter, I question the axiomatic positivism that has been afforded to developmental ideology by revealing that capitalism has waged a war against the poor and the minorities. Focus of this chapter is particularly on violent displacements and evictions that have enforced across South Asia as a part of capitalism’s logic of profit accrument. This chapter discusses *Trespassing* and *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* together and brings to light the parallels between two novels belonging to distinct localities.

The fifth chapter discusses *Island of Thousand Mirrors* and *the Ministry of Utmost Happiness* together to trace nationalism and its horrific devaluation of life of religious and ethnic minorities. The analytical paradigm of this chapter deals with the similarities in outlines of these analyses. This chapter argues that civilization, by using trope of “nationalism”, affords material benefits for the power hungry leaders and politicians who use people as “human shield” to accrue material benefits and power for themselves by using rhetoric of nationalism as bait, thereby heightening people’s vulnerability to violence by igniting civil war.

In the sixth chapter, my last analytical chapter, focuses on all the three primary texts for analysis. Careening the discussion to the finale, I explore the possibility for “happiness” away from the putrescence of civilization.

The seventh chapter is the conclusion of the study. Establishing upon the conceptualized coalition between civilization and violence, I attempt to highlight numerous ways in which the process of civilization is permeated with violence. It also illuminates that our imaginations must be opened to the possibility of procreating spaces in which transformative and emancipatory politics is possible. Besides summarizing the trajectory from civilization's violence to "de-civilization's healing practices" as depicted in the selected literary texts, this chapter also provides the future recommendations for further study and research.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

Locating the present thesis in the existing corpus of anarchist writings, this chapter operates in three sections. The first section will review the literature available on anarchism, its origin, its assumptions, salient features and its proponents. At the outset it is imperative to mention that a comprehensive appraisal of anarchist theory or practice is pretty impossible, so, this chapter takes into account the most eminent and influential anarchist philosophers; the anarchists under discussion are the “representative practitioners” to whom this theoretical perspective is indebted. The second section will deal with a few renowned anarchists’ take on violence with respect to the state and economic arrangements devised by the state. This section will also strive to see whether these writers consider violence as a desirable instrument to achieve emancipation, or they repudiate violence in order to have happiness prevail. The third section of the chapter will discuss the reception of the selected Anglophone fiction in the academic world and will point out the inadequacies found in the existing critical reception that is conspicuously deficient in anarchist interpretation. The inadequacies will open up the space for a comprehensive anarchist interpretation of the selected works.

#### **2.2 Anarchism: A Historical Perspective**

Offering a tidy definition of anarchism seems to be a pretty deceptive effort on account of its “anti-dogmatic” (Marshall 2) nature. Anarchism, according to Peter Marshall, does not present a stagnant, inflexible set of ideas situated on a stale worldview. It is, rather, a fluid and subtle philosophical position drowning numerous currents of thought. Marshall draws an analogy between anarchism and a torrential “river with many currents of



thought and strategy” (Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible* 3) which flows incessantly and is reinvigorated by “new surges”, that moves unremittingly towards “the wide ocean of freedom” (Marshall 3). Still, the writers try to offer a rough definition of anarchism based upon a shared set of values. Anarchy is defined as “a society without government” (Marshall 3); anarchism is the social philosophy which works to materialize such a society. The origin of the word “anarchy” is traced to the ancient Greek language in which it meant “without a military leader and rule” (3). In a contemporaneous scenario, anarchism signifies the yearning of a people to live “without any constituted authority or government” (3). Anarchy has often been misrepresented as “a negative sense of unruliness which leads to disorder and chaos” instead of “the positive sense of a free society in which rule is no longer necessary” (3).

A common set of values attached usually to anarchism refers to a peculiar perspective about human nature, a scathing commentary on the existing violent politico/socio/economic order and a desire to achieve a truly free society. The classical anarchists repudiate the authenticity of the State along with all its organs, and reprobate vehemently any political authority. Hierarchy among classes, races, and nationalities is unacceptable to the anarchists and they refuse to allow authenticity to domination of any kind. Their desired end goal is to achieve “anarchy”: a vision premised around the concepts of equality, freedom and justice which can only be achieved by “a decentralized and self-regulating society consisting of a federation of voluntary associations of free and equal individuals” (Marshall 4).

Marshall traces the origin of the anarchist thought in early human history and comments that a recognizable anarchist pattern is found several thousand years back both in thought and deed. The history of humanity offers the libertarian thought contesting the authoritarian patterns (Marshall 4); this libertarian thought gave birth to a moral protest against oppression and injustices in all human societies. An incessant strife, between the group of people who desired to dominate and the group of people who refused to be dominated, is the feature of early human society. The first person, who sensed the oppression by any other person against him and rebelled against this oppression, was anarchist who asserted “his right to sovereignty” and challenged the unjustifiable authority. The imposed authority in any form was unacceptable to him. Anarchism began

to congeal whenever and wherever people postulated to regulate themselves and rejected the desires of all “power-seeking minorities” garbed in religious cloak; military uniform; the chiefs and self-appointed rulers, they all were refused reverence and obedience. Thus, such an anarchist spirit emerged in the early clans, tribes, and communities in recorded human history. Anarchism, however emerged as a philosophical tradition in the Nineteenth century. As a tradition it sets “a self-governing community as a norm” and considers all authoritarian and “hierarchical institutions as aberration” (Marshall 4).

The difference between Marxists and Anarchists involves solid theoretical propositions; the critique of capitalism is the only point of consensus between them. They started their journey towards an equitable society together, but later on diverged around the concept of the state. The desired end of achieving a society free of violence, hierarchy and injustice is engaged in different ways by both the perspectives. Marx’s proposition of the inevitability of the “dictatorship of the proletariat” became the cardinal point of difference between both. The seizure of the state and its apparatuses by the proletariat considered as “an intermediate stage” is spurned right-away by anarchists; they contend that “dictatorship of proletariat” boils down to the rule of masses by a few people who would take hold of and consolidate any conceived of privileges and would subject the masses to “the economic and political slavery” (Bakunin, *Statism and Anarchy* 142).

Apart from their critique of capitalism, the anarchists have “questioned the legitimacy of nation-states and strongly resisted their formation” (Ostergaard 171-95). They believe that nation-states have only recently been made “the norm of modern political organization” and the central orbit of people’s commitments. The task of protecting a nation’s identity has been handed to nation-states only a few hundred years back (Marshall 32). Nations and states are neither synonymous, nor are they inevitable. The anarchists have offered the most coherent and consummate critique of all shapes and forms of state<sup>i</sup>. Although the expressed aim of a state is the elimination of injustice and oppression, but it aggravates injustices and cruelty horribly (Bakunin, “Socialism and the State” 81); states further war and foster prejudices and rivalries. The states operate through constituting laws which are also rejected by anarchists because they think that the legal formularies, through which governments impose their will on populace, are not only unneeded; rather, they are counterproductive. As the states evolved, they controlled

not only political and military apparatus but also interfered with economic and social power. As the nation-states evolve and burgeon, in the techno-industrialized societies the individuals' roles have been changed from "the citizen to that of functionary in a gigantic and fantastically complex social machine" (Abbey 2). Irrespective of the ideology practiced by the states, the function of the state, in a civilized world, is to usurp individuals' right to exist.

Anarchists' rejection of the states is premised around their assurance in the natural order; they believe that societies do not bloom under "external authority and coercion"; the anarchist posit that people flourish and prosper best when they are not interfered with (Walter 4). They believe that the people develop initiative only in a free environment; in the absence of external rules and legal formulations the societies establish "voluntary agreements" and thrive by practicing "mutual aid". The people realize their human potential only when they are not coerced to practice something. Hence, by blending "the ancient patterns of cooperation with a modern sense of individuality" (Marshall 35) human beings become fully productive. By critiquing the state and its formation, the anarchists challenge "the authoritarian premises of western civilization" (Marshall 35).

The anarchists posit that both the capitalism and state with all its structures must be abolished in order to construct a just and violence-free society; they believe that this eradication can only be brought about through revolution. The anarchists reject the state on the grounds that it means "domination and consequently slavery" (Bakunin, *Statism and Anarchy* 8). Bakunin rejects out-rightly state's claim of caring for the welfare of the people and contends that the state only supports a hierarchical form of the society's organization and it constitutes such means by which one class practices domination over the less privileged class. The state produces oppression, victimization, violence, warfares, and carnages as its progeny; and this oppression of the innocent citizens is practiced under the guise of their "protection" by the state. In short, the state is rejected as "the institution of modern civilization which exerts an increasing degree of control over the lives of all those who live beneath its domination" (Abbey 1).

### **2.3 Anarchist Doctrine and the Question of Violence**

Anarchism was pushed to margins for several decades, but the Second World War took it out of anonymity and rendered prominence to its theoretical perspective. The revival in this political theory accounts for such famed writers such as Herbert Read, George Orwell, and Aldous Huxley (Abbey 1). Although, the stigma attached to anarchism did not allow these writers to affiliate their identity with this radical position, nevertheless, these writers conspicuously highlighted and questioned the violent practices of the nation-states; they advocated individual's autonomy and emphasized the importance of disentanglement from the state's centralized political, economic and military practices.

Despite anarchism's aversion to the "centralized authority" and coercion, it has often been associated with violence. The history of anarchism presents a few cases of the anarchists known historically as the "terrorists". The term "anarchist terrorist" refers to those practitioners who, not only promoted but also, exercised political violence by employing the strategy known as "propaganda by the deed"<sup>ii</sup> (Kinna 132). The chronicle of libertarian ideas also mentions the arguments of "sympathizers such as Emma Goldman and Albert Camus" who vehemently justified their violent attacks against state officials on a number of accounts. The alleged embrace of violence has not only obscured anarchist vision, but covered it with the discourse of illegality. The very word "anarchism" connotes riots leading to gory revolutions, the "so-called justified" bombings, and assassinations of the opponents. Owing to such early prospects, this theoretical perspective is refused not only reverence, but also acceptability in the theoretical debates. I contend that violence can never give fair results; hence, I intend to probe the negation of violence with anarchism, and its implications for the literary texts selected for interpretation.

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865) the self-described "father of anarchism" (Marshall 11) was born in the lower middle class in France. He is famous for glorifying the paradoxical statement like "Property is theft" (Qtd. in Marshall 234). Delving in all possible fields of speculation like philosophy, economics, politics, ethics and art, he denounces the state and its coercion vehemently, for him, the state is responsible for economic and political oppression. Proudhon repudiates violence in all his writings and considers violence never helping humans towards progress. His outrageous views about the state and its hidden violence can be gauged from the statement:

To be governed is to have every deed of ours, every action and movement, noted, registered, reviewed, docketed, measured, filed, assessed; ...at the least sign of resistance or complaint to be repressed, convicted, vilified, vexed, hunted, mauled, murdered, stripped, hanged, shot, slaughtered, judged, condemned, deported, sacrificed, sold, betrayed, and finally mocked, flouted, outraged, and dishonored. This is government. This is its justice. (Qtd. in Abbey 12)

Proudhon's denunciation of the institution of property is based on a specific view; he does not attack private property as a general concept; rather, he is against those communists who proposed to collectivize and nationalize the property of individuals" (Proudhon, "What is Property" 33-34). His critique of private property is principally against the big property-owners who exploit the labour of dispossessed people by collecting immense revenue through "usury and rent" (Proudhon, "What is Property" 34). For him, ownership of property means the aggregate of all those abuses that accumulation of property lends itself to. On the other hand, he approves of property as long as it remains "possession"; "property as possession" is regarded by him as an indispensable basis for people's freedom and independence. For Proudhon, only that kind of property is lawful which restricts the owners to the actual use of the land and benefits accruing directly from it. He regards the tools, the land, the house, and the shop where a person works to earn livelihood as fundamentals of a person's freedom.

Although, Proudhon is notorious for using intemperate and a harsh language, he repudiates the use of coercion and violence in politics. He advocates a revolutionary pedagogical program of anarchism which would, after some time, conquer the violent elements of the state. He suspects the possibility of success through social revolution riding on the back of "a political revolution<sup>iiii</sup>" (Proudhon, "The General Idea of Revolution" 54). He advises the factory workers to move in a tranquil way and conquer the world through hard work. He prevents them from starting any uprising; rather, they are advised to "invade through the force of principle" (Qtd. in Abbey 15). Profoundly critical of the political arrangements furthered by violence, he openly declares that the social reform cannot be achieved through only political reform.

Proudhon emphatically rejects the question of using violence to achieve a better society; for him, the "moral equilibrium" of any society is the root-cause of justice which relies on individual's self-respect and the consequent condition of mutual-respect. To

him, violence disrupts this state of mutual-respect and the inevitable result is despotism, distrust, fear and hatred. Violence can never restore the lost equilibrium; rather, it further produces violence. In the same vein, he opposes “regicide”; supporting his argument with the help of numerous historical evidences, Proudhon believes firmly that the murder of the king does not solve any problem so the regicide is unjustifiable, hopeless, and a superficial act. Implicit in his argument is the recognition of the interdependence of “means and ends”. Violence according to him “is not wrong because it usually fails; it fails because it is usually wrong” (Qtd. in Abbey 14). He believes that justice cannot be achieved through injustice.

Anarchist theory is indebted to Michael Bakunin for paving the way from a theory to anarchist subversive action. In Proudhon’s perspective, anarchism was limited to the expression of middle-class liberalism before Bakunin; Bakunin’s contribution however, infused new life in anarchist philosophy by injecting “socialist” blood in its veins. This infusion made anarchism appealing not only to isolated intellectuals but also the dispossessed and unhappy factory workers. This expansion of anarchism also owes to Bakunin’s emphatic insistence on revolutionary action. Unlike Joseph Proudhon, Bakunin does not host any qualms regarding the use of violence and so, he advocates, encourages, and organizes violence whenever revolution is the desired goal. Being an enthusiastic advocate of “propaganda by the deed” (Abbey 21), Bakunin not only propagates violence, he actively fights on the fore-front for revolution. He openly glorifies the struggle of devotees who try to overthrow the oppressive system by assassinating the wielders of power. Accepting of “destruction”, he asserts at the dawn of his political career, “the desire for destruction is a creative passion” (Bakunin, “What is the State” 86). His ideology of violence’s inevitability for revolution can be judged from his statement that revolutions, “far from being a child’s play mean war” (Abbey 22) and wars in his estimation are all about destruction.

Bakunin’s critique of capitalism is blatantly scathing. Civilization, according to him faced one fundamental problem of the complete emancipation of the factory workers from economic and political atrocities. The capitalist aims to maximize his profit by increasing production of the goods but minimizing the wages. He criticizes the capitalist for ignoring the genuine needs of society and making profitable enterprise as the only

overriding goal of their lives. The accumulation of the profit happens through collecting the “surplus value”; the difference between the wage-labor and sale-price of a commodity brings the surplus which is the cause of multiplication of the profit.

Bakunin rejects capitalist set-up because this system creates and maintains social inequality. The clash between the sworn aims of the capitalist and the desired goals of the laborers brings about domination. Capitalism is characterized by exploitation of the labor power of the poor, which ultimately enriches the bourgeoisie. Bakunin establishes that this system is exploitative because it allows the capital owner to live off the exploitation of labor of those who have nothing else to sell. The relationship of both these groups varies with reference to the market; the capitalist exploits the market to gain profit whereas the worker visits the market, forced by the need to sustain and survive. Bakunin opines that this relationship between the capitalist and the laborer is a conflict between a desire for profit and a need to be free from hunger; Bakunin calls this a relationship between “master and slave” (Bakunin: “Program of the International Brotherhood” 85). The capitalist, thus equipped with capital, is in a position to impose rough working-conditions on the workers. The worker, deprived of basic amenities, is compelled to accept whatever working conditions are provided; he will accept virtually any kind of labor for fear of being replaced by others like him. So the only option available to him is to “sell him at the lowest price”, thus sinking more profoundly in misery.

In Bakunin’s view this ruthless manipulation of the worker is orchestrated by the state, and the church. The people enjoying the privileges and advantages will never willingly part with their privileges. To bring justice in an unjust world, Bakunin offers “a terrible and bloody struggle”. For Bakunin revolutionary actions mean extermination of all organs of the state including its churches, juridical superstructure, academic institutions, coercive organs like military and police. All the institutions are bound together with strong ties of mutual interest, so, the destruction of these state-organs is necessary not only in one country but in the neighboring countries. Rejecting out-rightly the possibility of miracles, Bakunin asserts that taking control of the means of production and bringing revolution is necessarily an act of violence and it cannot be accomplished overnight without sacrifices. He does not believe in moral conversion of common people,

and claims that the elite class will not relinquish its ascendance over power; hence, the downtrodden must move ahead and grab the apparatuses of power through violence.

Bakunin's theorization of revolution, premised around exaltation and glorification of violence, renders his position slithery. His idealization of disorder, even a civil war, makes the conception of ends and means questionable. Spontaneous, popular uprisings get central position in his theoretical paradigm. He admits the inherent negativity of violence but deems it inevitable in the whole process of bringing about revolution. In this context, he advocates that "a revolution without a sweeping and passionate destruction" is not possible because he believes that "new worlds are born" from a "fruitful destruction" (Bakunin Qtd. in Abbey 25).

For Bakunin, the necessity of violence to eradicate injustices makes it "a caesarean section", which is the only admissible possibility in "social obstetrics" (Qtd. in Abbey 25). Bakunin's apology for violence landed him in prison for ten years which he bore patiently, but this imprisonment failed to bring any change in his ideology. After serving this term, when he was released from the prison, he still remained faithful to the deity of violence wholeheartedly. Although, Bakunin himself is reputed never to use violence against even his worst enemies, yet he came up with open-armed embrace for the practitioners of violence, nevertheless in highly ill-planned, miserably managed and inconsequent insurrections. Bakunin was undoubtedly an intelligent leader but his repute as a soldier is pretty precarious.

Being crazy for a just society, Bakunin sets no limits to his avarice for a "constructive destruction" of an unruly and recalcitrant world. His justification of violence is founded upon the belief that revolution is a war in itself and this war is "both just and necessary". For him, the "honorable" and "noble" end i.e. revolution justifies even an ignoble means i.e. violence. Bakunin's approval of violence, though suspiciously excited, is not presented without reservation. The end project proposed by Bakunin i.e. "extermination" of all exploitative structures, is accomplished by "the poison, the knife, the rope" (Qtd. in Abbey 28); he suggests that this noble cause "sanctifies everything alike" (Qtd. in Abbey 28). Bakunin could not be selected as a theorist for my research because, his promotion and glorification of violence posits him in the camp of those



revolutionary writers who feel it incumbent upon them to commit the most atrocious practices to achieve a remote, abstract justice in an imaginary future. My research proposes authentic, sensitive and sensible citizenship in which violence does not loom anywhere on the horizons of even an imaginary world. I admit that Bakunin never propagated violence as having any intrinsic good and like many other socialists, he was a visionary writer who dreamed of a just world, but his equation of “the passion for destruction” with “a creative passion” brings him very close to implying the intrinsic good in violence. I believe that the chasm between the horrible present and an egalitarian future can never be abridged by violence.

Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921), titled as “the revolutionary evolutionist” (Dugatkin, 3) was another anarchist theorist whose contribution to this field of inquiry cannot be ignored. Like Bakunin, Kropotkin was a revolutionary philosopher; he too was imprisoned for his blatant revolutionary ideas but succeeded in escaping from the prison and left for Europe. Kropotkin was least interested in any conspiracy or spread of violence for political purposes. Being trained as a geographer and a geologist, his aim was to establish anarchism as “a scientific theory” (Dugatkin 8). Kropotkin diagnoses that the emerging capitalist system exploits poor people in a number of ways. Unemployment is caused by abundant number of workers available to the capitalist who is beseeched by a great supply of needy workers. Kropotkin saw cities and villages exhibiting miserable places where “children cry in front of empty plates” (Kropotkin, *COB* 62). Thus, according to Kropotkin, the workers beg for work even before a factory’s construction is complete. Kropotkin deems economic inequality tantamount to enslavement which clamps the property-less people in a manipulative bond. The choice between working for the factory owner or staying without work and wages is no choice at all; the workers do not freely choose to participate in this economic arrangement hence they are employed by coercion and guile.

Kropotkin also exposes disparities between states. The influential and rich Europeans industrial states vie with each other over markets and the control over raw material; this constant contention between the states also makes the whole system unstable. Kropotkin allocates the whole responsibility for the modern warfare on the shoulders of capitalist set-up. The rich countries compete for markets and claim “the right

to exploit nations backward in industry” (Kropotkin, *Wars and Capitalism* 1). This economic exploitation divides the people into two groups: “the poor on the one side and the idlers, the playboys with their ... brutal appetites on the other hand (Kropotkin, *WOR* 62).

Like Bakunin, he too believes in the symbiotic relationship between the state and capitalism. Harboring radical ideas about workers’ welfare, he refuses to trust the state and its claims. He maintains that the state serves as a functionary to protect the welfare of the property owning class. Other than this, the state has no justification to exist. He maintains that if the people are provided all the economic means necessary for their sustenance, then the state and its existence will not be justified. Kropotkin is convinced that the scientific and technological revolution make the abundant produce in agriculture and industry possible which can eradicate poverty. Once poverty and dearth is eliminated, the social struggle between classes will be redundant and the centralized authority personified by the state will be unnecessary. The state with all its organs of police, military, and judiciary will not be necessary, and humanity will procure real liberation (Kropotkin Qtd. in Abbey).

Kropotkin challenges Darwin’s theory of “the survival of the fittest” (Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid* 4) as legitimating exploitation of the poor. Grounding his theory on the vast study of animals, Kropotkin is convinced that the rationale of natural selection, proclaimed by Darwin, does not inevitably entail the competition so fervently advertised by the western world. On the contrary, in Kropotkin’s opinion, the species that succeeded ever in the natural world are those that formed societies through the practices of “cooperation and mutual aid” (Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid* xii). Anarchism, because of its belief in “the cooperative instinct”, is in concord with vital vistas of human nature. Kropotkin’s study of animal species makes him scorn “the egoistical kind of individualism” (Kropotkin qtd. in Marshall 321) lauded by Sterner and Nietzsche. Instead, he hopes and wishes for a balance between individuality and “the highest communist sociability” (Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid* 56). The optimal pleasure erupts through the culture of benevolence, says Kropotkin as, the individual’s satisfaction is conditioned by “the gratification of others” (Qtd. in Marshall 321). He rejects the divisive religious and social practices and advocates ethics which prefer to enhance the happiness of his

kins and make him feel remorse “when some of his brethren are suffering” (Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid* 58). Kropotkin believes in a benevolent spirit working in all humans. Thus, he writes that the study of geography enlightens the humans that we all are bonded through a relationship of humanity and “mere short-sighted egotism” (Kropotkin, *WGOB* 942) prompt all conflicts between people.

Kropotkin is particularly wary of state institution of prison. He proposes a program of reformation based upon “mutual aid” which, he believes, can only help humanity overcome the problem of “rule breakers”. Incarceration is not the solution to any problem; the prison system is flawed to the core and is not able to address the problem. The highest purpose of people’s life is “mutual aid”, which is severely disrupted by incarceration; he believes that incarceration stifles the communal instincts of a man which help him “best adapted to community life” (Kropotkin, *PTMIOP* 221). He argues that no system of reform can reform this utterly flawed system of punishment, hence “the permanent closure of prisons” (Qtd. in Dugatkin 64) is to be effected in order to bring the poor in mainstream world.

Thus, trained in this way, Kropotkin does not see violence as a constitutive element of anarchism. So he does not put the question of violence to a serious investigation in his political career. Neither embracing, nor repudiating violence in the social struggle, Kropotkin proposes that violence should be minimized. His revolutionary design allows some space for organized and individual acts of revolt, but he has nowhere suggested that violence is a necessary instrument for the successful transformation of the social order. Kropotkin does not see violence as a justifiable strategy for change, neither does he find it encompassing intrinsic value, yet Kropotkin does not serve the main theorist for my research, as the trajectory from violence to happiness, the main objective of my research, needs an elaborate theoretical framework that could highlight the structures embroiled with corporeal violence, but also suggest some remedial steps to be taken for the possibility of an equitable and just world.

Modern anarchists assort economic disparity with government violence. They think that in the current world overwhelmed by big businesses, the state organizes violence against people to help the capitalist class maintain domination. Noam Chomsky,

a leading intellectual figure to lead the battle against neo-liberalism, is critical of American state, but his persistent and unforgiving critique of the American state and its enforced penetration into poor countries helps to extrapolate historical and contemporaneous involvement of any state with capitalism. Chomsky's assault on economic, political and social relations of society reminds one of "the prevalent inequality, injustice, and global destruction" (Edgley 78). In his view the state serves not just "judicial, ideological and at times coercive" role; the state's policies and actions are by and large hostile to the needs and aspirations of the majority, but all these atrocious acts are implemented in the name of citizens' welfare.

Being a very "strong supporting pillar" of capitalism, the state, becomes an "economic agent" in a capitalist economy and plays an absolutely substantial role in the maintenance and progression of economy. Sworn "to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority" (Chomsky, *TCG* 7), the state becomes servile to the rich and powerful segments of the society. Chomsky's regular harangue at "state corporate nexus" (Chomsky, *Year 501* 99) highlights a direct but invisible connective between the state and private business corporations. Chomsky calls it "The Fifth Freedom" which he elaborates as "the freedom to rob, to exploit and to dominate, to undertake any course of action to ensure that existing privilege is protected and advanced" (Chomsky, *TCT* 1). The state not only ensures friendly conditions for multiplication of capital, it also ensures capitalism's legitimacy. The state pulls the strings to prevent or minimize the crisis of economy; seeing an impending fall in the profit rates, it moves ahead to facilitate the capitalist arrangements by providing debts to cardinal zones of the economy, motivating the developmental sectors, overseeing the ambit of export and import, and supporting the capitalist enterprises by subsidizing products. The state also helps the burgeoning economy by increasing the buying power of people.

This defense and protection of the capitalist's interest makes state's collusion in intensifying class-strife visible. Although state, using its propaganda agencies, emphasizes that it brings class harmony, but this class harmony "between the people with hammers and the people getting beaten their heads with hammers" (Chomsky, *TCG* 28) invokes resistance. Chomsky recognizes that translation of these interests is not a straightforward process; by colluding with the business world the state becomes

susceptible to the pressure from public (Chomsky, *PAT* 13). To counter this issue, the state neutralizes its position and provides legitimacy to the capitalists' business; hence, it assumes the pretention of an "autonomous" body working on its own accord with reference to capitalism. To calm the class animosity, the state comes forward with some measures in favor of the exploited classes; the state, through its historical evolutionary period, realizes that better living conditions can better combat the burgeoning chances of radicalism.

Although capitalism has played a crucial role in designing the political structures of European countries since its inception, however its overriding role led these countries to establish imperialism. The current phase of capitalist expansion called "neo-liberalism" or "economic globalization" (Chomsky, *POP* 3) is the latest development since the last three decades of twentieth century. This economic globalization, marked by consolidation, on a global scale, is an economic/political arrangement which "circumscribes the political rights and civic powers of the many" (Chomsky, *POP* 12) in the processes of production, distribution and exchange. Advancement in technology has provided support to this stage by facilitating production, import, and export over long distances. American led "neo-liberalism" actively pursues policies that are in the interest of American business not only at home but across the territorial boundaries of its nation-state. It aims and strives actively and aggressively to ensure prosperous business conditions for American based big corporations in poor countries. To help profit maximization of American businesses, American state ensures that less developed countries keep their doors open for foreign investment.

Criticizing the interference of American economic forces in third world countries, Chomsky highlights that this penetrative process is not smooth; rather, it excites resistance coming from various directions. The tools by which the rich states secure their interests include legislation, law enforcement, military interventions and economic trap. The tools of repression and control are modernized, as today massive amount of power lies with the states and corporations. Chomsky gives a protracted account of the military interventions carried out by the American state. So, according to Chomsky, the state, set on economic expansionist agenda, works to control not only its own people but people from other territorial domains.

Chomsky discusses at length the process of profit accumulation at the expense of third world countries. Led by “neo-liberalist market norms” corporations search for locations with the most salubrious conditions for capital’s reproduction. Third world countries provide weak labour/environmental legislation, almost non-existent weak trade union organization, and uncontrollably soaring rates of unemployment. The companies, abetted by the state, find locales where maximum and unfettered exploitation of the host states can be done. Neo-liberalism aggravates disparity between countries; the free flow of the capital is not proportionately complemented by the free mobility of the people across geographical boundaries.

Moreover, the anarchists like Chomsky looking beyond the issues of class disparity, find the ecological impact of this fast burgeoning capitalism. This unhindered, deregulated capital crusades against the indigenous ecological terrain thus causing the depletion of the Earth’s resources. Motivated by the profit logic, big businesses disrupt the environment culminating in defilement, deforestation, global warming, extinction of rare species and asymmetries in the ecological set-up; the earth and its life is deemed a mere resource, an object to be ruthlessly used by the global capital according to Chomsky.

Known as “Red Emma”, Emma Goldman is a prominent but vociferous voice of anarchists. Like many other anarchists, Goldman is critical of the American state; the state is seen as a ‘cold monster’, an insensate and homicidal structure by her. The state according to her has been subdued by “gluttonous appetite for greater wealth” (43); it is turned crazy by the desire “to subdue, to crush, and to exploit” (44). It harbors a mad desire to “enslave, to outrage, and to degrade” (43). She criticizes the American state for boasting of her enormous power and unbound national wealth which is of no use to alleviate the poverty of Americans who live in filth, and are infested with crime as the state offers no help to these hopeless people. They are “homeless, soilless army of human prey” who are not entitled to America’s immense wealth.

To Goldman, the responsibility of this poverty lies with the lack of “solidarity of interests” (44) which nurtures true harmony in any society. Social harmony is just a fabrication, because here the differential treatment of people never lets them enjoy the

solidarity. Goldman sees the injustice and inequality seeped so deep into the American power structures that the working class people never enjoy the fruits of their labour, while those who enjoy an opulent existence, never work. The problem with the organized authority lies in their neglect of this blatant disparity and its causes. The authority, rather; extends the benefits and privileges to those who have already monopolized the world and its resources. Thus the state with the help of all its organs is engaged strenuously to “harmonize the most antagonistic” (47) elements of society.

Goldman asserts that the accountability of the exploitation and victimization of the majority of people falls on those who are not only ignorant of the power relations and never do realize their own worth, but also consider this inequality inscribed in their fate. Their resignation to their fate and unseen currents of events makes them complacent and it does not let them work to search out the reason for their depraved situation. The complacency barricades them from claiming anything from the world’s resources. Goldman castigates the so-called calm souls for considering “liberty” as only an “abstract value” (48) which is bereft of any consequential achievement. In stark contrast to these trepid fellows is another group of antsy people who are disturbed by social and economic disparity; they drown themselves in meditation and libraries to explore the hidden laws behind social injustices. Not satiated with the logic given by the powerful and its propaganda machinery, they refuse to be blinded towards the reality. Having known all the factors responsible for the world theatre, they dedicate themselves to perennial crusade against the blinding structures that perpetuate inequality and cruelty. Compelled by a vision to challenge the status-quo and desire to enjoy a libertarian ideology, these committed individuals join the anarchist camp.

Goldman defines anarchism as “the only perspective” which makes people aware of themselves and their worth and which asserts that “God, and the state” are despotic, and their promises are void. She appreciates anarchism for being the only philosophy that sees through the architectural flaws of a state; the state, to her is based upon the foundation of violence. Goldman attributes illegitimacy with the whole enterprise of state as on account of its “nexus with violence, all forms of government are not only illegitimate but “unnecessary” (42). The promises of the world ruled by illegitimate authorities can be “fulfilled only through man’s subordination” (42). Hence, anarchism,

to Goldman, liberates humanity from all such specters that trapped man for centuries; it harmonizes individuality with society. It is the only philosophical stance that has “declared war on all those structures that prevent the symmetrical mergence of individual and social instincts (42).

For Goldman, anarchism combats for human liberty at many fronts and is set against many a dark forces impeding man’s way. She not only denounces the state and its organs; rather, she distrusts the abstract notions and beliefs such as religion which compromises human liberation. She equates religion with ignorance and declares that ignorance that traps man into the grip of religion is “the most destructive and violent aspect” of any society. Religion enslaves man in its stronghold and barricades the humanity from its true “progress” (Goldman 42). By infusing the human mind with ideas of his own slightness and God’s immensity, religion degrades humans beyond repair. Man achieves only true liberation when he learns to break all such fetters of tradition around his ankles. Anarchism uplifts man from such a “prostrate position” (43) and teaches people to think, judge and decide for themselves. By denouncing religion, Anarchism demolishes “not healthful tissue, but parasitic growths that feed on life’s essence of society” (40).

Goldman is notorious for justifying the political violence used by people against government officials. Her sympathies with perpetrators of violence make her the most devout apologist of “propaganda by deed” (44). She justifies that retributory violence on the grounds that the intelligent and sensitive souls cannot forgive state violence through its ruthless organs such as police, military and prisons. Goldman legitimates violence by asserting that the anarchist philosophers who are infused with the vision of an ideal new society see clearly that their own sufferings and the sufferings of their fellowmen are “caused not by the cruelty of fate, but by the injustice of other human beings”(44). When these human loving people see their kins and friends dying of starvation, they take hold of violent apparatuses. In Goldman’s estimation, the violent strikes of anarchists, against the power wielders, are “social” and “not anti-social”, because their assaults are “not for themselves”, but “for human nature”. She elevates these propagandists for taking pains for the outraged and despoiled people who have been denied justice since centuries. Goldman condemns the punishment of these brave fighters on moral grounds. Extolling



the practitioners of “propaganda by deed” to the pedestal of heroship, she vehemently advocates that those who refuse to submit themselves to “abject submission” and iniquities should not be treated as “villains” (64). Her position is clear from her assertion that the anarchists detest murder, but “flinging the whole responsibility of the deed upon the immediate perpetrator” (64) is an unjust decision by the society. Her sympathies for bombers and anarchist terrorists can be gauged from her statement that “beyond every violent act there is a vital cause’ (64). Regicides and bomb blasting by anarchist indicates an indispensable fact that such outrageous acts have been the expression of the tormented and tortured humans who refuse to tolerate the cruelties of the state any further. Such “recoiled acts” are the only struggle available to exasperated humans who are struggling for an honorable life (65) and who act contrary to their “social instincts” (66) when all options have been blockaded for them and their fellow citizens. Further, Goldman, defending and absolving these terrorists, vehemently proposes that the burden of the blame should be posited on the shoulders of all those authorities which have been complicit in sustaining and maintain the status quo. The political acts of violence committed by anarchist terrorists contrasted with the “wholesale violence of capital and government” (83) are slight and not even mentionable.

Goldman’s justification and sympathies for terrorist attacks is grounded in the fact that society needs a radical transformation; she appreciates the acts of those “rebels” who struggle to bring this transformation. A society where people are driven to suicides for very basic human needs; where poverty forces people to commit prostitution; a society which prides over increasing number of prisons and military barracks needs a radical transformative plan. For Goldman, transformation of a rotten society can be done only “on pain of being eliminated, and that speedily, from the human race” (75). She congratulates all such terrorists who struggled to enforce this transformation by flinging their own lives. Despite her justification and legitimization, Goldman’s wholehearted embrace of “political violence” problematizes her position for any narrative built upon a peaceful coexistence of humans inhabiting the earth. Her refusal to pay heed to a volatile situation the world is embroiled into by many such forces coming on forefront to claim “retributory violence” in the name of “radical transformation” of the status quo makes me desist from considering Goldman as a theorist to explicate my argument.

Like many other anarchists, Leo Tolstoy, famous for his masterpiece *War and Peace*<sup>iv</sup>, denounces the state with all its organs of control including law, military, economy, and war as violent and subjugating. He vehemently claims that all states, irrespective of their political or religious ideology, are “violent” (Tolstoy, *GIV* 2). Explicating the working of the state, he establishes that the state is an organization working on the pyramidal model having all its subsequent parts completely controlled by the people who stay at the apex of power hierarchy. The apex, he believes “is seized by those who are more cunning, audacious, and unscrupulous than the rest” (Tolstoy, *PAG* 516). Denuding the claim of the rulers to safeguard the lives and welfare of people, Tolstoy claims that, not even in democratic governments, people and their welfare loom anywhere on the horizons of the rulers’ thought or plans. He warns the people that all the organs of the state work under the ruthless supervision. Being a devout Christian himself, he repeatedly attacks Christian states for not resisting against the violence, even though these so-called Christian states have been pressurized by their own people to do otherwise.

Tolstoy’s opposition of the state is grounded in his critique of military as a violent organ of the state. For Tolstoy war, which is “the most atrocious manifestation of violence” (Tolstoy, “Thou Shalt not Kill” 196), is an unendurable exposure of senseless brutality committed through state’s military. He laments at the indoctrination of common people by the military in its violent policies. The people who are inducted into military have to pay the price of state’s policies by compromising their consciousness. Deceived by the state, people enroll in military where another series of disciplinary tactics are imposed on them to change the “the softest, most Christian souls” into the most brutal slaughtering machines. Inside the military barracks, they are deprived of their humanity... rationality... and are turned into “fit instruments for murder” (Tolstoy, “Thou Shalt not Kill” 196). They are torn from their families and children to use murderous weapons against innocent people; the state makes sure to quiet their raging conscience by furnishing a steady supply of “national anthems and vodka”. Thus soaked with hatred against humanity, these soldiers mindlessly march ahead bearing starvation, illnesses and physical exhaustion. Some of them lose their lives while others slaughter their opponents at the command of their bosses. These killing machines annihilate whole

communities happily without ever knowing or investigating the reasons for the murder of thousands of people against whom they have no personal complaints and who had never done them “any wrong” (Tolstoy, *CAP* 449).

In his book *Government is Violence* Tolstoy candidly expresses his disgust for the state which contrives and applies war to subjugate the people. He is severely critical of the state’s vindication of its military for the defense of its people against other states and their oppression because, in his estimation, eventually, instead of protecting people from other countries, the army itself becomes the source of threat and danger for the people inside the geographical domain of the country. The ulterior motive of instigating war and nurturing army is to protect the privileges of the elite class. Armies are established and nurtured only “to defend the stolen and plundered wealth of a privileged minority” (Tolstoy, *GIV* 97). Tolstoy objurgates rulers for flattering military because the rulers know very well that through “organized violence” military will defend the interests of the rulers. By cajoling and keeping army at their sides, the rulers enjoy unbridled power over other human beings (Tolstoy *GIV* 98-99).

Tolstoy also highlights the oxymoronic relation between law and justice. He sees “slavery” in the “very nature of legislation” (Tolstoy, *TSOT* 112) as it is through law, as the primary and subtle weapon, that states control their populace not only in the most tyrannical countries, but also in the “nominally most free” (Tolstoy, *TSOT* 111) states. He exposes the falsity of widespread claim of the states that laws are formulated and implemented according to the “will of people” by claiming that common people have nothing to do with laws and their fabrication. Laws are designed and disseminated by those who have a strong grip over power apparatuses. He substantiates his claim by bringing in evidences from history that everywhere in the world laws are profitable only to the power wielders and operate against the interest of poor people (Tolstoy, *TSOT* 111). Tolstoy unfurls the “coercive nature” hidden deep beneath its friendly trappings. Law operates through threats and practice of punishment for those who go against the will of powerful groups. The people are made to believe that failure to fulfill law can make them legitimate subjects of battery, slavery and “slaughter”. Tolstoy exposes the whole concept of people’s will involved in formulation of laws, since “those who wish to break these laws are always more numerous than those who wish to obey them” (Tolstoy,

*TSOT* 110). He argues that had the laws reflected the will or desire of the people they would never have needed enforcements and punishments to make the people believe and practice law.

Tolstoy lays bare the nexus between economic arrangements and violent legislation. His critique of the violent nature of economic system in many countries of the world is documented in his book *The Slavery of Our Times*. His reflections on the ailments of the state power are motivated by several illustrations of economic exploitation he himself observed. In his estimation, economic exploitation is far more subtle than many other tools used by the state. Economic slavery is more pervasive and encumbering than straight corporeal violence. The state comes forward to protect the “private ownership of land” through laws. The state has already legitimized the monopoly of violence which is then used to protect the wealthy people’s right to accumulate wealth. The aggressive legislation protects large belts of land owned by property owning classes; the land in most cases is the “stolen property”. His argument against the legislation regarding land holdings is based upon his conception of “genuine needs” of the people which do not accrue the help and support of violence, as a “feeling of justice and reciprocity” protects a person’s needs. But the luxuries manifested through “thousands of acres of forest lands belonging to one proprietor” (Tolstoy, *TSOT* 114-117) need an army to protect it.

Denuding the ideology of “patriotism” Tolstoy explores the tactics of the state to psychologically manipulate consciousness of people. Thus manipulated, the people trust blindly and obediently all dictations of the state. Apotheosized state designedly and hypocritically deceive the masses and thereby promote a violent system that usurps all sense of responsibility of the individuals. The cruelty of the state is so lethal that it perpetuates “patriotism” in people’s mind which brutalizes even those people who believe and practice in Christianity. The state, with the help of its apparatuses, “hypnotizes” people into “adoring their nation and their state system from very early childhood” (Tolstoy, *CAP*). Trickery, guile and even education is employed to “instill patriotism” (Tolstoy, *CAP*) in masses. From infancy people’s consciousness is shaped to revere the violent institutions “as sacred” and “to judge, condemn, resist and make war” (Tolstoy, *WIB* 21) against the people from their own country as well as from other

countries. Contrasting the position of “subjects and citizens”, he believes that the subject of even the most authoritarian state can be mentally free despite the worst cruelties done to him, but on the other hand a citizen of “the constitutional State” (Tolstoy, *GIV* 28) is reduced to the level of slave because he believes in the legality of violence administered by the state.

Tolstoy’s argument about state and its horrendous practices is based on a moral view inducted by his Christian belief. He is convinced of the corrupting influence of authority on individuals. For him authority compels a person “to act contrary to his desires’ and contrasted it to ‘spiritual influence.’ Tolstoy defines freedom as “autonomy” whereas “authority” is “a form of moral corruption” (Tolstoy, *GIV* 58). He defends true freedom which he defines as an ability “to live and act according to [his] own judgment’ (*GIV* 58). The state is a brutal machine that usurps peoples’ autonomy and imposes authority over them. He rejects authority because it is “corrupting” and it “stirs antagonism in society”. Apart from that, authority advocates hypocrisy because it is not merely working against one’s conscience but about “playing a part and concealing true character”. Under the influence of authority people act in ways utterly alien and consequently destructive to their nature. Enforced by authority, individuals cast off their meditating and reflective ability and indulge in all practices consistent with the dictation of the state, irrespective of the moral import and implication of those practices.

The state’s “vicious, brutal and pernicious” (Tolstoy, *TSOT* 114) character is further exposed by Tolstoy through his critique of the capitalist arrangement abetted by the state. The state exploits the destitution of its own poor laborer. He mocks the so-called “well-being” proclaimed by the state institutions which he arrogates are nothing more than “fiction”. In reality, the people, even in well-governed states, are ruled by violence. In order to present a better image of states, the hungry, the starved, the sick, and the protesting people “are hidden away where they cannot be seen” (Tolstoy, *TSOT* 113-14). The state, even at the height of its holiness is “a malicious system” that breaches Christ’s rational teaching. Tolstoy’s repudiation of violence is informed by his Christian background that lent him a peaceful aptitude. Tolstoy’s theorization of the state and its functioning is commendable for being exhaustive and comprehensive; he has theorized state’s violence by bringing to light almost all the organs of the state which will be used

at a number of situations in the analytical section of my research. Tolstoy, however, fails to provide an alternative solution to rescind the violence and chart out a plan for an existence culminating in “utmost happiness”. Therefore, despite his in-depth analysis of the state and its practices, he cannot be relied upon to provide the framework for my research.

## **2.4 Anarchist Stance upon Civilization**

### **2.4.1 Enrico Manicardi’s De-civilization**

Enrico Manicardi questions civilization and its claims of happiness by asserting that civilization can never impart real happiness or fulfillment, as it is built upon the supporting pillars of “division and hierarchy” (xi). Civilization relies heavily upon the relations of domination and slavery; it sees every living form as an exploitable object. It objectifies other forms of life by subjecting them to “subjugation” and “supervision” and regulating them according to its own command”(x). Manicardi objects to the relations of domination and subjugation as they are seen operating in all forms of relationships. The relationship between parents and children; teachers and students; employees and employers; rulers and the ruled citizens; and humans and nature, all are determined by mastery of one group over other. Manicardi reaches at the core of the modern malaise and affirms that civilization tunes us to “look from top to bottom” and precludes us from getting closer to others to dissolve the cleavages or high walls of differences. Instead, it teaches human beings to be cocooned behind high walls of prejudices and dread.

Manicardi’s contribution, particularly with reference to the theory of “reification” about the capitalist system and its exploitation of human beings working for this system, is worthwhile. He defines “reification” as “perceiving the living features of the universe as lifeless objects” (6) for profit motives. In Manicardi’s estimation, the current civilization has erected “profit” to a very high position. Profitable markets rule the world and relationships. The epitome of profit driven civilization is the current industrialization which has reduced the world to “a Social Machine”. To make the system work and grow, the connections between other humans and nature have been severed completely. The system that pivots around monetary values does not consider itself responsible for a balanced biosphere. Since the transformation of the present day world into a market,

people are turned into “objects to be used as tools” (6). The current system of exploitation reifies every living lineament into “exploitable, manageable, maneuverable and consumable object” (6).

Manicardi rejects civilization out-rightly because it has given birth to a capitalist world in which social inequality and hierarchies have reached to such a state that cooperation is out of question. The people are divided into “bosses” on one side and “obedient workers” on the other side; the center of power is held by big businesses which prescribes orders and the other side of the boundary line are workers who have to accomplish all orders. The “reification” further divides people amongst themselves. On the scale of hierarchy, there are only competitors. In a world ruled by competition, everyone is engaged in a personal war against the whole world. The workers, threatened by every other person, are marooned inside their own private world.

As civilization is expanding in depth and breadth, the more social organization becomes structured. The system needs more feed in the form of more profit, more raw materials, more wealth, more energy resources and more cannon fodder in the form of man power and the invention of more sophisticated technology. Manicardi, exposing the inner working of the system, comments that the system sustains itself by “colonizing new territories” and objectifying people from these territories thus pushing these new territories “in a new cycle of total devastation that continues unabated” (40).

Civilization’s assault on life is not limited to humans, rather it overreaches its persecutory tentacles to animals by “domesticating...for purely utilitarian purposes” (29). The impulse for command shifts animals from “vital subjects” in an “organic and balanced” world to “inanimate objects” to serve the aesthetic and dietary needs of humans. As earth is relegated to produce and enhance vegetable production, animals too are reduced to the role of “meat, egg, leather, and fur” producing machines. Apart from that, free animals are forced to endure the effects of “total confinement” which culminates only in animal’s death. In a civilized world “what counts is not animal’s feelings (let alone sufferings), but only their ability to benefit their owners” (29).

Manicardi realizes that it is high time that we must ask ourselves whether we want this widespread malaise to go on unabated or to search real happiness which lies behind

this instrumental mentality of the modern civilization. He warns us that if this destructive system is not questioned, this persecutory system will expand “progressively, unavoidably, and relentlessly” (viii). The first revolution against civilization must therefore start from within ourselves, emphasizes Manicardi. We must criticize the ideological foundations of the annihilating universe; this “unacceptable and persecutory” system must not be tolerated therefore Manicardi proposes to “de-civilize”.

Manicardi’s notion of “de-civilization” (Manicardi x) and retrieval of primitive culture to rejuvenate the tattered authenticity of human dignity (Zerzan, *FPR* x) is also consistent with the selected South Asian fiction. These selected imaginary writings express the exhaustion and ethical failure of the current age in which violence through massive dehumanization, mass soldiery and an uncontrolled demolition of nature for accumulation of wealth has reached an unprecedented scale. Being sensitive to the predicament of a civilized man, the writers selected for the project offer an alternative in the form of “de-civilization”. The selected texts propose that as human beings, our need for happiness cannot be written off easily. The happiness we, so desperately, desire is “contagious and breeds hope in others” (Zerzan, *FPR* 193). In the current pathological society of Brave New World “the process of healing will not start until the wounds inflicted by civilization are ended by embracing a radical practice of “de-civilization”. The texts present an alternative stance which can lead us towards a life which values directness, affective relations and an immediacy. In my contention, “de-civilization” culminates in “Future Primitive” which is a world modeled on the life style of Primitive people. The contours of the “future Primitive” culture are explicated in Murray Bookchin’s conception of “eco-community” which will serve as the framework for a community based upon the concept of “utmost happiness” away from the violence of divisiveness, exploitation and objectification.

#### **2.4.2 Zerzan’s “Future Primitivism”**

John Zerzan’s condemnation of civilization is grounded in anthropological evidences that suggest that prior to the emergence of civilization, violence was nonexistent in primitives. The primitives populated a world in which market logic had yet not invaded the



consciousness of people and they did not put a price tag on “land, shelter, and food” (Zerzan, *FPR 12*). This was a world where politicians and leaders did not dictate people about their lives. Taxes and laws were not yet introduced and violence did not make its appearance. The people were part of a society where everything was shared, and where polarity between richness and poverty did not exist. The life of these people was not dictated by the market principles of mass production and mass consumption. For them “happiness did not mean the accumulation of material possessions” (Zerzan, *FPR 12*). Bonding between people was based on “face-to face” interaction rather than “face-in-the-crowd” (Zerzan, *FPR 112*) sort of mass society. The life was multi-dimensional and in-depth compared to the civilized existence; our primitive ancestors enjoyed life in the most gratifying ecological and social environs.

Based on archaeological evidence, the mainstream scholarship proposes that pre-civilized people did not have acquaintance with violence, “more specifically, of organized violence” (Zerzan, *TTM 20*). They lived in “a peaceful coexistence” (Zerzan, *TTM 20*) by adopting a number of strategies, for instance, they decided to split up when their groups expanded and by promoting numerous bonding formulas. The anthropological record of pre-civilized people is enough evidence to establish that their group structures did not entertain inequality or violence of any kind. They were “neither patriarchal nor matriarchic”. They practiced sharing of the natural resources and their conception of sharing was “spontaneous and automatic” (Zerzan, *FPR 115*); they enjoyed and exercised congenital tendency of empathy for all forms of life. The empathy was the cornerstone of emotional protection in these tribal communities. In those communities the boundaries between humans and animals were fluid and permissible.

Humans’ surrender to “civilization’s tremendous pressures” (Zerzan, *FPR 112*) changed the wholeness into fragmentation. They were turned into slaves by adopting fragmenting experiences such as farming; the people were divided into political subjects, and wage laborers. The primitives lived in a state of “natural anarchy” (Zerzan, *TTM 53*) which they maintained for a long period of time. But then humanity succumbed to civilization and its disintegrating logic. Civilization is a kind of society that emerged a few “thousand years ago” and pertains to some interrelated characteristics like

objectification and exploitation of human and non-human life and increasingly large-scale production. Zerzan defines the determining features of civilization as:

Continually intensifying division of labour and specialization and an emerging class structure; increasingly sophisticated technical means of production: urbanization and a demand for luxuries, especially among the wealthy, powerful classes; complex trade and the expansion of territory; a professional military; and centralized political and religious authority which oversees an administrative bureaucracy, directs the military, and controls the population. (Zerzan, *FPR xi*)

Zerzan allocates the emergence of civilization in the “division of labour”. For him plumbing the origin of civilization without critically examining “division of labour” or specialization is pretty impossible. The uttermost division of people along classes in a civilized world owes a great deal to the “division of labour” (Zerzan, *FPR xii*) which proved a grotesquely unseasonable bend for humanity. The “division of labour” paved the way for social inequality in human societies. The primitive tribes lived in an environment pervaded by wholeness; with the progress of the civilization, division of labour became a necessity and deprived the people of unity and integrity and led to “imbalance and conflict” (Zerzan, *TTM 49*). As long as they resisted the assault of civilization, the life remained healthy and free; humans succumbed to civilization “only recently” (Zerzan, *TTM 49*) and consequently landed into a state of perpetual violence. With advancement in civilization production-process moved ahead, which required more efficiency and more expatiate system of “specialization”. The “advanced societies” and their compulsory division of people in accordance with “specialization” propelled this trajectory of moving away from equality towards the extremity of violence. And this formerly gradual and unnoticed and later the speedy development of specialization became the cornerstone for civilization (Zerzan, *TTM 53*). As a result of this pecking order, the world was transformed from the place of fascination and wholeness to “a landscape of emptiness, grief, stress, boredom and anxiety” (Zerzan, *TTM 60*). Civilization is the system of control and manipulation which operates multi-dimensionally by constricting and classifying people into specified roles based on “expertise” (Zerzan, *FPR 97*).

The progress of civilization has inflicted another wound on humanity. It has estranged humans not only from other life, but also from our own experiences. Estranged

from our own affective responses and direct experience, we are “processed, standardized, labeled, and subjected to hierarchical control” (Zerzan, *FPR* 43). The alienation from direct experience is further aggravated by technological invasion. The ascendant technology heightens our misery by trapping us in an “iron cage” called “technological development”.

Civilization took humanity away from the natural status towards the establishment of nation-states which depended upon cities as manipulating and controlling nucleus of power. The powerful cities that emerged as capitals became “the locus of political power” (Zerzan, *TTM* 43). To populate these cities, the peasants were yoked to a new form of “bondage and suffering” (Zerzan, *TTM* 43). This new kind of drudgery and toxicity with the rise in urbanization severed all physical contact of people with the Earth. With new heights of civilization achieved, urbanism gave rise to more dystopian and drearier literature. These centers of power propagate satisfaction based on consumerism and inorganic sources of satisfaction which make these places full of “gaieties and pleasures”, but in these cities a majority of inhabitants “die of grief” (Zerzan, *TTM* 43). Severed from the communal bonds, surrounded by strangers imported from diverse places, these urban centers give rise to “fear, revulsion and horror” (Zerzan, *TTM* 43-4). Apart from desolation, dependence, and a myriad of emotional disruption, the cities become hotbeds of contagious diseases.

For Zerzan, urbanization is an important imperative of civilization. The alienation of humans from themselves and nature can be seen clearly in the exponential growth of industrialization. Industrialization not only divides the people along “division of labour” and “specialization”, it also forces the people towards a “megapolis” signifying “urban habitat”. The megapolis interjects itself between humans and ecosphere. By further heightening the barrier between people, megapolis makes them strangers and even hostile. Far from the organic structures of society in primitive culture, the mega-cities become cages to trap people. Lacking profundity and real satisfaction, these homogenized locales become “hothouse of consumerism fenced in by strip malls and the suburb” (Zerzan, *TTM* 44) and subject people to further degradation. Cities become the hub of further standardization and further division of labour. The citizens completely lose their sense of individuality and become the symbols of triumph of a global culture by

following same fashion and consuming the advertised products produced in big industries and displayed in malls. Under “a comprehensive surveillance gaze” (Zerzan, *TTM* 40) the people subscribe to a compulsory consumer culture. The “massification and standardization” (Zerzan, *TTM* 40) can be seen in big cities which are “McDonalized” and have resolutely but foolishly turned their backs on their own heritage.

Individuals are further dwarfed and disempowered by a growing market culture. The gigantic shopping malls and skyscrapers are the tentacles of the growing octopus of market economy, which obliterates human vision, and causes sensory deprivation. Humans trapped in these centers of power are sniped by monotonous activities trying to survive noise and inhale unavoidable pollutants (Zerzan, *TTM* 46) thus sapping all human energy and potential. This “decline in the physical presence” and “sensory deprivation” propels people towards the death of direct experience. Zerzan complains that “city is an incurable sore” (Zerzan, *TTM* 46).

The absence of communal bond with others and the aggravating social disintegration resulted in psychological disorders. In a society corroded by “the absence of community or solidarity” psychology emerges as a compensation for this dearth of bonding. Further, a landscape drained out by demoralizing work and a superficial existence ruled by consumerism depends upon a “high-tech dependency” as compensatory sources of fulfillment.

Zerzan demonstrates that civilization develops by essentially castrating the environment. At the outset of civilization, the process of plundering earth’s wealth initiated, which proves an “ill-advised separation from the flow of life” (Zerzan, *TTM* 4). In the pre-civilized state, nature gave all its riches freely, which were later on “controlled, rationed, and distributed” (Zerzan, *TTM* 4) which “opened the door to domestication of nature” (Zerzan, *FPR* 10). The harmony between man and nature was ransacked in unprecedented ways. When profit became the determining feature of civilization, the human and non-human life was further subjected to production processes. “Efficiency” and compulsory “productivity” became the mantra of a civilized existence and that made all life more ascendant and adaptive. Under the aegis of progress, civilization imposed a status of inferiority on nature and by plundering it turned “the very Earth uninhabitable”

(Zerzan, *FPR* 23). It fleeces us of a cardinal affinity with nature. By estranging us from nature, civilization implicates the loss of freedom (Zerzan, *FPR* xviii). Instead of fulfilling life, it subjects all life to erasure.

As civilization paraded ahead, it made new tools of mutilation. It threatens life also by releasing its monstrous “technological overgrowth”. The emerging technology carried the manipulation and exploitation of nature to further heights. Zerzan defines the encroaching technology as “The sum of mediations between us and the natural world and the sum of those separations mediating us from each other” (Zerzan, *FPR* 91). Technology contributes to the annihilating mission of civilization by producing “hyper-alienation”. It makes the texture and the form of domination more somber and further aggravates commodification (Zerzan, *FPR* 91).

With the growth of civilization and support of technology, an incessant demolition of nature is on rise. Large areas of the world are speedily rendered “desert wastelands” (Zerzan, *FPR* 100). The ruined nature indicates unfathomable meaninglessness and a spurious existence. The rising eco-crisis in the age of technology suggests that the rhetoric of “development” and “progress” is not purchasable. In the current fast declining world, technology does not offer any promise of regeneration; rather, it drives life towards a big grave made over the debris of humans and non-humans. Complex technologization with its congealed boredom and disguised toxicants engineer the society “sleekly away from sensuous existence and findings its current apotheosis in Virtual Reality” (Zerzan, *FPR* 106). The separation of humans from a free human existence to a technology-based world imposes poverty on humanity which is more lethal than financial (Zerzan, *FPR* xviii). The civilized man becomes the master of the earth with every passing day and constructs a “universally miserable” (Zerzan, *FPR* 143) world.

Zerzan criticizes civilization for introducing organized violence by initiating wars; the burgeoning civilization depends massively on warfare, as Zerzan writes:

War is the staple of civilization. Its mass, rationalized, chronic presence has increased as civilization has spread and deepened... Mass society finds its reflection in mass soldiery and it has been this way from early civilization. In the

age of hyper-developing technology, war is fed by new heights of dissolution and disembodiment. (Zerzan, *TTM* 19)

Zerzan locates origin of war in greed for land; war found itself needed when the shift from primitive communal set-up to private property ownership was exercised. While territoriality was part of primitive tribes, it never accounted for organized violence. Zerzan contends that with burgeoning civilization, land became the major point of contention between tribes; war started as more and more land was needed to grab the apparatus of power. The increasing competition for land gave way to systematic slaughter. Minor and usually harmless intergroup scuffles were taken over by organized murder “as domestication led to increasing competition for land” (Zerzan, *TTM* 25). With the progress of civilization, nation-states were formed which extolled “warrior-ship” to a very high pedestal and made it pivotal prerequisite of legitimate citizenship. Hence, civilizations spread riding on the back of organized, systematic warfare, became “the cause of statehood and its result” (Zerzan, *TTM* 26). Symbols were invented to trap the populace and engage in emotional labyrinth. “National flag”, “songs” and “ceremonial dances” served this purpose well. Human beings were devalued and liquidated by the institution of war and encouraged “systematic intra-species carnage” (Zerzan, *TTM* 26).

Zerzan senses that in the times of ruin, human beings are desperate for happiness, as the market is flooded with books that offer councils about “happiness”. Similarly, countless talk-shows promote endless recipes of “happiness”. Nevertheless, Zerzan is skeptic of the “happiness” sold in the market and argues that the more individuals are promised happiness, the more their unhappiness persists; the mass society bequeathed by civilization reduces the concept of happiness to mass consumption which serves to distract people from the real “happiness”. Consumer-ridden happiness becomes a gravely ill-conceived attempt to “fill emptiness” (Zerzan, *FPR* 193). Zerzan establishes that happiness levels fall with increasing accumulation of wealth; in estranging “ourselves from ourselves”, and from nature, we have become insensible to the wholeness. Life is considered “a passive object to be consumed” (Zerzan, *FPR* 193). Submerged in a mass consumer and celebrity global culture, the ruined and mutilated life forces a question:

Is happiness really possible in a time of ruin? Can we somehow flourish, have complete lives? Is joy any longer compatible with the life of today? In a time

when a deep sense of well-being has become an endangered species...and the mandatory gospel of happiness is in tatters. (Zerzan, *FPR* 192)

The realization that civilization, being an erroneous conception, is inherently unsustainable” can lead us towards a radical change (Zerzan, *FPR*). Zerzan emphasizes that humans’ recognition, that only for transitory pleasure they have compromised their health, freedom, natural sense of social solidarity and a primordial relationship with nature, can only create a space for happiness. Humans must understand that if civilization is allowed to progress in its current form and directions, humans will further be transformed into automatons, working to create an artificial environment and putting life under erasure. In the current stage of civilization, with its unbridled march, the humans will further qualify as a society of “notoriously unhappy people” (Zerzan, *FPR* 192). Zerzan pleads to leave the violent present and a chaotic future by claiming “future primitive that restores the nature of humans and the nature of the life world simultaneously” (Zerzan, *FPR* x). Manicardi and Zerzan plead for a complete obliteration of civilization, a total extermination of all its organs.

John Zerzan, like other primitivist anarchists, denigrates the modern technology on the grounds that these technologies are built to subjugate the individuals and destroy the environment; technologies are constructed to rob humanity of our essence, he contends. For him, in a world in which our experiences are “processed, standardized, labeled, and subjected to hierarchical control, technology emerges as the power behind our misery and the main form of ideological domination” (*Future Primitive* 73). Although, Zerzan’s musings are provocative enough to draw readers’ attention to the multiple ways in which our lives are inextricably intertwined with our very existence and we have become increasingly reliant upon alienating and debilitating technologies; but his theorization does not answer the question about “how humankind is to survive in the world as we find it” (Marshall 687). Peter Marshall sees “apparent hypocrisies” reflected in the fact that anarcho-primitivists “mass-publish” their explorations as well as “the irony that such thinkers are “well-organized on the web” (Marshall 687), hence making full use of the technology that they want to smash. Zerzan’s anarcho-primitivist take about the rejection of technology in toto cannot be considered for critical analysis of my thesis. Although, his critique of modern-day capitalism and nationalism is valid and

provides insight about the debilitating experience of humanity as depicted in the selected fiction.

## **2.5 Reception of the Selected Fiction**

Arundhati Roy's novel *TMUH* has been analyzed from a number of perspectives. O. Alisha in her article "The Representation of Cultural Materialism" critiques India as depicted in the novel as a "hybrid regime" (224). Alisha defines "hybrid Regime" as "a governing system in which, although elections take place, but government's policies and practices are not openly shared with people by power wielders" (224). The knowledge of governmental policies is hermetically precluded from the masses; the apparatuses of power are controlled by a few people who pull the strings. The masses are deprived of "civil liberties" and have no say in the matters of the state. India, Alisha claims, emerges as "an open society"; an "illiberal democracy"; "partial democracy"; "low intensity democracy"; and "empty democracy" (Alisha 224).

Alisha lays bare the contradiction between Indian constitution and the democratic system actually practiced in the country. The constitution claims that it guarantees people's life and protect them from marginalization based upon race/color/gender/-politics/religion/ethnicity and or disability based discrimination. The constitution swears to give Indians "freedom of speech, thought, and religion". It also claims to protect people's political rights, which is tantamount to procuring justice and equality of all Indians before law. The constitution also boasts that Indians have right to look for a legal restitution, right to choose a candidate of the parliament, and right to offer themselves as representative of any group. The people according to this constitution have the liability to participate in constructing their civil society. Protection of the political rights of the individuals means that individuals are free from "violation by governments, social organization and private individuals without discrimination or repression" (225) in accordance with Indian constitution.

Alisha claims that in sheer dissociation with Indian constitution, the novel *MOUH* paints a very different scenario however (224). All the protections promised by the constitution seem to be null and void and the characters complain of being treated as sub-humans. Alisha singles out Dr. Azad's character who voices the extreme degradation and



dehumanization suffered by Indians at the hands of the government. One of the pertinent and most relevant passages has been selected by Alisa to voice Roy's discomfort with the abrogation of people's rights. Dr. Azad refers to Indians as "caged animals" fed upon "useless little pieces of hope". The Indians, from time to time, narrate their miseries which help assuage their pain. The people, Alisha contends, are barred from registering their protest anywhere other than Jantar Mantar; in other parts of India people are controlled through "Section 144 of Criminal Procedure Code" (225).

Alisha insists that flaw in this brand of democracy is that it cannot rectify people's problems. Roy's selection of a place of historical significance highlights the people's enraged complaint against the government. People from all over India gather at Jantar Mantar to record their protest against nefarious practices of the "hybrid regime" which has conveniently closed its eyes towards the usurpation of people's right to live. For Dr. Azad, India is a "Democratic Zoo" (225); in this zoo the super structural ideologies of democracy and socialism are mocked by a handful of "democratically" elected people. The "subversion of power" is the goal of the people who want to escape the exploitation and regain the power promised to them by their constitution.

Alisa points out that India as depicted in the novel is characterized as "neither free, nor not free", but as "probably free" (Alisha 224). It falls somehow between "democratic and nondemocratic regimes" (224). *MOUH* shows that India boasts of having a constitution, but the constitution is way too tenuous; the power wielders conveniently ignore citizen's liberties. The government is held by the people who toy with the constitution as they please and by tailoring the constitution they curtail the civil liberties of the people. The inadequate juridical constitutional grid is compromised to afford unlimited benefits to power wielders. The professed claim of people's power is undermined by the powerful rulers who stand above people's will. Indian constitution's claim of the inseparable constituents of socialism and justice are sabotaged by a group of people who come to power by the votes of people. Alisha gives a scathing commentary on the Indian democracy hijacked by "a bourgeoisie class" as depicted in the novel. Although, the illusionary rhetoric of people's power works to beguile the innocent, illiterate people under this "bourgeoisie democracy" (Alisha 224) but in reality formal rights are denied to people.

Alisha's reading of the novel *MOUH* offers a graphic picture where the "hybrid democracy" echoes a paradoxical situation for the citizens. The democratic illusion established in *MOUH* exists as "a fluid, non-crystallized, and often externally constrained setup" (224). The novel retrieves many episodes from the political history of India when Indian constitution was sabotaged to accommodate the politicians like Indira Gandhi in 1984 and Gujarat ka Lalla's coming to power in 2002. These and many other politicians pressurized the law enforcing agencies in their own favor. The policies and praxis of these and many other politicians mentioned in the novel clearly illustrate that India's claim of a democracy and people's supreme power is illusionary tool subject to the need of the politicians running the country. Alisha points out that Roy's novel illustrates the horrific consequences of shifting the center of power from people towards a few powerful people; this power shift has undermined the very notion of welfare of poor masses to "particular upper class and upper caste people" (Alisha 224).

The protest of the people at Jantar Mantar is their struggle to trace the abrogation of civil rights by politicians (Alisha 225); they gather at this place to have justice and equality back on the track. Their protest is against the derailed democracy and misguided socialism which both serve the interest of the privileged. The struggle of the people through this non-violent protest is an attempt to retrieve the usurped economic, political and social rights of underprivileged people. Under the so-called "democracy and socialism" the quality of human life has been severely compromised as shown through a number of characters coming from various parts of Indian geographical domain. This protest is meant to claim back the basic and indispensable need for "the continuous deepening and development" of the "socialist democracy". The people claim their right to differ, right to express themselves irrespective of their political or religious affiliation and their right to exist as "plurality" rather than a unitary set of identities. They claim to establish "socialism under proletarian statehood".

Alisha argues that the protest of low-caste people against "caste oppression" speaks volume of the failure of the state to provide equality to all its citizens. The people at Jantar Mantar voice their displeasure at differential treatment accorded to various linguistic groups and degradation of equally valuable languages. The protestors also want to put an end to the oppression done to minorities, and gendered others. The novel also

scrutinizes the property rights of the people defended by Indian constitution (Alisa 226). These rights are abrogated by elite investors who happen to be very few compared with a vast majority of people fighting for their right to own a small parcel of land.

Syed Wahaj Mohsin highlights the margins afflicting a number of characters in the novel. The article titled “Where Margins Intersect” pays tribute to the novel which enthralls the global readership with its “epic-like scope” (Mohsin 256), a wide spectrum of characters and a captivating narrative with a number of intertwining stories. Mohsin brings to light the collusion of India’s democracy with the burgeoning Right-wing political ideology. His interpretation of the novel focuses on unbearably degenerating condition of the marginalized groups of people; it also brings to light the atrocities that are rampant in Kashmir valley and the ecological perils that have been interwoven in the fabric of novel.

Mohsin comments that the corpus of Roy’s fiction and non-fiction oscillates around humanitarian cause. “Where Margins Intersect” penetrates the way in which Roy artistically sutures “the margins with the mainstream”, to furbish up the lost splendor of Indian societal structure. The article argues that margins run across every character, apart from margins running across various groups. The novel centers around a number of characters who struggle to escape “fixed” identities they are born with. Anjum (born Aftab) is a transgender; Saddam Hussain (Dayachand) is a Dalit who embraces Islam; Zainab is Anjum’s adopted daughter who later marries Saddam; and S. Tilottama chooses to leave the mainstream society of Delhi for a peripheral territoriality of a derelict graveyard. The novel does not bring about only the adult characters going through marginalization, Zainab, an abandoned baby found and sheltered by Anjum, and Miss Jebeen the second, the daughter of a Maoist comrade Miss Revathy abandoned as a protective strategy of her mother are all in need of identities. Mohsin importunes that through all these and many other characters, the writer tries to reconfigure the margins and intersect them with each other. All these marginal characters are not created to focus their divisions from others; rather, the writer focuses to cement their “bonds of solidarity” through their margins (Mohsin 264). Mohsin discovers the ways through which Roy not only connects the peripheral characters with each other, but also wrecks “borders running across individuals” to bring harmony in the novel. Anjum and Saddam, overcoming the

peripheries inside them, devote themselves wholeheartedly to the task of delivering diligent services in JGH, like many other characters who contribute their skills in an unprecedented way.

Mohsin discusses the opening of the novel with many fragmented characters depicted in a way where loose ends lend confusion to the novel; but as the compendium of narratives marches forward all the slack nods are eventually connected in an integrated whole. The widespread chaos and confusion reigning at the outset of the novel has produced an atmosphere of incertitude; but this uncertainty is won over by “utopistic” and “Edenic” “utmost happiness” as the narrative progresses. Juxtaposed with the dismal life, Roy depicts “the current dismantling of order” and architecturally constructs a ministerial apparatus to afford happiness and fulfillment to all the residents of the guest house.

Mohsin establishes in the article that Roy, by designing a “Kashmiri-English Alphabet”, employs a number of local songs, quotations, popular poems to repudiate the unchallenged literary supremacy of mainstream languages. She invents a novel technique of story-telling using colloquial expressions, every day conversation to bring into mainstream many peripheral modes of expression (Mohsin 264). Mohsin appreciates Roy for elucidating a number of problems afflicting modern India in one book; the lethal impact of burgeoning globalization on ecosystem; fast traversing globalization; the hazardous impact of escalating armament on both sides of the border; madness of conducting nuclear tests; depletion of natural resources to accommodate capitalism; Dalits and ruthless marginalization faced by them; dehumanization of transgenders; the Maoist and Kashmiri insurgency; deepening Hindu nationalism and violation of human rights are some of the prominent issues highlighted by Roy. Mohsin appreciates Roy for redefining cults and questioning the ruthless conventions through her technique of interchanging the positions of marginality and centrality. The broken and split characters narrate a “shattered story” by “slowly becoming everybody ... by slowly becoming everything” (Mohsin 269). The novel is an amalgamation of varied stories told by many characters interwoven by the writer with “literary dexterity” (269).

Manoj, S in his article “Historicizing Fiction” asserts that *MOUH* is reminiscent of India’s recent political history. Manoj places Roy in the line of writers like Raja Rao, Mulk Raj Anand, Salman Rushdie who have presented various stages of India’s history. The latest addition to this list is Roy, who is “a brilliant polemicist, public intellectual and political philosopher of contemporary India. Through tales of a few characters, Roy narrates the history of three to four decades of India’s present status. The novel paints a different picture of the present day India from the general image of India harbored in public discourse. Manoj appreciates Roy for historicizing fiction on a larger scale and in a subtle manner; her novel appears as “an extensive archival work in the recent Indian history” (113). She successfully and convincingly presents tropes from national past, skillfully embedding in it her saga of the evolution of modern India.

The recreation of India’s history is done from subaltern’s point of view; by refurbishing country’s history, the writer brings out contradictions between the ideology of the nation-state practiced in India and the actual “spirit of democracy” (113). Roy takes profound interest in untangling the challenges obscured and deliberately ignored by Indian polity. By uniting a number of stories, and structuring them around traumatic experiences, Roy refuses to buy “the popular idea of the emerging State” (113). She “hits the nation hard” and defines its future by focusing on its recent history. The geographical contours of the novel include a wide spectrum of the Indian subcontinent. Roy crafts an array of characters who had seen “the partition of India, the period of Emergency, Gujarat riots, the Kashmir unrest, and the Delhi blasts” (Manoj 114). A number of social, cultural and political events also make inroads in the novel, such as the anti-corruption campaign led by Anna Hazare; the Maoist insurgencies; the oppression of Dalits; and the advent of “Aam Aadmi Party” (Manoj 114).

Manoj emphasizes that through the character of Anjum, the novel brings to light historical events that contributed in making the present day India. Indian national history is perceived in Anjum’s “personal memory” (Manoj 115). She has two versions of the same incident retrieved from her experiences of “those horrible months” during emergency period; one version is fabricated for Zainab’s consumption which is a bit pleasant, while the other version is reserved for Anjum herself. The arduous task of remembering India’s painful history reveals “a routine bit of humiliation for Hijras”

(115). Anjum's memory is employed as a rhetorical device to hold a mirror to present truth in the Indian turmoil.

Manoj accentuates that Roy skillfully creates Anjum's character to revive Indian history of religious intolerance. Anjum's encounter with right wing organization, her experience and observation of the traumatic event of gruesome Gujarat carnage brings to lights the "unholy political agenda" of the ruling party. A "terrified Anjum" sees the insensitivity and impassivity of the Indian administration towards a religious minority. Through the trope of Anjum's memory, the novel shows blatantly that an underprivileged minority has been denied the constitutional protections by the ruling party. Anjum undergoes a nightmarish experience of seeing defenseless people "chased out, lynched and burnt by a mob" (117) under the protection of Indian administration. The incident leaves a permanent scar which cannot be erased from "Anjum's memory/ Indian history" (117). She tries to scrub all the images deeply casted on her memory by constructing an inaccessible private fort. But Anjum's failure to wipe out the horrific event from her memory makes her realize that absolving her memory of the gory details of Gujarat event is pretty unachievable.

Manoj emphasizes in his article that the stories and memories that constitute the novel construct a broader portrait of India over the past few decades. Kashmir is also a central element that elaborates for Roy the problem of human condition. Her preoccupation with Kashmir and its problems has resulted in the creation of the characters Tilo, a beautiful and rebellious woman, and Musa, a true Kashmiri in spirit and in his essential beliefs. As an advocate of Kashmiri independence, Roy presents "death as an all-pervading reality of Kashmir" (Manoj 118).

Manoj commends Roy for contributing a number of unforgettable characters in literary world like Anjum, Tilo, Musa, Saddam Hussain, Nagaraj Hariharan, Comrade Revathy and a host of other characters, their life and memories form an inalienable whole which is part of the real history of the nation in deep crisis. The historicized fiction brings forth an ideology that the only hope for the politically dispossessed people of India lies in developing an independent and self-sustaining culture outside the dominant class.

All these articles chart an exuberant critique of a beautiful novel, but none of these studies brings out a comprehensive understanding of the reasons and factors behind the violence depicted in this novel. My thesis offers a comprehensive analysis of the reasons responsible for violent treatment of the characters. Further, the current study, taking lead from Primitivist anarchism, offers an interventionist critique of the novel by proposing alternative ways leading to “utmost happiness”.

Nayomi Munoveera’s debut novel *ITM* has been received exuberantly by critics. Dr. Shruti Das in her article “Xenophobia and Ethnic Violence” emphasizes the “Othering” process in the novel. She informs that the fear of the “other” accounts for widespread violence in Munoveera’s novel. The racist politics, depicted in the novel, is determined by the fears of losing the territory, education, jobs and privileges at the hands of a minority. Foregrounding the history of the modern war-ravaged Sri Lanka, Das illuminates that Colombo, the capital city of Sri Lanka, was a peaceful and harmonious island till 1970s; after that sectarian violence erupted in Sri Lanka. The minority community of Tamil settlers is considered as intruders and pollutants, who had usurped Sinhala’s historical territoriality. The ethnic violence, abetted by the majoritarian state, is fomented by “mass murder or xenophobia” (Das 567). Aggravated sectarianism culminated in the politics of perennial revenge, persecution, deracination and massacre of both Sinhalese and Tamils. Colombo becomes the battleground initially where the decisions about social and political dimensions of the two contestant groups are taken. The cultural war between the sectarian groups occurs around the issues of religion, race, territoriality and language. The civil war in Sri Lanka miserably affects the economical architecture of the country. This novel is the “fictional evidence of the magnitude of the gruesome happenings” (Das 568) that contorts Sri Lankan Island and its peaceful environ. Das writes that this cataclysmic event gives a radically new “cultural definition” to the country and its inmates. The fiction is a graphic picture of the bipolarity emerging in Sri Lanka; Sinhalese and Tamils’ hunger for power, determine the country along bloodlines dividing the people into races.

Das’s article traces the discursive formations done by a few characters who become instrumental in stoking the fire of hatred. She discusses the character of Seeni Banda, one-legged Sinhalese fisherman, who believes in and propagates the ideology of

ethnicity to the youth of the country. Voicing the rightwing attitude, Banda induces consciousness based on hatred and inferiority in Doctor RajaSinghe's children. He politicizes the children by declaring that the Island is theirs, gifted to them by "Buddha's own hand" (571). His denunciation of Tamils' as "buggers" feeds animosity against an ethnic group that claims their rights. Seeni Banda emphasizes that if Tamils' intrusion is not precluded from Tamil's nefarious designs, they would push the Sinhala "bit by bit into the sea" (571). The very existence of Tamil in Island has imperiled the purity of Sinhala culture and tradition.

Das traces another influential character who depicts the similar "racist rejection" of Tamil ethnicity. Sylvia Sunethra, the matriarch of RanaSinghe household strongly dislikes interaction between her Sinhalese granddaughters and Tamil playmate of the girls. Her exuberant emphasis upon "difference", points at the want of "inter-ethnic dependence" of people inhabiting this geographical domain. Her attitude stridently exhibits the undertide of violence culminating in "psychological segregation and intolerance" of both groups. Xenophobia, according to Das, depends upon "scapegoating the other" based upon a fear that the native inhabitants of the Island have been denied the rights to occupy land, job and education by the intruders. A number of events in the novel show this fear at its height.

Das shows that the fear of the "Other" being cultivated on the other side of the line, is also depicted graphically by Munoveera; the Tamil secessionist and leader Velupillai Prabhakaran's growing in a violent atmosphere constitutes a militant group called LTTE. The formation of this group results in retributory violence, thus creating a cyclical structure of violence which engulfs the whole country in a diabolic grip. Das appreciates Munoveera for including both sides of the picture. He persuades Tamils that freedom from Sinhala oppression can only be affected through violence. The Tigers trained by the leader instigate the common people to fight for their beloved motherland. Both the ethnic groups succeed in fomenting a perennial war inside the boundaries of the Island. The xenophobic history of the current Island walks the readers through bloodied streets of Colombo.



T.N.K Meegaswatta's article "Violence as a Site of Women's Agency in War" questions the widespread notion of subversion of the conventional gender construction. She argues that the rising profile of trained and heavily armed women in literature has apparently challenged conventional stereotypes of women's inferiority, feebleness, innocence, fragility and victimhood, but in reality the militancy imposed upon women workers is not liberatory (28). A penetrating analysis of the women's role gives a statement that militant women as depicted in the novel are "prey, not predators". Meegaswatta argues that women's visibility in armed conflicts is interpreted by some feminist critics as "empowerment", but in reality family Tamil workers' victimization has been aggravated rather than subverted in the text. The women taken in the training camps of Tamils are being prepared as "the first line soldiers" (28) conscripted as future suicide bombers for the benefit of the self-proclaimed leaders.

A superficial glimpse of the novel displays that the female militancy has been represented to subvert the gendered roles. Saraswathi, the Tamil narrator is a rape-victim, who joins the LTTE after suffering personal tragedy. By selecting Saraswathi as first person narrator, *ITM* resorts to subversive strategies at the level of narration which indicates "empowerment in violence". However, Meegaswatta contends that the consolidation of women's stereotypical roles is done through reimagining and recreating images of "marriage, sexuality, and reproduction". These apparently "iconoclastic" symbols do not however subvert the "female subjugation", Saraswathi's conscription in LTTE resonates with aggravation of the women's victimization done in traditional patriarchal set up.

The second section of the novel opens with Saraswathi's first person account. Saraswathi, a young girl is delineated with "thick, long hair, a dancer's figure, and feminine aspirations". She emerges as "the nurturing woman of the domestic sphere" (Meegaswatta 34). Her character embodies the traditional "Four Virtues" highly exaggerated in conventional Sri Lanka society; she is presented as a modest; charming; coy and diffident girl. Although, her initiation into militancy deconstructs these four virtues of Tamil females, but this "disfiguration" does not subvert the feminine role of victimization contends Meegaswatta. The reconstructed role of Saraswathi exposes her capacity for "extreme violence" in females which is only a "revised concept of

womanhood under the patronage of the LTTE” (35). Meegaswatta contends that the “desensitization” of females to violence and death-fright does not necessarily mean females’ “self-empowerment”, but as “means to an end” as specified by the Party’s leader. The recruitment of young female workers in the Party is done on purpose, as they become “Leader’s weapon, his most perfect and precise revenge” (38). The female militants’ recruitment only broadens the concept of the “historical instrumentality with which nationalist/militant patriarchies have enlisted women” (38). Saraswathi, like other workers of LTTE is merely a working pad in the violent game.

Hence, Meegaswatha’s analysis presents that the novel evokes the image of Medusa. Medusa-image encompasses contradictory implications of women’s victimization and empowerment through violence. Medusa, ostensibly, becomes a symbol of authority and power and becomes a guardian and protector; she evokes terrible fear and becomes a destructive power to “effect impotence or castration” of male Sinhala soldiers. But the contested figuration of “feminine” in the recreated image of Saraswathi is only “de-capacitated Medusa” who is employed to build up a higher wall of domination around females. The female suicide bomber becomes an advertisement to further Leader’s plans to “contain” the “perverse femininities”.

“Bound by the Sea” (Pillai et al. 19) is an article that analyses the trauma of the exiled family of Sri Lanka. The homeland and memories of beloved homeland travel with this exiled family. One prepossessing element of the exiled multitude is the memory of the sea which surrounds the island; the sea is remembered as a binding image with its sights and sounds. Focusing upon the transnational Sri Lankan writers, the article establishes that the women authors who were forced to leave their homeland could never forget the memory of the sea. For most Sri Lankans settled abroad, the forced exile is consequent upon the ethnic conflict raging in homeland. Most Sri Lankan writers, in their literary works chose to write about exile and its impact on the exiled people are informed by the ethnic conflict and the sufferings resulting from it. These writers themselves undergoing the traumatic experiences highlight the reverberations of the horrific civil war as well as the misery of leaving their homeland. The sea becomes a “binding metaphor” (19) for their association with their homeland. One of the narrators, Yasodhara and her family’s exile is the subject of the novel. As ethnic violence shrouds their lives it causes

more terror and eventually forces them to leave their homeland. From the outset the characters are seen as enjoying the comfort and familiarity with the sea in the homeland. Yasodhara's "father-to-be" Nishan is portrayed as pinned to the sea surrounding his village. His intimacy with ocean "pulls him into its embrace" and is symptomatic of his trust as well as affection for the sea. The sea becomes the strongest character and "as a constant companion" in the memory of most displaced Sri Lankans. Visaka's memories of her homeland are bound with the fragrance of the flowers grown in the white garden, as well as the Sea. As Yasodhara revisits her childhood, she is reminded of the beach her family used to visit. The intoxication of the sight and sounds of Sea water is hard to forget.

As the family leaves for New York, Yasodhara's last image of the Island reminds her of the "horrors and exhilaration" (23) and "an ever-churning sea". The homeland becomes horrible with "creeping, fearful soldiers, and lonely lagoons" (23). For the bereaved family, escalation of civil war brings a compound of the gratifying and horrifying effigies reminding them of the horrible political reality of the country. In New York, the Island sea is replaced with a "glorified bathtub" which fails to provide "homeliness" associated with the Island sea; consequently Yasodhara and Lanka's emotional experience informs of a bereft experience when torn from their intimate companion. The aquatic space available to the displaced family in America does not provide comfort or intimacy to the exiles; the sea surrounding the States is "dark and sinister" which fails to offer companionship to young girls and their homesick family.

*ITM* is a Sri Lankan novel, which does not have a full-length analysis available; only a couple of research articles are available, which however, do not give a detailed analysis. The anarchist frame work has not been applied by any critic neither in its partial constitution, nor in its comprehensive formulation as yet. My thesis addresses this inadequacy in the existing body of critical literature available to-date.

*Trespassing* by Uzma Aslam Khan has been analyzed by Neelam Jebeen in her article "Eco-feminism and Pakistani Anglophone Literature". She subjects this novel to critical scrutiny by applying eco-feminist lens and establishes that Pakistani literary writers claim attention and appreciation at global level. Pakistani Anglophone fiction

responds to the current issues and ecological crises that have hit the globe hard. Jebeen's essay, particularly, discusses that Pakistani Anglophone fiction presents a unique "women-nature connection" (2), quite different from the woman-nature relationship projected by western mainstream eco-feminist theoretical perspective. Jebeen highlights the politics involved in western construction of "eco-feminism", for ignoring the material realities of third world women with reference to their environment. The relationship of western women to their environment is different from the eastern women's relation to their particular environment, states Jebeen. Jebeen highlights the deficiencies of "postcolonial eco-feminist theory as a literary analytical tool. Although the term is used frequently, but it relies on mainstream western eco-feminist lens to analyze a literary text written in a postcolonial context. Jebeen, instead, emphasizes that postcolonial eco-feminist perspective helps understand the woman-nature relationship in a Pakistani context in new light. She also contends that Pakistani Anglophone literature is making interventions in the mainstream eco-feminist paradigms by incorporating this new dimension in their imaginary creations.

Khan is one of those Pakistani women writers who skillfully depict a "unique women-nature relationship" (Jebeen 4) in their fiction. The women characters of her novels range from the lowest to the ultra elite economic classes of the country; they also hail from diametrically varied cultural and geographical backgrounds. The relationship of these women with nature corresponds to their varied economic, cultural and social set-ups. Khan's presentation of "ambivalent women-nature relationships" is a strong textual evidence of theoretical intervention (Jebeen 4). Khan's female characters frequently fail to exhibit caring and compassionate attitude toward their natural environment. Exposing the ambivalent relation of Pakistani female characters with nature, Jebeen highlights that female characters' relationship with their natural habitat is determined by their material conditions. The female character Dia, takes interest in the whole process of silk formation in her farm, and curiously observes the insects subjected to violent instrumental process to receive silk, on the other hand, she wonders at the stories of Chinese Empress cruel treatment of the insects to obtain silk. Likewise, Jebeen criticizes Riffat Mansoor for her duplicitous character. Riffat Mansoor, Dia's father is the owner of a factory that exploits worms for economic gain, but on the other hand she is against all those activities that are

lethal for the environment. Riffat Mansoor has serious reservations about “the toxic processes” of producing “synthetic dyes” in contrast to her preference for “organic dyes”, which in her estimation are environment friendly. Jebeen contends that despite their otherwise claims, they are motivated by “anthropocentric approach” and deem their business more important than the nature or natural environment. Their practices go contrary to the mainstream western eco-feminist assumptions of “women’s care and compassion” for nature and environment. Jebeen challenges the so-called “uncontested fact” that women’s socialization makes them best suited to provide care for the ailing and suffering bodies, but such an association consolidates their marginalized status and it does not afford them empowerment. This marginalization makes them more tenable to “personal frustrations over feelings of powerlessness” which culminates in their inertness to assume any responsibility. Jebeen interprets Dia and her mother’s relationship with nature as “an internalized patriarchal ideology” (8) that reinforces their inferiority vis-à-vis patriarchy. Dia and her mother, though hail from an empowered economic background and can operate as “strong women” who should stand up for their own and other women’s empowerment, as well as for preservation of nature and environment, fail to initiate any such endeavor. The relationship of these women with the nature cannot be explained as “internalized patriarchal oppression” (8). These so-called emancipated women seem to devote dedication to the business interest more than non-human life. Their compromise of non-human life is symptomatic of unavoidable material conditions overpowering human-nature relationships in their case. For their pecuniary strength and an awesome living standard, they are indebted to a thriving silk business; to maintain their empowered position, sacrifice of silk worms is only a little sacrifice (8) for them.

Sonia Irum in her article “Commodified relationships” offers a penetrating analysis of the profound impingement of commodity culture in Pakistani society. She brings to light those factors that play a substantial role in reifying human consciousness and reducing humans to the status of commodities. Irum contends that the material conditions presented in the novel reproduce “sociopolitical sphere”; hence, cultural manifestations cannot yield a comprehensive analysis if done in isolation from the material conditions. Khan’s fiction weaves a narrative fabric spanning over a fast emerging urban setup; this contemporary urban space produced in the armpit of Karachi

presents a horrible picture where dehumanization and brutalization of innocent individuals is materialized. Irum highlights the inhuman practices of segregating innocent individuals from their intimate setting; she criticizes the dominant culture for providing “momentary pleasures” to the people. The uprooted people become utterly unconscious of their pathological state. Intoxicated by urban material pleasures, they fail to realize that their very existence is perverted. Surrounded by a consumerist culture, bombarded with advertisement of the culture industry, they are lost in the labyrinth of a mass culture which leads only to chaos, fake identity and fragmented relations.

The character of Salaamat is used as an instrument to illustrate the decadent city life (Irum 9). Salaamat’s stay in the city exposes its ethical corruptions, and environmental pollution. Karachi, as seen through the eyes of Salaamat, is a place where morality is compromised by big players. It is pervaded by ever-new models of vehicles, a broad spectrum of guns imported from America to Russia, marketed relations and a perennial violence. Irum sees Salaamat’s journey from village to Karachi away from substantial human values to the dingy and disconsolate backstreets where smuggling breeds monstrous corruption. Irum’s analysis of Salaamat’s character lays bare the fast spreading pathological state of people embroiled in mass culture and its trap; Salaamat, who is a poor and jobless person, does not have access to luxuries that he is constantly being exposed to in the world riddled by media; this constant exposure to the world of glamour pushes him towards “escapist imagination filled with erotic fantasies” (Irum 9). He is turned into a criminal because of the heightened frustration through his exposure to the mass media. Irum emphasizes that Khan devotes two chapters of the novel to illustrate the fast deteriorating psychic condition of Salaamat. Denied of reliable human relations, he seeks solace in fantasy world spun to evade the decadent real world. Emotions are reduced to immediate gratification of carnal needs and sexual desires. The picture of Rani, modeled on the person of Dia, claims his focus and indulges him into “sexual fantasies” (Irum).

Irum’s reading of the novel sees an upsurge of digital technology which replaces fast weakening human relationships with fast strengthening “virtual bonds”. Characters as depicted in the text are consumed by media industry in the form of big TV screens or the latest models of computers and smart phones. Severed from substantial human values

and relations, the characters are alienated from each other and betrothed to dazzling materialism. The novel depicts a value system on the verge of collapse; human relations becoming irrelevant; social yarn fragile; and human consciousness morbid. Irum conducts a penetrating scrutiny of the marriage settlement being arranged between Danish and Nini. The episode exposes “socially approved commodified and materialistic relationships” of the families interacting with each other. The get-together ceremony is turned into a “conspicuous display”. Dia and her mother wear designer dresses. The exuberant display of “three gold strings” and “six gold bangles” make a clear statement about family’s opulence. The pretended opulent status of the bride’s family is meant to achieve desirable material results. The approval of the American returned groom is an achievement for which all this display is arranged. This episode makes an unavoidable statement on the entanglement of people’s “personal life, identity and their social relationships” with their material strength.

Although some work has been done on the marginalization of people in the selected fiction, but there is no substantial work on the anarchist inclination of the South Asian fiction writers, more specifically on the production of precariousness of life by civilization and its chosen tools of capitalism and nationalism. I use anarchist theoretical perspective as a vantage point to explore the corrosive relationship between life and civilization that problematizes western assumptions about civilization and call for a revision of mainstream political narratives to include an alternative perspective furnished by anarchist lens.

## **2.6 Civilization and its Discontent**

Enlightenment heralded a new debate about progress amongst philosophers. Some of the thinkers were deeply attracted to the idea of humanity’s progress from primitivism to civilization by the advent of scientific revolution; progress was exalted to the level of a “goddess” in the eighteenth century as European societies became ever richer and more technological. The conventional view was that mankind was firmly set on a positive trajectory from savagery and ignorance towards prosperity and civilization. Very few thinkers resisted this idea of humanity’s march from barbarism to civilization/enlightenment and saw civilization as a baneful phenomenon.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, an eighteenth century French philosopher, was a severe critic of civilization. His exposure to the opulent city of Paris compelled him to question the current practices of city life, which he saw invariably opposed to the country life. Rousseau's musings confirmed that the modern civilization and progress had not brought any improvement in peoples' lives; rather, civilization had cast a terribly destructive influence on the morality of human beings who had once been good. He took this insight and developed it into his most celebrated work on *the Arts and Sciences*. He argued that individuals had once been good and happy but as people had emerged from their pre-social state and join society they had become plagued by vice and sin. In this work and its twin, *the Discourse on the origins and Foundations of Inequality*, Rousseau went on to sketch what it would have been like at the beginning of history, an "idyllic" period that he called "the state of nature". Not encroached by consumerism and markets, the people more easily understood their minds and were drawn toward only essential features of a satisfied life, which according to him are- a love of family, respect for nature, an awe at the beauty of the universe, a taste for music and other entertainments. Shorn of the vices of market and capital, the state of nature was moral and was guided by spontaneous pity, empathy for others and their sufferings.

Rousseau claims that the march towards civilization had aroused in people an insalubrious form of self-love, which he calls "amour-propre" (Weber 4), which was artificial and centered on pride, jealousy, and vanity. Rousseau argues that it was the beginning of a chaos as they had begun to compare themselves to others and created their identities solely by reference to their neighbors. Civilized people did not know what they wanted and felt and merely imitated other people; they entered into a highly competitive environment where ruinous competition for status and money deprived them of their own sensations. Rousseau's insistence upon the innocence and morality of the country dwellers, in comparison with the modern decadence, earned him the fame of the creator of "the noble savage".

He was influenced by an emerging discourse about the plight of the Native Americans; this discourse painted the lives of Natives as materially simple but psychologically very rich. These communities, with small, close-knit, religious, and



playful relations, were considered egalitarian communities. However, within a few decades of their encounter with the Europeans, their simplistic social system was revolutionized. Their contact with technology and luxury of European newly-established industry caused a decadence. Indians' increasing immersion in and longing for guns, alcohol, beads, and mirrors was seen by Rousseau as an indication of their decadence from the status of "the noble savage" to that of a corrupt city-dwellers. His distrust of civilization's interference with people's contentment was confirmed by the rates of suicides and alcoholism that had skyrocketed; he saw those communities heading towards fractures and factions. The modern world had ruined the lives of people who'd once lived happily in the "state of nature" (*The Social Contract* 89), he argued. Rousseau's thesis of degeneration of an innocent person on contact with a civilized city existence is reiterated in his famous book *Emile*. *Emile*, which is considered to be an early prescriptive document on child's education, emphasizes the importance of keeping the natural nobility of a child intact, even in a city life (Weber 14). He propounded that children are born naturally good and the key to raising them is to prevent their corruption by society. His distrust of civilization made him to rely on Social Contract Theory.

Another adherent of "Social Contract Theory" was Thomas Hobbes who discussed at length one of the thorniest issues of politics. His sought to find answer to the question as to what extent should the masses patiently obey oppressive rulers, and to what extent should the people start revolutions and depose governments. Hobbes's thinking was inseparable from the atrocities wrecked on humans during the English civil war which was a vicious, divisive, costly and murderous conflict that pitted the forces of king against the Parliament. Hobbes, being a deeply peaceful and cautious man abhorred violence of all kinds.

Hobbes famous work "Leviathan" is an explication of "social contract theory". It is the most definitive, persuasive and eloquent statement legitimating compliance of the masses to the government authority in the face of chaos and unbridled bloodshed. Hobbes' exploration of the question of legitimacy of the state is in line with the general Europeans' enquiry in the seventeenth century political realm. Hobbes is not satisfied by the general reasoning assumed for absolute authority of the rulers in the name of "the

divine right of king” which he saw as legitimizing unjust rule of despots. In the age of enquiry, the logic of “the divine right of king” failed to convince many thinkers; the philosophers of eighteenth century posited that the rule ultimately lay not with the kings but with ordinary people; hence, the people should obey only those orders which do not interfere with individual’s rights.

Hobbes’s rejection of “the divine right of king” (Weber 14 )led him to subscribe to a view that granted freedom to individuals and hoped for all shackles to be broken; yet, he desisted from articulating such thoughts, and hence embraced the social contract theory for fear of possible violent consequences of such a bold venture. He had seen the beheading of the King Charles 1 and his intellectual labors were directed at making sure that such ghastly barbaric scenes would never be repeated. So, in “Leviathan” he puts forward an ingenious argument that tries to marry up “social contract theory” with the defense of total obedience and submission to traditional authority.

By taking his readers back to a period which he calls “the state of nature” he justified some kind of a government that could act as disciplining force for people’s rage. He postulated that the state of nature would not have been a pretty place; humans left to their own devices, without the central authority to keep them in awe, would quickly have “descended into squabbling, fighting and intolerable bickering” (*Sovereignty and Security* 88). Without a centralized authority, “the people in bearskin would have been bashing at other around with flint tools” (*Sovereignty and Security*). In Hobbes’s famous formulation, “life in state of nature would have been nasty, brutish and short” (*Sovereignty and Security*). He postulated that because of fear and dread of chaos, people formed a government. The government was formed willingly, but also under certain compulsions. It agreed to provide protection to the people in the face of widespread violence, but they had a subsequent duty to keep obeying the government in all circumstances. The only right, the people might have to protest about absolute ruler or “Leviathan” as Hobbes calls him was, if he directly threatened to kill them. However, if the ruler merely stifled opposition, imposed onerous taxes, crippled the economy and locked up dissidents, obeying was considered absolutely necessary according to the social contract theory. As Hobbes wrote, “Though of so unlimited a power men may fancy

many evil consequences, yet the consequences of the want of it, which is a perpetual war of every man against his neighbor are much worse” (*Sovereignty and Security*). He admitted that a ruler might come along with an inclination to do wicked deeds but the people would still have a duty to obey this person as: “human affairs cannot be without some inconvenience”. But this inconvenience is anyway the fault of the people, not the sovereign because Hobbes adds, “if men could rule themselves there would be no need at all of common coercive power”. Hobbes goes on to provide a cover to the absolute authority of despots by commenting, “... he that complains of the injury by his sovereign, complains of that thereof he is the author himself and therefore ought not to accuse any man but himself”. Hobbes’s theory was dark, cautious and becomes relevant when revolutions, motivated by a search for liberty, go horribly awry. He maintained in the preface to *Leviathan* that he had written the book “without any other design than to set before human eyes the mutual relationship between protection and obedience”.

The desire and search for an order, which is free of tyrannical civilization, has been a recurrent feature of Western literature. Literary artists in every age strove to present an imaginary land where people live far away from oppressive power structures. Lucian Gregory, the anarchist poet, draws convergence between anarchist position and poet’s desire for a better world:

An artist is identical with an anarchist... an artist disregard all governments, abolishes all conventions- the poet delights in disorder only. The artist, every major artist, disrupts and destroys as he creates; he is the breaker of rules, untied by obligations of gratitude or obedience, and therefore all art is per se anarchist. (Chesterton 96)

The anarchist tendency can be easily discerned in Romantics and their ever-green dream of revolution. Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s declaration ‘Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains’ (*The Social Contract* 12) became the most inspiring maxim for Romantic poets. During the Romantic period major transitions took place in society as dissatisfied intellectuals and artists protested against power centralization. In England, the Romantic poets were at the very heart of this movement; they were inspired by a desire for liberty, and denounced the exploitation of the poor. Liberation in any part of Europe urged the Romantics to articulate their engagement with the wider question of liberty. The early

Romantic poets tended to be supporters of the French Revolution, hoping that it would bring about political change. In his youth, William Wordsworth was drawn to the Republican cause in France, until he gradually became disenchanted with the Revolutionaries. Lord Byron became actively involved in the struggles for Italian nationalism and the liberation of Greece from Ottoman rule.

In the literary output of the Romantics, there was an emphasis on the importance of the individual; a conviction that people should follow emotions rather than imposed conventions and rules. They renounced the rationalism and order associated with the preceding Enlightenment era in favor of expressing authentic personal feelings of the individuals. The Romantics felt that they had a real sense of responsibility and social commitment to their fellow men: they felt it was their duty to use their poetry to inform and inspire others, and to change society. They had insisted that they were 'chosen' to guide others through the tempestuous period of change. William Blake, William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge were the first-generation Romantics, writing against a backdrop of war. Although they stressed the importance of the individual, they also advocated a commitment to mankind.

The idea of "revolution" is a significant ideal that frequently erupts in Romantic poetry. Committed to the cause of individual's freedom, William Wordsworth emphasizes the role of poetry in generating consciousness among simple country folk. Dissatisfied with the "elitism" of earlier poets, Wordsworth maintains that poetry should be democratic; it should be composed in 'the language really spoken by men' ("The Preface"). In the Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*, Wordsworth writes that he has 'taken as much pains to avoid poetic diction as others ordinarily take to produce it', trying instead to 'bring his language near to the language of men'. Poetry should use simple expression because, Poetry for him, should give a voice to the marginalized and oppressed segments of the society. Wordsworth's concern is the rural poor; the discharged soldiers; the fallen women; the insane; and the children.

William Blake expresses radical views through poetic expression. He frequently addressed social issues in his poems and expressed his concerns about the monarchy and the church. His poem '*London*' draws attention to the suffering of chimney-sweepers, soldiers and prostitutes. Blake's *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* stress the injustice

of late eighteenth century society against the abject poor. Although a devout admirer of John Milton, he is deeply critical of traditional religion. *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* includes references to Milton and *Paradise Lost* and the book ends with 'A Song of Liberty', which calls for revolt against the tyrannies of the church and the state.

The well-known revolutionary poet, P. B Shelley in this poems, seeks to effect what revolution aspires to achieve in politics- innovation, and transformation. Shelley's essay *A Defense of Poetry* eloquently declares that the poet creates humane values and imagines the forms that shape the social order; thus each mind recreates its own private universe. Elevating the status of poets, he declares that the poets "measure the circumference and sound the depths of human nature with a comprehensive and all-penetrating spirit" (Reiman 485). He declares that 'Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world' (Reiman 486). Being a rebel, he expresses his vision of change and transformation in his famous poem "Ode to the West Wind" in which he stresses the importance of regeneration, referring to Europe's reformation both socially and politically. He emphasizes his irresistible longing to see the millennium, which means for him the regeneration of human society rolling in the lap of old tradition, age-old customs and sham conventions, false prejudices, dirt, squalor, moral and spiritual inertness. He dreams of a happy and free world where human relations are guided by love and justice. He firmly believes in the ultimate overthrow of the age-long corruption and in the birth of regenerated world.

Shelley's revulsion against all oppressive rules and conventions is so obsessive that he calls upon people to rise in revolt against exploitation. The revolt, that he inspires, is against the political tyranny and the orthodox Christianity. He also shows repugnance towards wickedness, corruption, and evil which made human life miserable and unhappy. The titular "West Wind" is an embodiment of revolution that will sweep away old oppressive order of life perpetrated by orthodox institutions; it will dismantle all that is oppressive and recreate a life which is perfect and governed by beauty and love. He is optimistic that his dead thoughts will inseminate new ideas which will, therefore, bring about a revolutionary change in the social, political, and religious structures of human society. Shelley's manuscript of '*The Masque of Anarchy*', was another reaction of furious outrage against

the political order of the day. An avowedly political poem, it praises the non-violence of the Manchester protesters when faced with the aggression of the state.

The atrocities of civilization, abject condition of the poor people, their lack of freedom, and need for revolution against rapacious state, is not the preoccupation of Romantic poets only, novelists too use their imaginative power to denounce the ills of society, particularly the fruits of enlightenment manifested through technology and science. Jonathan Bate, in *Song of the Earth* (2000), believes that Nineteenth century literary works, like the novels of Jane Austen and Thomas Hardy, have related the environment to the social contexts to counterbalance the issues and problems associated with urban industrial life. English writers of the Victorian age express interest in nature and highlight the evils of industrial society. Charles Dickens, in his novels, also highlights the damages of the industrial era.

The modernist writers, according to Joshua Myers (2018), are the first to criticize the widespread anthropocentric attitude which has been dominant in both Romantic and Victorian literature. They have a more penetrating sense of eco-environmental issues, and in their works, they present a critique of modern civilization. Modernists' celebration of nature reflects their sense of duty, responsibility, and accountability for other forms of life. They criticize human avarice and profit logic of the earlier centuries as the main cause of the disruption of the earth. They were the first to predict the impending collapse of machine civilization, which they equated with sickness, by portraying a picture of the modern world as an immense panorama of decay and decadence.

David Herbert Lawrence's imagination is commendable for giving a systematic critique of modern industrial civilization. His early experience of life, in a coal miner family, determined Lawrence's imagination throughout his life. Many of his fictional stories deal with the miserable and wretched condition of miners' life which was the outcome of the modern industrialized society of England. Being one of the most prolific writers of the twentieth century, he wrote more than ten novels, many short stories, plays, poems, philosophical essays, and pieces of literary criticism. In almost all his work, he creates opposition between the idealized beauty and vitality of the natural world juxtaposed with the deleterious effects of growing industrialization and urbanization on human behaviour and relationships. In his works, one can find a critique of modern

industrial civilization. He witnessed the effect of industrialization in the form of health issues, pollution, filthiness, and poverty spreading everywhere. He believes that the modern mechanical way of life is in discord with Nature and human nature. It is dominated by rationalism and an urge for modernity leading towards a lack of sensuality, dehumanization, and alienation from nature. Lawrence depicts the problems of European society triggered by the rapid growth of the capitalist industrial world. He articulates his worries and concerns about the living environment of the people which is being threatened by the unchecked-growth of industrialization and mechanization. In *Apocalypse* (1974), he stresses the importance of destroying “our false, inorganic connections, especially those related to money, and reestablish the living organic connections with the cosmos, the sun and the earth, with mankind and nation and family” (p. 149). Similarly, in his novel, *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* (1968), one can find a longing for a place far away from modern civilization. He writes, “Ours is a tragic age, so we refuse to take it tragically. The cataclysm has happened, we are among the ruins, we start to build up new little habitats, to have new little hopes” (p.1). Lawrence believes that industrial civilization has damaged nature, suppressed human instincts and sensual potentials, and destroyed the relationship between man and nature.

Disillusioned by modern civilization, Lawrence, in his later life started his worldwide travelling which he termed as his ‘savage pilgrimage’. These global experiences broadened his imaginary horizons. His works, like typical romantics, display a sharp criticism of civilization, distrust of modernity, critique of imperialism, the celebration of nature and a sense of responsibility to the environment and the non-human world. Lawrence offers solution for this degraded state of existence of humans. He sees the redemption of the degraded modern civilization through the re-birth of humanity. Man’s return to nature and his need to restore a harmonious relationship with the cosmos and other humans are the two possible solutions that he suggests to establish a wholesome society. These writers’ urge for a just and free society is anarchist in conception, predicated, very like Kropotkin’s, a belief in natural human values and instincts unmarred by the world of science, technology and progress.

In their disgust with slavery, despotism, encroaching industrialization, usurpation of liberty of individuals, all these writers exhibit anarchist tendencies. Anarchism stands

not only for liberty, the absence of rulers and the emancipation of individuals, but also for equality and human solidarity. From very early on, anarchism has scribed on its face the ending of not only domination of man by man, but also domination of children and women by men. For anarchism is deeply distrustful of authority in any form, the authority of states, governments, bureaucracy, and the realms of knowledge. The South Asian novels being the primary literary texts for my research present a uniquely grim era involving massive social, economic, political upheaval, which inevitably drew a wealth of artistic responses mixing politics and art in multiple permutations. In the literary oeuvres of the writers, that I have selected for my project, the rage against the state and an alienated life can be read as a rediscovery of the freedom of mature brand of anarchism represented in the “social ecology” of Murray Bookchin.

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## End Notes Chapter 2

<sup>i</sup> State and its various forms: Anarchist have critiqued the state in all its forms i.e. liberal, socialist, democratic, Marxist for its aggressive and coercive policies. For further detail please see *Demanding the Impossible* by Peter Marshal pp 32-35.

<sup>ii</sup> “*Propaganda by Deed*” is a term which originated in 1877, used by Malatesta and Comrades to provoke a peasant insurrection in Benevento. However, later it came to be understood to justify “any act, legal or otherwise, from the production and distribution of underground propaganda to political violence”. For further detail please see Ruth Kinna, p 132.

<sup>iii</sup> “Political revolution” is a term used by Proudhon which means “violence” (for further detail please see Edward Abbey)

<sup>iv</sup> *War and Peace* is a novel by Leo Tolstoy. Tolstoy was so inspired by Joseph Proudhon’s anarchist ideas encapsulated in his book, that he borrowed its title from Joseph Proudhon’s book *War and Peace* which was published in 1861. For further detail please see *Demanding the Impossible* by Peter Marshal (p 236)



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Interpreting a literary text is a multifarious activity that needs objectivity. That objectivity is lent to me by a number of theorists from Anarchist theoretical perspective. The literature Review equips me with appropriate tools as far as Research methodology and Research methods are concerned. In this chapter, in accordance with the gaps found in Literature Review, I tend to chart out research framework employed to analyze selected literary pieces from South Asian fiction. Although, Anarchist theory will serve as a major theoretical perspective to study the selected texts, the intersectional nature of my dissertation claims my understanding of many perspectives to enrich the interpretative process. I have positioned and read contemporary South Asian fiction in a space where Marxism, South Asian Literary Studies and Feminism converge with Anarchism and enrich my perception. Before I discuss the framework, I feel an urge to discuss in detail the major points of inclusion in my analysis. Anarchism is the theory that is, in principle, against all kinds of hierarchies. The texts that I have selected are characterized by corporeal violence germinating from hierarchical relations between different factions; the texts are marked by divisions and the relations of domination and subordination which culminate in violence. My contention is that precarious lives are exploited and violated by civilization where one social/political/religious/gendered group encroaches upon the fundamental rights of another group. Precarious life is not considered worth living and the elite groups decide the worth and vulnerability of life.

##### **3.1.1 An Inclusive Definition of Precarious Life**

For my theoretical framework, I rely on Murray Bookchin's definition of hierarchy who challenges Marxism and believes that the actual social reality cannot be addressed by exclusive terms of class and state, as this would fall into a "dangerous simplification".

Bookchin writes:

To use the words hierarchy, class, and state interchangeably, as many theorists do, is insidious and obscurantist. This practice in the name of a 'classless' or 'libertarian' society, could easily conceal the existence of hierarchical relationships and a hierarchical sensibility, both of which-even in the absence of economic exploitation or political coercion- would serve to perpetuate unfreedom. (EOF iii)

My working definition of "precarious life" is premised around Bookchin's definition of hierarchy. As the selected fiction highlights precariousness caused to a number of marginalized segments of the society, I feel compelled to broaden the concept of domination from fixed category of economic stratification or state backed violence to the marginalization done on the basis of gender, money, age, ethnic identity and species. I include, taking lead from Bookchin, all such stratification where one group or species exercises control over other groups and subject them to corporeal violence to accrue benefits. I move beyond the restricted meaning of hierarchy from industrial workers, who do cover only a part of social reality of power relations operating in the selected fiction under scrutiny. Hence, I include in this group of "precarious lives" all those listed below:

- Industrial workers who are exploited and violated for privileged lives of economic elites i.e. bourgeoisies constitute vulnerable bodies upon whom violence is inscribed.
- Lives of people living in peripheral areas which are related to the center and belong to the socio-economic and political arrangement of the center. Because these peripheral areas are determined by the center and its socio-economic activity, these areas are threatened by the economic expansion of the center. Defined by the standards of center, these are underdeveloped regions and the inmates like small farmers, skilled workers, peasants and informal workers, indigenous population which have violently been chased away from their birth places and are faced with violence to survive in cities and urban spaces are also hapless creatures included in the definition.

- Lives trapped/ engaged in gendered binaries that take part in economic arrangement in the central regions but are treated as peripheral in cultural and political sense e.g. women working in capitalist economic arrangement.
- Ethnic/racial groups who are economically and politically dispossessed in relation to the axis of power where their lives do not matter. They serve only instrumental functions for the majority; they become lynching pads for political violence.
- Those social groups whose existence is imperiled on account of their sexual identities. This group includes women/girls who serve as serving pad for sexual assault of empowered gender. Historical category of women who have been considered nothing better than dirt and who are sexually abused in order to scribe gender ascendancy and power relations.
- Precarious lives also include those non-human lives which are considered instrumental and hence are subjected to violence of vivisection or extinction for economic and aesthetic reasons.
- Precarious lives also include transgenders who do not fit the culturally accepted gender frame for defining human, hence their lives and deaths do not cause any ripple in the cultural field around them.
- It is important to stress here, that those individuals/groups that theoretically belong to periphery, but practically are in position of establishing relations of domination over others, thus becoming new centers, subject many other lives to violence to get political goals settled.

It is also relevant to discuss here that I shall consider all such people or classes who think of the center<sup>vi</sup> as a means, and orientate their politics toward it, not as revolutionary, since all their effort is designed against capturing the center and its power configuration which leads to the creation of new centers. I concur with Simon Springer (VN) in his disdain of the center/periphery relation; I think revolutionary activity consists of a permanent struggle to abolish and rescind all such power relations. Hence my definition of precarious lives includes traditional communities, peasantry, unemployed, underemployed, homeless, indigenous communities and all other categories excluded by Marxism and Post-colonialism; I claim that this definition of precarious life is much more inclusive than these two formulations. I do not afford a highly specific role to only

industrial proletariat. The poor, proletarian workers, all oppressed categories who somehow belong to peripheral groups and are given over to violence can be potential factors in the revolutionary struggle for social transformation. My selection of anarchism is significant, as it is the only theoretical perspective that is permanently engaged with all these oppressed groups.

### **3.1.2 Precarious Life**

The endangered and violated life depicted in the selected fiction qualifies the status of precarious life defined by Judith Butler in her book *Precarious Life*. Butler's theory of precarious life is grounded in ethics and vehemently advocates to end the 'cycle of violence, the cycle of revenge and retribution' (ii) which is not a legitimate response to violence and a desperate desire for self-preservation. Butler proposes a 'reorientation of politics', based on the cognizance of our primary sociability and vulnerability exposed through violence; she addresses the question of seductive appeal and dehumanizing effect of violence. I agree with Butler that in a world where violence has established its primacy, 'becoming human' is a collective responsibility of all stake holders. She defines violence thus:

Violence is surely a touch of the worst order, the way a primary human vulnerability to other humans is exposed in its most terrifying way, a way in which we are given over, without control, to the will of another, a way in which life itself can be expunged by the willful action of another. (Butler, *PL* 29)

My contention is that vulnerability and precariousness is not homogenous across the globe and species. Although the intensity of violence could be different, yet we must acknowledge that we all are prone to violence in some degree. Our humanity must acknowledge our shared vulnerability. But unfortunately, this shared vulnerability is foreclosed and the foreclosure entails irresponsible/unethical and aggressive politics. Butler advocates the coupling of human fragility and awareness of ethical obligations to frame an ethical political stance that will protect all life. The human fragility should make us more alert to the ethical obligations particularly in the time of human or ecological crises. Taking Butler's lead, I think that the unavoidable relationality binding us to each other can help us overcome the unending violence and help construct a happy world accommodating all life on this planet. The relationality binding us to others becomes

noticeable only after we suffer the loss of someone; the loss exposes us to something oracular. Loss of people or dispossession of a community or a communal place makes the ties more determining.

The relationality binding us to all others also downplays the myth of “individual autonomy”. Life is not in control of itself and Butler exposes the life “gripped and undone by those very relations” which constitute life. This relationality “tears us from ourselves” and “binds us to others, transports us, undoes us, implicates us in lives that are not our own, irreversibly, if not fatally” (Butler, *PL* 29). I contend that a community where all of us are cognizant of our vulnerability, interdependence and relationality will lead us away from violence. Because we are situated in a world and depend upon others from the very start of our lives, and our bodies bear the imprint of this situatedness, we must not obscure our relationality with others and try to construct a world full of happiness for all. Butler’s ethically informed proposition to take responsibility for other lives’ precariousness brings us close to Anarchism’s claim of interdependence and reliance amongst all forms of life.

## **3.2 Theoretical Framework**

### **3.2.1 Collin Ward’s Perspective**

Collin Ward’s insight about organization of human society along anarchist lines is not only “extraordinarily liberating” (Goodway 316) but it has practical implications. Ward never propagates to wait for some distant future happiness to dawn upon humans; rather, he believes that in any human society alternatives to unjust and unequal power structures are always “already there, in the interstices of the dominant power structures” (Ward, *Anarchism* 31). He aligns anarchism with the informal practices through which the ostracized segments of any society survive and sustain in strictly classed societies. These informal practices serve as a model of a mutually-supported social set-up. Ward defines anarchists as:

...the people who make a social and political philosophy out of the natural and spontaneous tendency of humans to associate together for their mutual benefit. Anarchism is in fact the name given to the idea that it is possible and desirable for society to organize itself without government. (Ward, *Anarchy in Action* 19)

The motivational social imagination integral to Collin Ward's anarchist theory is conversant with "the here and now" instead of visions of some distant future; harmony in such a society "operates side by side with, and inspite of, the dominant authoritarian trends of our society.' This "life-style" anarchist perspective inaugurated by Ward succeeds in putting anarchist ideas "back into the intellectual bloodstream' (Goodway, *Anarchist Seeds beneath the Snow* 313). Collin Ward's editorship of the anarchist magazine *Anarchy* brings him out of anonymity and obscurity. He highlights the existing anarchist propensities within every society and focuses upon the 'constructive, pragmatic approach" to effect a positive change (Honeywell 137)<sup>vii</sup>. Trained as an architect, Ward explicates anarchism employing the backdrop of architecture and town planning. Ward's idealistic and constructive approach inaugurates "a pragmatic and piecemeal plan of change" (Honeywell, 137) by showing commitment to the conceptions of freedom. He delineates a "non-revolutionary picture of anarchist social change" (Honeywell 138) and installs this perspective on the mainstream ideological agenda. Subverting the widespread notions about anarchism as a violent and impractical ideology, he combines marvelously "the individualistic notion of self-help" with the "more communitarian emphasis on mutual aid" and introduces a concept of "freedom as socially responsible autonomy" (Honeywell 138). He sees anarchist tradition as germane to contemporaneous issues afflicting humanity and an approach that suits modern politics. His foundational book *Anarchy in Action* has been translated into many world languages, and is credited as "one of the most important theoretical works on anarchism" (Honeywell 137). Ward explicitly brings to light the meaning of an anarchist society as "a society which organizes itself without authority" (Ward, *AIA* 18) and that such a society has always been there "like a seed beneath the snow, buried under the weight of the state and its bureaucracies, capitalism and its waste, privilege and its injustices, nationalism and its suicidal loyalties, religious differences and their superstitious separatism" (Ward, *AIA* 18).

Ward's brand of anarchism propagates that the future relies not much on "a handful of technocrats" (Ward, *AIA* 17) dictating the people about their day-to-day needs; rather, it lies in the hands of individuals or groups, who believe and practice self-help. These individuals or groups construct their own concavity and manage their ordinary needs and find ways for satisfaction. Ward's "life-style anarchism" does not derive its significance

from its vision of a “comprehensive social change” which might be brought about in some distant future, but through people’s active engagement with social change to create “anarchist spaces, albeit provisional, within existing society” (Ward, *AIA* 20) and relishing the small changes while they last. Ward strongly believes that the objective of anarchism should be to transform society; but if it cannot be transformed in its entirety, the proponents of anarchism should create “more anarchic” space because, “the concept of a free society may be an abstraction, but that of a freer society is not” (Ward, *AIA* 20). Ward’s brand of anarchism proposes that instead of “the episodes of permanent protest” anarchists should strive for “a social vision: a working, always provisional conception” of a beautiful society.

For Ward, anarchism offers pragmatic solutions to challenges ranging across a broad array from “housing of the homeless people, education of the down-trodden, transportation for daily commuters, food, energy resources, water, and sanitary” (Ward, *Housing* 147) and many more problems concerning the daily life of people. The suturing link between the possibilities he offers for all these challenges is the way each interposition draws people towards an “integrated social vision of the Garden City” (Ward, *Arcadia* 6). Ward’s ideas about city planning are significant from an anarchist perspective. Being influenced by Ebenezer Howard’s ideas of Garden City he has written many essays. Howard’s Garden City proposes a society based a combination of industrial and agricultural produce addressing the needs of the local people. The Garden City consists of a territoriality where manufacturing units and housing schemes work conjointly; this city consists of many small cities joined together but prevented from developing a unitary urban landscape. Hence, instead of a conventional bifurcation between Town and Country, the Garden City becomes “Town-Country” inhabiting the qualities of both territories and affording the needs of people. Such an architectural arrangement, Ward imagines will be self-governing and self-catering depending least upon the centre. His vision of anarchism is modest and honors the way in which people explore satisfaction which is already present in their surroundings. Ward fetes at how people create spaces for themselves and carve them in accordance with their own needs. For housing and planning, Ward stresses the need of direct unalienable access to basic

necessities of life in order to maintain independence; only by getting direct access to the basic needs, people can be free of victimization and abuse.

Ward's vision of pedagogical approaches is also revolutionary. He is a bitter critic of the state-controlled and market-oriented educational agenda. He thinks that the community-oriented overtures to education have been severely damaged by the state and its educational preferences. Subscribing to "anti-schooling movement" (Ward, *AIA* 118) he writes against the national system of state education in England. He argues that this kind of educational system produces "submissive, apathetic, undifferentiated masses" (Ward, *AIA* 118). He asserts that such schooling will not succeed in producing "adult decision-making" (Ward, *the Child* 178) power in children. The students attending these schools will only serve as "consumers, with the powerful aid of the advertising industry" (Ward, *the Child* 178); such children will depute the power of decision-making to others at crucial moments. Ward complains that much of the facilities designed for children occlude them from decision-making which results in their being "listless and ungrateful consumers of services" supplied by others (Ward, *the Child* 181). He strives to fight the case for children to enjoy a learning environment in which they can interact with the real life-like situations and resultantly grow as "confident, creative, social and autonomous beings". The real education does not mean learning facts from books and cramming them, but it is culled from the physical and social environment, he opines. The learning experience gained inside the social and physical environment motivates children toward active engagement and participation, thus preparing the child for a sensible and responsible citizenship. Ward's insight into children's usage of their environment is gained from his book *the Child in the City*, in which he emphasizes that children, when given a free hand, creatively appropriate the spaces available to them. The "suburbia" is an "unfinished habitat" which provides plenitude of experiences and ventures for children. The children explore the secluded places close to the weeds and hillock. Happy in an open environment, children run and play, and turn "the soil smooth by feet and bicycle tires" (Ward, *the Child* 71), and hang a piece of rope round the tree branch and convert this un-trampled piece of land into an impromptu playground. Ward's self-help and "mutual-aid" solutions to the contemporary problems are significant in many ways and his insights inform my critical exploration at various points, but Ward's theory of



town planning and management is incapable of providing durable solutions to broader issues of humans' autonomy, and self-reliance in a society riddled with objectification of people at many hand. Also, his theoretical insights are ineffective for problems concerning degradation of the natural world. Ward, nowhere in the plethora of his theoretical explanations and alternatives to the current malaise of architectural problems, offers insights regarding reintegration of non-human life in the social order, which is a highly substantial part of my research.

### **3.2.2 Social Ecology**

As my thesis intends to trace the trajectory from the current violent situation to the realm of "utmost happiness", I rely on a few theoretically informed anarchist positions. Although my research relies heavily upon anarchist position particularly communed by John Zerzan , and Murray Bookchin, yet it will spill over to other anarchist theorists at time in accordance with multidimensional aspects of issues explored in primary texts.

For the critical analysis of the selected literary texts, Bookchin's theory of "Social Ecology" provides a broader theoretical framework. Bookchin is an anarchist theorist who has produced a vast body of work critiquing the current systems of oppression and domination. However, Bookchin's broader contour of systemic oppression is to be enhanced by post-colonial/ third World perspective. Vandana Shiva, Prabhat Patnaik and Abdullah Ocalan's perspectives on alternative realms are useful for profound and systematic analysis of the selected fiction. There are multiple benefits that make me go for Post-colonialism as a contributory theory. It broadens the base and scope of anarchism. It also imparts comprehensiveness to the research by infusing the theoretical perspective of those thinkers for whom oppression is a day-to-day reality.

Bookchin social ecology is a useful concept because it excavates into the historical roots of the contemporary social and ecological dislocation. He sees capitalist exploitation as a part of broader larger principle that he calls "legacy of dominance" that had made inroads in agricultural societies and continues till contemporary era. His theorization of the post-industrial malaise of the modern civilization emerges from his engagement with organic Society which refers to 'a spontaneously formed, non-coercive and egalitarian society'; an early natural pre-literate/pre-civilized society that emerged

from innate human needs for consociation, interdependence and care' (*EOF* 5). This pre-literate society constituted of relations free of hierarchy, and of humanity's relationship with nature as marked by a 'deeply embedded co-operative spirit' (*EOF* 48). He points out that human relations in organic society were marked by 'intense social solidarity internally and with the natural world' (*EOF* 44). Their outlook towards life was markedly different from the contemporary humanity; they visualised people, things, nature and their relations with each other in terms of their uniqueness rather than their "superiority" or "inferiority" (*EOF* 44). In basic structural terms, organic society is presented as existing in a fairly integrated and unified form and based on kinship ties. Complete parity, a high sense of internal unity, and an egalitarian outlook mark social relations of these people. They practiced the principle of 'the irreducible minimum' (the unalienable right of each member of the community to food, shelter and accommodation), and the 'equality of unequals' (equal treatment despite unequal abilities). This society was distinguished by virtue of its avoidance of coercion in dealing with inter-community affairs and a strong commitment to an 'ethics of complementarity' rather than one of command and obedience. Bookchin argues that despite the physical limitations, this society 'functioned unconsciously with an implicit commitment to freedom' (*EOF* 143). The "organic society" had a different attitude towards nature; Bookchin comments that 'their outlook was distinctly ecological' (*EOF* 5), since 'people in pre-literate cultures viewed themselves not as "the lords of creation ... but as part of the natural world". They did not believe in the notions of superiority or inferiority and considered themselves "neither above nature nor below it but within it' (*EOF* 5).

Bookchin situates the disintegration of the modern society in the emergence of hierarchies in the outlook of that organic society; the richly articulated 'unity in diversity' was destroyed with the incipient emergence of social hierarchies. This he terms "a legacy of domination" which emerged through the manipulation of primordial institutions and sensibilities. The hierarchical mentality became the root cause of the existing exploitation of people as well as nature by a few people. Hence, he comments that with the emergence of "the legacy of domination" the vision of social and natural diversity was altered; the organismic sensibility that celebrated different phenomena as "unity in diversity" was transformed into a "hierarchical mentality" which sees relationships between every form

of life as not only “mutually antagonistic” but also marked by relations of inferiority and superiority” (*EOF* 8)

Bookchin sets to expose this curse of domination which, since its inception, has profoundly infused virtually every aspect of human life, from social institutions to the most intimate aspects of our daily lives. He sees the slow, and gradual erosion of “the legacy of freedom” by an onslaught of capitalism in the post-war era. His engagement with post-war capitalism marks an important attempt to redraw the contours of Marxist critique. Bookchin breaks from economic reductionism of Karl Marx and stresses the significance of addressing broad forms of social domination\_including from military, cultural and political elites), as well as class struggle, in explaining the rise of modernity.

Bookchin’s social ecology explicates the development of a hierarchical structures and the penetration of this hierarchical mentality, which, according to him is “far more than a legacy”; rather, it usurps “every aspect of social life’ (*EOF* 134). In many respects though, it is the emergence of capitalism which is presented as the critical development. Bookchin posits that a hierarchical mentality generates the rhetoric of “toil, guilt, and sacrifice by the inferiors,’ while “pleasure and the indulgent gratification of virtually every caprice by their superiors”. *The Ecology of Freedom*, posits that capitalism’s sweeping power, which it gives to “economic”, makes it different from the other historical societies. In pre-capitalist societies the markets and commerce were checked by “the countervailing forces which existed to restrict such currents” (134). The disintegrating effects of capital and a desire to control it on ethical grounds has been the central theme running through Western philosophy from Aristotle to Hegel; they offered many steps to check the penetration of state and market into social life. Thus, Bookchin notes that exchange relations were numerous, including ‘gift making’, which create alliances, foster association and consolidate sociality. He highlights the starkness of the contrast between the pre-capitalist world which pays high premium on ethical relations and the modern era where exchange relations have become violent and exploitative. Challenging Marxist readings of the medieval world as a retarded ‘staging post’ that merely awaited the ‘inexorable’ rise of capitalism, Bookchin comments that the even the late Middle Ages saw the opening up of a ‘richly textured’ social context ‘of human-

scaled towns, vibrant and highly variegated neighborhoods, and closely knit villages’ (*EOF* 215). Bookchin finds an “ethical orientation’ suffused in pre-capitalist world.

Bookchin establishes that nineteenth century industrialization, created a market economy, but until the first half of the twentieth century, communal pre-capitalist tradition still pervaded the social life in the Western world. He pays importance to the emerging ideological currents defined by Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham for facilitating “a full onslaught of the market” on social fabric. Smith and Bentham legitimized “private vices as public virtues” and paved the way for an increasing encroachment of economics into the ethical domain. Bookchin posits that these trends were further facilitated by the emergence of technological innovations (*PSA* 181–6). Ultimately though, capitalism is seen as having ‘literally exploded into being’ (*PSA* 181) in Europe, most notably in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The triumph of the commodity over the gift presents “capital accumulation’ as a virtue. These economic theories present competition as “healthy”; trade, as “free”; accumulation as evidence of parsimony and egoism as evidence of a self-interest that worked like a “hidden hand” in the service of the public good’ (*PSA* 92).

The post-war era heightened these trends and caused “Social decomposition” (*PSA* 208). A major shift occurred from industrial capitalism to ‘the state, corporatist and multinational forms of our own time’ (*PSA* 181). Bookchin argues that the international consolidation and stabilisation of US and global capitalism in the post-war era, and the political management of slumps and booms coupled with the incorporation and shrinking of the proletariat in the US have further transformed the form of capitalism. He indicates towards the muting of dissent of the revolutionary working class as the burgeoning capitalism succeeded in coopting the working class. Hence, he argues that class exploitation in the West has not disappeared, but the ‘traditional class struggle ceases to have revolutionary implications’ (*PSA* 208). ‘Social decomposition’, however, is not simply understood as occurring at the level of class.

Unearthing the historical roots of “decomposition” he argues that that the most advanced sectors of post-war capitalism in the US have experienced significant transformations in their internal composition. Specifically, US capitalism is increasingly dominated by ever larger corporate and multinational entities. These developments prompted in part by Cold War military spending have re-orientated the basic economic and industrial structure of the US. Bookchin pays sufficient attention to the extent to which ‘the most striking feature of the capitalist market is its ability to unravel the previously existing “highly textured social structure”, to invade and divest earlier social forms of their complexity of human relations’ (*PSA* 228). He draws attention to the increasingly impoverished sources of social bonds, and of self which are assaulted in advanced capitalism. Hence, he comments:

The reduction of all social relationships to exchange relations literally simplifies the social world. Divested of any content but the brute relationships of buying and selling, of homogenized, mass produced objects that are created and consumed for their own sake, social form itself undergoes the attenuation of institutions based on mutual aid, solidarity, vocational affiliations, creative endeavor, even love and friendship. (*PSA* 231)

Dismissive of exchange relations that saturate a society with competition Bookchin contends:

No longer are we simply confronted with the ‘fetishization’ of commodities or the alienation of labour, but rather with the erosion of consociation as such, the reduction of people to the very isolated objects they produce and consume. Capitalism, in dissolving virtually every viable form of community association, installs the isolated ego as its nuclear social form, just as clans, families, *polis*, guilds, and neighborhoods once comprised the nuclear social forms of pre-capitalist society. (*PSA* 232)

This encroachment of social life by the capital entails into “social homogenization” which is responsible for “hollowed-out society, populated by de-socialized individuals”; he sees these individuals as adaptive to administrative intercessions and bureaucratic maneuvering, because the market ‘can never provide society with an internal life of its own’(*PSA* 232). Bureaucracy, then, does not simply provide systems of social control; they are literally ‘institutional substitutes for social form’ (*EOF* 232).

Bookchin's thesis of the emergence of hierarchy is laid responsible for destruction of ecological environment. Far ahead of his time, Bookchin's critique unearths in the early 1960s the role of advanced capitalism in creating ecological impasse. In seeking to explain the root causes of the division between nature and society, he elaborates these links not in a general fashion but rather as an historical thesis. He clarifies his argument further that the hierarchical relations between humans and nature were preceded by hierarchical relation between human and human. (*PSA 4*). He comments:

In emphasizing that human domination precedes the notion of dominating nature, I have carefully avoided the use of a slippery verb that is very much in use today: namely that the domination of nature 'involves' the domination of humans by humans. I find the use of this verb particularly repellent because it confuses the order in which domination emerged in the world and hence, the extent to which it must be eliminated if we are to achieve a free society. Men did not think of dominating nature until they had already begun to dominate the young, women and eventually each other. (*PSA 44*)

He claims persistently that capitalism relies for its survival and growth upon a continual accumulation; hence, it inevitably consumes its own "ecological base". His writings made seminal contributions to the 'early warning' literature on environmental problems (Biehl, 7). He asserts that capitalism has begun to drastically alter the entire environment and it is this process, generating multiple ecological crises that reveals the fundamental contradiction of advanced capitalism. He emphasizes:

A capitalistic society based on competition and growth for its own sake must ultimately devour the natural world, just like an untreated cancer must ultimately devour its host. Personal intentions, be they good or bad, have little to do with this unrelenting process. An economy structured around the maxim 'Grow or Die', must necessarily pit itself against the natural world. (*RS 15*)

Bookchin's complete distrust of any capitalist endeavor to save ecology runs throughout his work. He believed that the fundamental imperative of capital is 'Grow or die' which needed more space and expansion in all directions. He believes firmly that the incessant economic increase, inexhaustible urban sprawl, a permeating ideology of domination and a culture that persistently prioritizes quantity over quality, produces a socially and ecologically imbalanced society. Suggesting that capitalism, in effect, constitutes the point of "absolute negativity" for social life and ecological wellbeing, Bookchin argues:

One cannot improve this social order, reform it, or remake it on its own terms with an ecological prefix such as ‘eco-capitalism’. The only choice one has is to destroy it, for it embodies every social disease – from patriarchal values, class exploitation, and statism to avarice, militarism, and now growth for the sake of growth – that has afflicted ‘civilization’ and tainted all its great advances. (RS 94)

Bookchin’s social ecology is concerned with the broad effects of a range of socio-ecological transformations on human health. He is weary of chemical intervention in agriculture, especially through an excessive use of pesticides, insecticides and antibiotics is seen by him as a cause of many problems; this changing capitalism becomes a cause of water and air pollution. He also highlights the reckless capitalists who rely on greater production of ‘useless, shoddy and even hazardous goods designed to meet irrational needs’ (lviii). With the further growth of advanced capitalism, Bookchin’s engagement with the wholesale deterioration of ‘basic planetary cycles’ which ‘we depend on for an ecologically viable planet’ (Bookchin liii) marks his comprehensive approach to a vast number of ecological problems as emanating from humans’ intervention in nature.

Bookchin’s most read book *The Ecology of Freedom*, foregrounds various “cultural pathologies” as byproduct of humans’ ever extending greed for accumulation. He questions the take-over of the “authentic subjectivity as the self-managing active subject” by an ethos of “consumption for the sake of consumption” which is inherently a social and ecologically antagonistic. Bookchin, throughout his writing, discusses elaborately the manner in which capitalism promotes an “instrumental and highly antagonistic” view of the relation between society and nature. He argues that such a vision suggests that capitalism aims at not only incessant growth but growth at any cost which is the root cause of all ecological pathologies.

### **3.2.3 Accumulation by Dispossession of Land**

Land is a significant locus of contestation in the selected fiction. Capital’s unhindered march ahead usurps the “resource-rich” land of South Asian countries using the ploy of “development”. Postcolonial theorists (Prabhat Patnaik and Utsa Patnaik) trace the roots of this wretchedness of South Asians in colonialism and its rapacious mechanism. The “civilizing” mission and “developmental” ideology is laid bare by Utsa Patnaik who explores the reasons for rising poverty of the South Asians and finds the links between capitalism and imperialism and their nexus with colonialism. She writes by taking

historical evidences, “in order to serve its material expansion, the civilized world descended to a level of barbarism on a scale that the world had never seen before” (Utsa, 10). The civilizing mission of the first World is accountable for immiserizing large segments of its population. Elucidating the significance of tropical colonies for Northern countries, Utsa writes that the poverty of primary sector production in Northern countries, required land acquisition of tropical colonies. Fulfilling both human and animal’s dietary needs through “a frozen land” that yielded only one growing season, was pretty impossible which led to “extremely monotonous and unhealthy diet” of even the royal households two centuries back. She establishes that the high living standard in advanced countries is actually dependent upon the imports from “the richer, botanically diverse lands” of the South. Discussing in detail the asymmetrical natural, bio-diverse sources she mentions that “the reality is that if developing countries had actually been resource-poor, they would not have attracted the acquisitive greed of the emerging merchants and capitalist of today’s advanced countries” (Utsa, 18). Colonization helped Europe to “reap a bonanza by way of free imports” (18).

She stresses the centrality of land in the era of global capitalism. For the burgeoning capitalism the importance of land has increased not decreased. Patnaik puts it thus, “The peasantry of the global South is under historically unprecedented pressures today from attacks by capital not merely on its livelihood, but also on the very means of securing that livelihood, namely the land it possesses” (Utsa 12). She demystifies the myth that today’s capitalist accumulation is globally independent of reliance on peasant agriculture; on the contrary, an even more intensive international division of labor is promoted vigorously, more far-reaching than that which prevailed in the earlier era of political subjugation. The entire thrust for free trade in agriculture, has as its primary aim to re-open the lands of the global South to meet the increasing demands of the North.

Patnaik contends that the same acquisitive greed drives modern-day capitalism by using the ideology of free-trade and seeks to subordinate the use of developing country’s lands to the maintenance and further enhancement of living standards in the advanced countries. Without such access to developing countries’ lands and resources situated in that, the Northern supermarket shelves would be denuded of many objects now considered an essential, and the standard of life would plunge back to the near



medieval levels of Northern populations. The “landlocked countries of Europe” (31) miserably depended upon the rich resources of the South.

Likewise, Prabhat Patnaik situates the historical asymmetry in the productive capacity of land at the root of colonialism. He takes to task Western economists who propagated the idea of trade between West and East as “mutually beneficial”. This land appropriation accrued multiple benefits for the colonizers at the cost of South Asia’s sovereignty. He explains that it resulted in “loss out” through area diversion, which resulted in falling domestic food crops turnout hence compromising subsistence farming, which in extreme cases entailed in the worst famine of Bengal in the first half of twentieth century. Britain’s self-centered policies resulted in an exponential decline in domestic industry which is termed “deindustrialization”; the deindustrialization further aggravated unemployment conditions of the South Asians. Patnaik enlists the reasons for Britain’s expressed interest in India:

A country located in the cold temperate region of Europe that controlled a tropical region sat, in effect, over an inexhaustible gold mine. It was more lucrative than gold, for gold seams might eventually run out, but the surplus-producing and tax capacity of the peasants and artisans would not, as long as they were not entirely decimated through overexploitation” (Patnaik 143).

Through the “triangular relation” that Britain established with the colonized countries, particularly India, it achieved multiple benefits. It kept its own market open to the new industrializers, while finding a market for its own goods in the colonial economies at the expense of the local small producers.

Patnaik believes that the present-day neoliberalism is “an echo of colonialism” (277). In past the colonial masters imposed income deflation upon South Asians. The income deflation imposed by neoliberalism is “a replication of the colonial phenomenon” (277). He further writes that in the colonial period the mechanism was a mix of drain and deindustrialization- while in present times, the mechanism is through public expenditure cuts, some degree of deindustrialization in the sense of traditional activities being replaced by those under the aegis of multinational corporations, such as Walmart replacing a host of retail traders, and also winding up of institutional support system by the state that had been developed for agriculture and other petty producers like handloom

weavers adversely affecting their income” (277). Through these and many other strategies, the global finance has assumed “supreme hegemony”.

Patnaik sees the worst consequences of the present-day capitalist ventures for the local land where the exotic demands of advanced countries are prioritized. The objective of promoting “free-trade” through neoliberalism is to “bring about a further intensification of the international division of labour in agriculture, where tropical countries are increasingly pressured to produce the relatively exotic requirements of rich advanced countries’ populations. The resulting food grain deficits in developing countries, as they divert more land to export crops, are supposed to be met by their accessing global market for grains, which is dominated by USA, Canada, and European Union” (Utsa 44), whereby the West keeps on capitalize on the plight of impoverished population of South Asia. Utsa Patnaik throws light on the working mechanism of neoliberalism which is:

The imposition of deflationary cut-backs in state spending in nation-states; second, openness of developing countries in particular to trade and capital flows through dismantling trade barriers; third, the dismantling, in developing countries only, of all price support mechanisms which existed earlier for stabilizing prices for peasant producers, who constitute a large or major section of the population; and fourth, a sustained attack on peasant-owned or-occupied land in the name of development” (Utsa 9).

Patnaik’s argument foregrounds the plight of millions South Asians whose every possibility of livelihood is jeopardized by the current arrangement of “free-trade” which goes under the veneer of “development” of the poor countries.

### **3.2.4 Vandana Shiva’s Critique of Neo-liberalism**

Vandana Shiva, a postcolonial eco-feminist explicates the relation of domination and subjugation in West and South and debunks the neo-imperialist tendencies of neoliberalism. Her rejection of globalization which she considers a cornerstone of neoliberal development, reveals that she searches for a more critical, and more inclusive form of development. She rejects the current definitions of development on the grounds that the mainstream development has contributed to unsustainable practices and posits that destruction in third world countries is taking place in the name of development and progress.

Shiva identifies “corporate globalization” as a contributing factor in increasing violence of “exclusion”. With corporate culture taking roots in India a shift is experienced towards an “ownership society,” where people, land, water, and biotic world are assigned roles in a possessor-possessed relationship with individuals or corporations. Property that was once considered communal or natural, is now owned by corporations. She accuses capitalism, corporatization, unjust development and globalization for this trend. All those areas which offered ‘an unparalleled expansion of productive possibilities” were instrumentalized. Productivity was defined from the perspective of the rich and the powerful, not from that of the poor. The system that valued only material profits and the benefit to the market, and ignored the cost that poor people and nature had to pay, needs rethinking.

She debunks the “neocolonial” implications of neoliberal development. Simply put, neoliberal development acts out a neocolonial, imperialist relationship to the land and to the communities living on those lands. In colonial times, the exploitation of developing countries was direct, with governments from Western countries such as Great Britain, France, the United States and Belgium blatantly seizing resources and utilizing them to benefit their own economies. Multinational corporations run by Western elites, sometimes with the collusion of elites from developing countries who do not represent the interests of the poor, now employ new techniques to extract resources from developing countries. Multinational companies are the new East India Companies which extract goods, capital, human labor and indigenous knowledge from developing countries.

Just as in colonial times, this extraction, though presented as a benevolent, beneficial system for the colonized country, leads to economic advancement for a select, privileged section of society. However, for the majority of the colonized population, in addition to marginalized segments of the host country, these supposedly advantageous economic practices lead to further underdevelopment. This extraction is encouraged by international economic policies, which applaud the practices as trade liberalization and rational, common sense economics. However, these policies are anything but laudable from a sustainability and justice perspective, because they mimic colonial patterns of exploitation, serving as a new form of abuse of the South by the North.

Shiva argues that transnational trade has become both a reflection and a perpetuation of the unequal power structures in international economics, as well as an extension of colonialism. In most cases, it is not a practice as overt as colonialism—Western governments are not outright replacing endogenous ones, or physically rewriting countries' boundaries; nonetheless, neoliberal economic policy has had the effect of colonialism. The third world countries serve only as the sites of natural resources and cheap labor along with the ready market of their products. The post-colonies exist only for profit maximization of these corporations. She writes that Westerners export the polluting consumerist industries to the third world countries and call this “development”. Shiva notes how in fact, the exact policies that supposedly promote development are forms of neocolonialism. Shiva observes:

Throughout the Third World, women, peasants and tribals are struggling for liberation from ‘development’ just as they earlier, struggled for liberation from colonialism...Economic growth was a neo-colonialism, draining resources away from those who needed them most... Neoliberal development is just another scheme operating in the same framework. (*Staying Alive 2*)

### **3.2.5 Rudolf Rucker’s Concept of “Nationalism”**

Rudolf Rucker’s book *Nationalism and Culture* is a commendable contribution in defying the systems of slavery and domination widespread in the world under nation-states, established with the emergence of civilization. Rucker challenges the concept of “nation as an organic” concept and dissects the whole idea to locate the “universal catastrophe” in a widespread notion of “nationalism” and lays bare the hypocrisy involved in constructing “nation-states”. He stresses that because this phenomenon has not been given much consideration which accounts for its acceptability in popular imagination. Tracing the establishment of nation-states in the power-lust of warring tribes that transformed the fate of peace-loving human groups, he testifies that nation is not an “organic” emergence contrary to the sociological and historical evidences concocted by the proponents of nation-states; rather, nation is “a purely political” notion germinating from the adhesion of men to a definite state for purely “political endeavor”. Rucker defines nationalism as “the organized selfishness of privileged minorities” (189) that is used to achieve their own plans. Nationalism as an abstract concept assumes a concrete

form by using such terms as “national interest”; “national capital”; “national sphere of interest”; “national spirit”; but the fact usually glossed over is that behind all these sentimental claims, lie hidden the vested stakes of “power-loving politicians” and “money loving businessmen”. Nationalism becomes a commodious blanket to conceal their personal rapacity and their plans for political power from the sight of the world.

The fact that any man can become a member of any nation by “naturalization” (204) testifies to the reality behind these sentimental claims of “nation” as an inorganic concept. Rocker rather subverts the whole idea by positing that “national differences” do not lead to the formation of the various states; rather, it is the state that “artificially creates national differences” and puts forth to serve as “moral justification for their own existence” (204). He attributes this whole exercise to the power-lust of a few people who create nation-states which, using the trapping of “national interest” and “national honor”, impose war upon other groups of the people.

Rocker denudes the vested interest of power groups in the formation and establishment of such abstract ideas:

Modern nationalism is only will toward the state at any price and complete absorption of man in the higher ends of power... Blind belief in the magic power of a national dictatorship is to replace for man the love of home and the feeling of the spiritual culture of his time; love of fellowmen is to be crushed by the “greatness of the state” for which individuals are to serve as fodder. (182)

Rocker cannot trace any iota of love for fellowmen in nationalism, although its followers claim otherwise; he denudes the tall claims of the adherents of nationalism about love of their fellowmen. Nationalism is targeted towards the achievement of a state and denounces the citizens of the same state as “traitors to their country” if they challenge the political designs of the national dictatorship; the people cannot even refuse to endorse the plans of nationalism. Rocker sees “fascism” endemic to the blind adherence to the concept of nationalism. Modern nationalism with its blunt hostility to the freedom of individuals and its support of utmost militaristic objectives moves towards fascism which declares candidly that individuals exist for the state and not vice versa; nationalist sentiment, in the hands of fascist movement, has assumed an appallingly ossified shape of “liquidification of individuals” (189). The ulterior motive of objectification of humans

has become the clearly expressed objective of the fascist states; nationalism assumes such a powerful posture that it can usurp everything. Injustices and dehumanization borne by people are glossed over under the fluttering flag of nationalism. The individual not only “kills the sense of justice” but he overlooks injustices inflicted upon him; even, a time comes when the feeling of nationalism become so strong that dehumanization become “meritorious act if committed in the interest of a nation” (189).

“Nationalism” used as a trope by revolutionary movements is also dissected by Rucker. He warns the people that revolutionary movements also use “nationalism as a cover” to establish states and subject people to slavery which is endemic to the whole idea of nationalism. Rucker’s rejection of nationalism, even by the revolutionary movements is firmly established on the following grounds:

A people cannot be liberated by subjecting it to new and greater power and thus starting again around the vicious circle of stupidity. Every form of dependency leads inevitably to a new system of slavery-dictatorship more than any other form of government, because it forcibly suppresses every adverse judgment upon the activity of its leaders and so inhibits in advance any better understanding. (191)

Rucker deems that real freedom of human beings can be achieved only through man’s liberation from the engineered power of the state and the constrict bondage of “nationalism”.

Assessing the real purpose of “nationalism” Rucker sates that the working class has to pay the price for the privileged position of the “nation” lovers. Commenting upon the callousness of the adherents of nationalism, he asserts that they do not bother about the “alleged community of national interest”; in the states where people are reeling from hopeless despair and wretchedness, the proponents of nationalism do not content themselves with smaller share from the country’s resources. These so-called leaders snatch from those miserable creatures the remnants of any hope when their fellow nationals die of starvation. Rucker terms them “parasites” who feed mercilessly on nation’s resources to satiate their unbridled greed. The hide of the working class people is stretched to make belts for this privileged class; on the rubble of the wretched workers these self-appointed leaders construct their marvelous structures.

Rocker blames “nationalism” for starting wars to protect the interest of the privileged minority. Seduced by “nationalism”, millions of hapless people have to irrigate the battlefield with their blood; the politicians and military generals exchange “benefits from the war” (204) by selling the blood of soldiers. Rocker states:

Patriotism and nationalism are quite openly part of business. It is, therefore, quite meaningless to speak of a community of national interest; for that which the ruling class of every country has up to now defended as national interest, has never been anything but the special interest of the privileged minorities in societies secured by the exploitation and political suppression of the great masses. (204)

Rocker’s theorizing of nationalism is helpful in critiquing the role of fast-emerging fascist states and their ruthless treatment of their own citizens in one of my analytical chapters; the majoritarian states as well as revolutionary elements claiming their right to nation-states believe in exclusionary and exploitative politics and subject their opponents to genocidal erasure.

### **3.2.6 Reconstructive Vision**

Recouping the hidden “legacy of freedom” is the most hopeful and defining feature of Bookchin’s “social ecology”. His reconstructive project is based on “hope”, a social hope that “possibilities of other socio-ecological worlds” do exist. They are found in the claim that a different type of urbanism, a different type of city, a different type of ‘technics’ and a different type of politics is possible. Yet, Bookchin’s writings also find hope in the fecundity and self-organizing properties of ‘nature in the large’.

Bookchin’s reconstructive vision encapsulates the science of ecology which according to him offers a ‘reconstructive message’. He emphasizes that the ‘holistic view’ necessitates “the interrelated nature of organic processes and the manner in which this challenges tendencies towards scientific reductionism. Identified as being essentially concerned with the ‘balance of nature’ and ‘the harmonization of nature and man’ (*EOF* 82), at a critical level scientific ecology, Bookchin argues, reveals the complexity of natural processes, the extent of existing environmental damage, and the sheer hubris underlying the project of achieving ‘mastery’ over the planet.

Like other anarchists, Bookchin does delve into the principle of “natural spontaneity”. Bookchin suggests here that an ecological understanding of natural processes, allows for a high degree of spontaneity, yielding a variegated ecological situation. Bookchin claims that ecology offers firm philosophical support for “a non-hierarchical view of reality” (*EOF* 24). The ecology discloses the interdependence of all living things. Emphasizing the general importance of “symbiotic mutualism” in fostering ecosystem stability, Bookchin argues that ecology knows no ‘king of the beasts’ or ‘lowly creatures’. He associates all attempts by ethnologists to describe ecosystems in hierarchical terms or to uncover relations of domination and subordination in animal behavior as ‘anthropomorphism at its crudest’ (*EOF* 26). Bookchin posits that science of ecology, debunks the erroneous assumptions interwoven in marketplace ideology that values nature not more than a “resource dump”; based on science of ecology, Bookchin’s “social ecology” offers an alternative vision of nature as the ‘image of unity in diversity, spontaneity and complementary relationships free of all hierarchy and domination’ (*EOF* 352). Bookchin’s anarchist theory constitutes ethical principles in which only those forms of human interventions are allowed which facilitate a blooming of biotic variety, diversity and complexity and check all those interpositions that reduce ecosystems to profit accumulation. He writes:

There is no part of the world that has not been profoundly affected by human activity. ... Nearly all the non-human life forms that exist today are, like it or not, to some degree in human custody, and whether they are preserved in their life-ways depends largely on human attitudes and behavior. (*PSA* 31)

The future society envisaged by him is informed by a broader, richer ethical commitments. Specifically, there is an emphasis on prioritizing a “commitment to freedom” (*PSA* 116) over mere ‘justice’ and its concerns for the rule of equivalence. The future society based on the mode of interdependence will honor the commitment to ‘the equality of unequals’. Bookchin’s visionary society acknowledges that people are born unequal in many respects and need support and assistance from others; hence, they need to be compensated for their inequalities. The “equality of unequals” does not offer only compensatory mechanisms but a vision that articulates in care, responsibility, and a concern for all forms of life; it is committed to alleviating the sufferings, plight and difficulties by interventions.



The future society propounded by Bookchin is based on egalitarianism. Here the relations of domination and subjugation are transcended. Discouraging the celebration of material gains at the expense of natural world he argues “we need to recover our own fecundity in the world of life” (*EOF* 315). Here a balance between humanity and nature is refurbished and such a relation would articulate a ‘new appreciation of the region in which a community is located’ (*PSA* 194). The humanity’s dependence on the material world is made a ‘visible and living part’ of culture (*PSA* 134), through bringing the garden into the city. More broadly, it is argued that we should aspire to live balanced lives, lives that allow for intellectual, physical, civic, sensuous and ecological modes of being.

Bookchin rejects the faceless institutions built by bypassing the individuals; rather, he advocates the society which is reorganized around “libertarian institutions” which are in effect “peopled institutions”. These institutions are based upon “face-to-face, protoplasmic relationships” (*EOF* 336) rather than the so-called democratic relations between impersonal and face-less forces. These “face-to-face” relationships flout hierarchies. The general configuration of the ecological society acknowledges that every individual is valuable and venerable and is capable of participating directly in the formation of a society which instantaneously invalidates the hierarchies and supremacy. The participation of people in remaking their own life dissolves nation-states and the individual will enjoy personal empowerment” (*EOF* 340).

An “eco-community” rejects the objectifying and dehumanizing aspects of civilization by insuring that human and non-human life is not inherently inimical. Bookchin’s “eco-community” values nature as part of the kinship; nature is named here, rather than deified. The kinship between man and nature is written through “the blood that flows between the community and nature” (*EOF* 50). The preliterate societies had a different conception of loving nature. That relationship was “more primary” than the usage of this word in modern parlance allows. The primitives were unable to draw contradictions between human’s “aesthetic sense” and “their functional approach to the natural world”. For them natural beauty is indistinguishable from the existence of natural

life. The unification becomes part of consciousness from “the very cradle of the individual experience” (*EOF* 50).

Bookchin highlights another hallmark of these pre-developed societies; they broaden their community by extending their range of acquired relatives. This extension of community increases “the traditional kinship nexus” (*EOF* 55). The kinship architecture is consolidated by annexing people through conjugal arrangements, or ceremonial espousal of strangers as “blood relatives” (*EOF* 55). The preliterate societies based on organic principles operate without coercion and force. These societies do not cherish the concept of leadership rather they prefer “guidance” which lacks the usual accoutrements of command; the guide’s role is functional rather than political. The functioning of “eco-community” is based on the principles of “allegiance” which displaces “obedience”; “coordination” which replaces “command”; “wisdom” instead of “power”; “giving” not “acquisition”; “gifts” instead of “commodities” (*EOF* 54).

Bookchin argues that corrosive capitalist enterprises based upon profit maximization are not tolerated in eco-communities. Any system of social organization, founded upon the private ownership, saps the natural resources and barricades the communal use of these resources. The people in organic societies used to enjoy wealth available to all that made materiality irrelevant. The irrelevance of materiality inculcated disdain for accumulation of products and monetary relations. The members of these groups were cemented with each other through cooperation rather than competition. The giant assembly-line productions relegate the indigenous production process particularly the humanly-scaled agricultural proceedings are severely back lashed by agribusinesses penetrating in all parts of the globe. The eco-community refuses the mechanized systems of agribusiness (*TMBR* 150) which also work to instrumentalize and exploit people. The alternative offered by Bookchin consists of “substantive equality” and freedom. Freed from the abusive system, the eco-community provides abundance that would possibly feed all its members. The egalitarian way of organization generates “a gender-blind political culture” which burgeons if “superfluous production” and “excessive consumption” is vitiated.

“Happiness” which is consequential to a “richly ethical heritage” (*TMBR* 155) is the most desired object in the primary texts under discussion. The gradations between “mind and body, reason and sensibility, work and play, town and country, humanity and nature” (*TMBR* 155) in the primary texts are to be rescinded to claim “happiness”. The South Asian texts offer the prospects of real happiness which can only be bought by reducing the rifts and highlighting complementarity in accordance with Bookchin’s theory of “eco-community”.

### **3.2.7 Postcolonial Anarchism**

Bookchin’s prolific writings erupt from a pen that has its positionality in the Western world, and almost all his writings can be seen as “a macro and fairly general narrative” of a number of crises faced by his co-dwellers of the first world. The theoretical position offered by him needs to be understood in its geographical specificity. My own position as a South Asian scholar delving into the politics of power relations based on domination and subjugation established historically between the first and third world needs to augment Bookchin’s overlook at this point by infusing insights of postcolonial theorists, particularly Vandana Shiva and Prabhat Patnaik who unravel a historical account of power relations established in South Asian countries by using the rhetoric of “civilization”. I see the current form of capitalism riding on the back of neoliberal policies as continuation of the same old jargon used to loot and plunder the natural resources as well as labor from these countries. This form of capitalism results in an indiscriminate, completely unregulated and even wanton derangement, displacement, extreme impoverishment of the communities, but also disruption of ecological life in the South Asian countries.

While Bookchin draws attention to the causal role played by different groups in generating a general disruption of social, economic, and ecological values, what is less clearly explicated is the very different vulnerabilities that countries situated in postcolonial/South Asian context experience as a consequence of the encroachment of capitalism in its mutated form. In addition, Bookchin’s elaboration of the “social ecology” does not hint, even in passing, at the articulation of “grow or die” propensity of production/consumption relations generated by capitalism in resource-rich countries situated particularly in South Asia.

My aim, to explore the possible ways in which the altered/mutated economic/political arrangements deepening uneven development, generating perverse incentives, fostering schism and intensifying poverty in South Asia, is facilitated by Postcolonial theorist/activist Vandana Shiva. She is a close observer of the horrific impacts of “developmental ideology” on indigenous communities. Her insights and theories reflect upon global politics, development and globalization, in addition to addressing the critiques of the alternative development movement. She discusses how globalization affects the poorest: the farmers in developing countries, people living in rural areas, and the urban poor displaced from their rural birth-places. Shiva challenges the systems that perpetrate social and ecological justice. She adheres to the anarchist practice of, total non-violence, self-reliance, self-sufficiency or independence.

The vision of an alternate world offered by Vandana Shiva is called “Earth Democracy,” a philosophy that foregrounds interdependence between all inhabitants of the world- “the earth family”, what Shiva expresses as “the community of all beings supported by the earth”. The earth democracy offers a counter-capitalist vision in which:

The concern for human and nonhuman species comes together in a coherent, non-conflicting whole that provides an alternative to the worldview of corporate globalization, which gives rights only to corporations and which sees humans and other beings as exploitable raw material or disposable waste. (*Earth Democracy* 8)

Interdependence between human beings and nonhuman species, producers and consumers, is the pivotal theme in earth democracy. Shiva emphasizes that the wellbeing of one group of people or species cannot come at the cost of another group’s. Instead, true liberation from the oppression of corporate globalization occurs when different groups of people and species collaborate to affirm one another’s freedom and development. Thus, earth democracy is necessarily antithetical to globalization and neoliberal development. The vision of such a society is based on reality as:

It addresses the global in our everyday lives, our everyday realities, and creates change globally by making change locally. The changes may appear small, but they are far-reaching in impact—they are about nature’s evolution and our human potential; they are about shifting from the vicious cycles of violence in which suicidal cultures, suicidal economies, and the politics of suicide feed on each other to virtuous cycles of nonviolence in which living cultures nourish living democracies and living economies. (*Earth Democracy* 4)

For the current crises facing South Asian milieu, Shiva brings up practical points about how people who resisted consumerist and capitalist tendencies should be looked to for solutions. She argues that big corporations and servile governments will not offer any solutions. The people who are not addicted to exotic products and who do not define life as ‘shop till you drop,’ but rather define it as looking after the earth and their living community can guide us towards realm of happiness. The people who are reduced to being “disposable objects” in the dominant productive system could be relied for their “wisdom, knowledge and values, the cultures and skills that give humanity a chance for survival”. These unnoticed people can bring alternative development successes that occur every day. Shiva acknowledges:

Far away from the glare of global media, ordinary people are making history, not by organizing arms to fight a global empire, but by self-organizing their lives—their resources, their cultures, their economies—to defeat the empire by turning their backs to it, rejecting its tools and its logic, refusing its chains and its dictatorship. (*Earth Democracy* 182)

The theoretical and practical aspects of Shiva’s notion of “Earth Democracy” bring to the light the importance of resistance and citizen action. Although this task appears daunting, Shiva reminds us that the conglomeration of many crises posed by industrial capitalism in Third World countries furnishes us with the convergence of equally potent opportunities, “to create living economies, living democracies, and living cultures”. Shiva insists that Earth Democracy flourishes in the fecund soil worked by the earth, the human imagination and human action. These protests were significant because they called attention to the fact that the current international and economic world order are sources of injustice for the majority of the world’s citizens.

### **3.3 Research Methods of the Study**

Review of literature pertaining to theoretical perspectives as well as framework of research clarified the research methods best suited for my dissertation. The texts under study refer back to historic events, but their import and implication for future mode of action cannot be overestimated. The multipronged but integrated nature of issues raised in the selected fiction allows for multidimensionality and a free rambling between different research methods. As the texts under study belong to the genre of literature,

which is safely posited in cultural study, that makes me rely on textual method. My research is a qualitative analysis, is interpretive and exploratory in nature therefore, I employ textual analysis interspersed with Historiographic mode of analysis.

### **3.3.1 Textual Analysis**

The current dissertation is qualitative in nature and the research method adopted for investigation is textual analysis proposed and explicated by Catherine Belsey. Belsey's verdict of indispensability of "Textual analysis" in "cultural criticism, cultural history and cultural studies" (Griffin 157) is worth consideration. She states that all such inquiries in which the substratum of investigation is "text", this analytical method renders irrefutable services. As the text does not have unified meaning of its own accord, hence it is related and explicated through cultural and social praxis which explains textual analysis in the context of "Intertextuality". As, text relies on many other texts for its explication hence, cultural context adds to "its resonance, its layers of meaning" (Belsey, *A Future of Criticism* 47). A text is interlinked with other texts that provide context for interpretation. Textual analysis is significant from another perspective too, as "any text is the absorption and transformation" (Kristiva Qtd. in Allen 39), the text under dissection becomes clearly a "mosaic of quotations". Intertextuality generally refers allusions to other texts that develop internal relations within the texts. Intertextuality proposes that a text because of multivalent areas converging in its constitution cannot be limited to boundaries. The texts owing to their plurality lack in "clear and defined boundaries" (Allen 209) and can be read by untangling many webs of meaning involved in their making. The South Asian literary texts that serve as primary texts for my inquiry are written in a particular cultural, political and historical context, but confining them to just their place of origin would be a gross injustices. They refer back to many historical, political, cultural texts produced before them. So the method employed to study them complements their reading and interpretation process convenient.

Any reading of the literary text is not a 'pure' reading, as understanding a literary text begs an "extra-textual knowledge" (Belsey 163). As the primary texts are grounded in a particular context, I cannot rule out the significance of secondary texts for interpretation. I presume that the authors selected for research and their literary artifacts

are the outcome of a number of contributory systems and cultures. The primary text as the main focal point of inquiry in conjunction with cultural, historical and political works produced is the basic concern of my research.

The primary texts are analyzed to depict the violence done to the poor and the indigenous people of South Asian societies, as well as to present their problems with reference to a specific context. The violence done to these people is done through landlessness and exploitation. The present research accentuates that civilization is the root-cause of all the violent ills of the society. The history of people living together and enjoying communal bonds as well as abundance of resources for survival have been thrown out of their communal land in the name of development and civilization are the driving force for the development of this analysis.

Belsey addresses “a question posed by the text. Where are its sympathies? What historical differences does it present?” (Griffin 170). In portrayal of the South Asian cultures, the present research depicts the clash between civilization and happiness that is slaughtered at its altar. This historical survey depicts that the fundamental disagreement between civilization and happiness is the root-cause of all violence presented in the text. Sympathizing with the oppressed and marginalized communities of South Asian societies, these writers give an account of historical descriptions of the people’s struggle to that they exist as human beings. In order to understand the horrific practices done in the name of civilization, it is imperative to have a historical knowledge of these communities. The present research “leads outwards into...cultural and political history” (Griffin 169).

### **3.4 Conclusion**

The very anarchic nature of the primary texts where boundaries between genres are conveniently crossed, and where multidimensionality provides the crux of the primary texts, it becomes rather difficult for me to rely on “one essentialist research method” to read a particular text. As the texts selected for research provide ample evidence of a number of contributory and complementary texts, and are produced in certain cultural habitat, therefore any unitary method to unravel the texts cannot yield objective truth. Keeping in mind the shifting narratives of the primary texts I have employed both

research methods in consonance with the need of the moment. With the theoretical and methodological background stated in this chapter my analytical exploration of the primary texts commences from the next chapter.

### **End Notes Chapter 3**

vi. By center I mean the center of power e.g. the state, military, political leadership, gender elite, heterosexual norms, bourgeoisie etc.

vii. *Brave New World* is a novel by Aldous Huxley. It is a dystopian novel where scientific progress consolidates state's power over society; the novel presents a highly organized and perfectly massified society in which individuals are nothing better than automatons.



## CHAPTER 4

# VIOLENT CAPITALISM AND PRODUCTION OF PRECARIOUS LIFE

### 4.1 Introduction

Using the conceptual insights of anarchists, this chapter questions the entire permeative and sneaking arrangement called “civilization”. It intends to trace the anti-life journey of civilization’s muffling drives that proceed in the name of “development”. The chapter seeks to expose the symbiotic relationship between civilization, violence and capitalism in Uzma Aslam Khan’s *Trespassing* and Arundhati Roy’s *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*. It intends to prove that South Asian writers, in their literary output, expose the barbarity of civilization which turns the lives of minorities and indigenous people into precariousness by using the logic of capitalism. Civilization, under the garb of “development”, wages an undeclared war against the poor and ethnic minorities. For the people smeared in civilization’s ethos, these powerless people are nothing but commodities who can be objectified to augment their already amassed wealth. The chapter further intends to prove that the developmental projects, carried out in weaker countries, also produce disparity amongst rich and poor countries and subject non-human life to the violence of extinction.

Bookchin draws attention to the emergence of “legacy of domination” in the modern era; it became more than a ‘legacy’ and spread over every aspect of social life’ (*EOF* 134). The development and spread of processes of stratification and centralization

have been highlighted by Bookchin in *The Ecology of Freedom*. He gives considerable attention to the manner in which hierarchical administrative and political units increasingly usurp more communitarian social forms, patterns of civic freedom and local autonomy. Bookchin sees capitalist development as the most critical development. He argues that capitalism is distinct from other historical developments because of ‘the sweeping power it gives to economics’ and ‘the supremacy it imparts to homo economicus’ (*EOF* 134). While markets and commerce have long existed in pre-capitalist societies, countervailing forces existed to restrict such currents. With capitalism’s explosion into being’ (*EOF* 181) capital accumulation and competition became “healthy”, trade became a “free” enterprise, and accumulation became the “evidence of parsimony” and “self-interest” that worked like a “hidden hand” in the service of the public good’ (*PSA* 92). In the middle period of the twentieth century, specifically in the postwar era, capitalism transformed the society altogether and brought a huge shift in social relations. He brings attention to the increasingly impoverished sources of social bonds, and the concept of “self” under the assault of advanced capitalism. He comments:

The reduction of all social relationships to exchange relations literally simplifies the social world. Divested of any content but the brute relationships of buying and selling, of homogenized, mass produced objects that are created and consumed for their own sake, social form itself undergoes the attenuation of institutions based on mutual-aid, solidarity, vocational affiliations, creative endeavor, even love and friendship. (*TES* 231)

Bookchin maintains that a society permeated by competition ensures that:

No longer are we simply confronted with the ‘fetishization’ of commodities or the alienation of labor, but rather with the erosion of consociation as such, the reduction of people to the very isolated objects they produce and consume. Capitalism, in dissolving virtually every viable form of community association, installs the isolated ego as its nuclear social form, just as clans, families, polis, guilds, and neighborhoods once comprised the nuclear social forms of pre-capitalist society. (*TES* 232)

Following Bookchin’s lead, Manicardi sees the encroachment of capitalism as “abomination of domination” (2). This conquering mentality of the civilized world has turned people, nature and relationships into objects that can be used and consumed. Motivated by a profit-mentality, a civilized world perceives people and relationships as

commodities for sale. He criticizes “development” which smacks of its blindness towards a heavy bulk of life preyed upon by civilization through its profit-oriented tentacles spread across the globe. The “happiness”, based upon economic prosperity brought by an industrialized civilization, bears fruits only for a few people who possess capital. Civilization only imposes the relational alienation and commodification that millions of people are imprisoned into. Commodification of the world and consumerist outlook; a celebration of absolute utilitarian and profit oriented mentality, are multi-pronged consequences of civilization. Manicardi writes:

In a world transformed into a market, men and women have to be turned into objects, to be used as tools in order to achieve goals. Therefore every living feature is converted into a reserve: land, animals, plants, minerals, energies, men, women... In a civilized world, everything is exploitable, manageable, maneuverable, and consumable. (6)

The process of civilization does not spare even nature; to earn profit, nature is considered “a passive wasteland subject to human control”. Civilization’s pathological urge toward omnipotence has turned the whole planet into “exploitable object”. Humans are not the only beings tormented by the illusionary happiness propagated by civilization, the whole “planet is groaning under its exploitative approach”. Growing numbers of ecological problems make the earth an uninhabitable place.

## **4.2 Accumulation of Profit through Dispossession**

Anarchists believe that civilization has made the accumulation of capital the paramount goal. It makes people believe that “happiness” is premised around accumulating profit by extorting the labour of the dispossessed. To accumulate profit, the capitalist indulges in a wide range of processes such as appropriation and privatization of the natural resources. The process of land appropriation and privatization cannot occur without resorting to violence against the precarious lives if they do not cooperate with the system. Noam Chomsky comments in this regard:

As long as the power remains privately concentrated, everybody has to be committed to one overriding goal: and that is to make sure that the rich folk are happy- because unless they are, nobody else is going to get anything. (Chomsky, *Understanding Power* 16)

In both the selected novels the states, under the pressure of big businesses, have embraced neoliberal socioeconomic policy, which ensures maximum profit to multinational businesses but the poor of both countries face all the exploitative features of capitalism. Displacement of peasant and fishing population and the formation of “landless proletarians” (Harvey 149) have accelerated since the states embraced neoliberal policies. In the countries depicted in both the novels, natural resources like land and water have been handed over to private companies and brought within the capitalist logic.

David Harvey’s theoretical insights regarding “accumulation by dispossession” (149) explain the causes for displacement of people. The selected fiction exposes the primary components of “accumulation by dispossession” in its entirety. Poor peasants and fishing tribes are evicted from their communal land; the eviction is followed by “the conversion of common property rights into exclusive property rights, the suppression of alternative and indigenous forms of production and consumption, the commodification of labour and the appropriation of natural resources” (Harvey 149). Poor and indigenous people are exposed to precariousness via state apparatuses. Majority of the characters live their daily lives without state protection and mostly, the violence is enacted through state apparatuses. An inescapable feature of character’s life is incessant fear that they can be identified as dissenters and sent to prisons and subjected to notorious interrogation and torture centers at any moment.

*Trespassing* is a novel by a Pakistani writer Uzma Aslam Khan. The novel presents “horrifying covert and overt violence... set against a city that is in ceaseless movement” (Bhattacharji). The plot is woven around a savage episode of “land grabbing” (Springer, VN 3) which takes place by forcefully evicting the fishing tribes from the coastal villages of Sindh<sup>viii</sup>. “Accumulation by dispossession” is achieved under international charge in Karachi; the forced evacuations are symptomatic of country’s embrace of “neo-liberalization” and accompanying violence. Under the benevolent gaze of the state, the water has been handed over to the private investors. Vandana Shiva (*Water Wars* 10) explains that after the penetration of neoliberal policies, the priorities in development become mismanaged. The greed of Western corporations to pursue projects, where they can make money, trumps people’s actual needs. Shiva believes that water is

not something that governments or private industries own. The corporations claim revenues and administration rights. However, the technologies that they put in place to extract resources, are impositions on the local communities. In fact, these technologies often displace local communities while, literally, sucking their resources dry. Additionally, due to its privatization, water has become an instrument of political and economic gain. Shiva posits, "... with the advent of globalization, however, community control of water is being eroded and private exploitation of water is taking hold" (Shiva, *Water Wars* 12).

The protagonist Salaamat and his family are among the evictees who undergo a miserable journey from communal ways of life to "commodified labour". Salaamat's personal narrative is interwoven with the collective narrative of a whole coastal tribe's destitute condition. The novel exposes social and environmental injustice that creates a gulf not only between human and non-human life but also between first and third worldians. During his long walks along the beach Salaamat notices the "crumbling walls that comprise the village" (Khan 123) of coastal Sind. The progression of destruction of the village juxtaposed with expanding "industrial complex" adds to Salaamat's desolation. Patnaik calls this accumulation/appropriation as "accumulation through encroachment" (289). The construction of "industrial complex" is explained by Patnaik that "on top of all this, the pressure for land acquisition to meet various demands of the bourgeoisie and the upper middle class, such as housing, real estate, infrastructure, which is often camouflaged as land requirement for real estate purposes, and industrialization, leads to the dispossession of vulnerable segments of society and the diversion of area for uses other than sustenance like fishing or agriculture.

*Trespassing* is a blatant statement against "slow violence" (Pirzada 98) done to the Sindhis. Fishing had been an ancestral vocation for them but now their life styles as well as livelihood have been destroyed because of foreign investors. Appropriation of the coastal land spells an unavoidable round of famine and death for millions of people who depend upon sea for their food and other needs. For these evictees, the skill they learnt over centuries is "unmarketable in the labour market" (Baillargeon 265) which is not able to and thus, not afford the owners any entitlement to food. Khan questions the moral grounds, on which property rights to foreign investors are granted, in times when the

outcome could be as severe as famine. The reason for this massive enforced displacement is explained by Patnaik who establishes that opening economies to global financial flows entails a change in the relative weight of the nation-states and the now-globalized finance capital. To prevent finance from flowing out en-masse, the state has to be careful not to upset the “confidence of the investors”, which means servitude and compromise of state sovereignty and its population. Patnaik writes in this regard:

In a neoliberal order, the state intervenes almost exclusively at the behest of such globalized capital. Instead of appearing to stand above classes and playing the role of a detached and benevolent umpire, which the bourgeoisie state traditionally tried to do, it now intervenes in the interests of globalized capital in general and its local counterpart, the domestic corporate-financial oligarchy, under the pretense that the interests of this oligarchy is coterminous with the interests of the nation. (284)

The miserable status of the fishing tribes speaks volumes of the state’s abandoning protective shield for the indigenous population under the pressures from foreign investors to adopt privatization. The villagers are disturbed because “the foreign trawlers have stolen their sea” (Khan 2) and fishing community’s chances of survival are minimized because “fish are being extinct even in deep sea” (Khan 2). The villagers are distressed by “immense conical nets” (Khan 122) that reach deep down in the sea and absorb all that their locally-made nets cannot have. The villagers’ boats are too small and obsolete and cannot compete with foreigners’ bigger and better equipped boats. Salaamat recalls an old uncle who risked his life for his search of fish in the deep sea; the uncle’s death incites mourning for the family but it leaves them a lesson that they need to break with the tradition. His father, more vigilant than other relatives, understands the impending danger of famine and decides to shift to the city for survival.

Sindh’s coastal region is “a profitable piece of land” for the foreign investors, but for local people the sea is inextricable part of their community. It is a place where fishing tribes live in compatibility with nature. The novel highlights communion between Salaamat and sea creatures as “the turtle watches him watch her when most defenseless” and she “knows him; all the turtles do” (Khan 1-2). Salaamat’s disturbance at the foreigners’ presence is indicative of his protective “kinship” with the living creatures sharing sea space with the villagers. Noticing the “ripe fingers ... scraping the reptile’s orifice for a gift”, Salaamat seethes with fury at callous ways of the intruder who does not

“even rob the turtle gently”. Salaamat’s attempt to protect the turtle and its progeny from intruders meets threat by blinking lights of foreigners’ huge trawlers. Intoxicated by the economic power, the foreigners do not stop here; they inflict corporal violence by dragging him through his locks over the line of the rocks curling the huts’ porch. Salaamat recalls the savage episode thus:

There is salt in his mouth. Salt and gravel. His blood and his teeth. He swoons, but instead of their blows, he hears shells split. The men are pelting him with the eggs. A moan rises from the pit of his groin, up to an empty cavity below his chest, shrugging its way higher, out of his nose, his ears, and his mouth. (Khan 3)

The assault leaves Salaamat permanently impaired; his left ear transmits sound like ‘a cowry pressed to a normal ear and slowly withdrawn’. Consequently, he cannot hear any sound other than the “echo of a fading sea” (Khan 121); instead of foreigners’ blows, he “hears shells split” (Khan 3). This violent attack against the turtle and Salaamat is symptomatic of the exploitative and violent relations established between the capitalists and the indigenous communities whose life and land is threatened by the capitalists.

The “white” men “pelting him with turtles’ eggs” (Khan 3) remind Salaamat of disruption of the connectivity and integration of human and non-human life which has worked for many generations. Through the depiction of turtle’s precarious status, Khan highlights that the strong link between the indigenous population and the local environment is at a grave risk. The sea feeds, nourishes and provides all the basic necessities of life to the tribals. The indigenous people do not believe in boundaries between them and the living creatures inhabited by the sea. The establishment of “industrial complex” at the coastal area becomes the cause of the death of their motherland, animals, and plants which are destroyed by the capitalists’ devastating policies and interference.

Khan questions the construction and establishment of “the newly built complex on the coastline” (123) that has further minimized the villagers’ chances of survival. The old women, who are the sentinels of the village, have witnessed a massive shift brought by the industrial complex in a few years; these women have seen a whole history of fishing tribes being evicted from their village. They are disturbed because their sons are dispossessed of the source of sustenance as the villagers cannot compete with

technologically empowered foreign investors. These women report that a few stubborn fishermen are not disquieted by the foreigners and still strive, though in vain, to compete with them.

Although Khan is conspicuous for “her portrayal of strong women across Pakistan’s class and ethnic spectrum” (Mansoor) and her female characters are known for displaying “a strong autonomous sense of self” (Mansoor); yet, apart from highlighting a strident intersection between social oppression and environmental degradation, *Trespassing* exposes the adverse effects of the foreign encroachment on the lives of the indigenous women. The women of the fishing tribes are the worst sufferers of the inhuman system; for the foreign investors, women are contemptible creatures exploitable for material gains. Almost all the native Sindhi women are the victims of this inhuman system; the economic and social disruption has jeopardized their status. Women are “put under increasing socio-economic pressures due to the termination of their husband’s livelihood” (Pirzada 105). The novel depicts a few marriages, but the stressed partners show no respect or love for each other; trust and companionship are sapped off their lives. Salaamat’s mother works in a “shrimp-peeling factory” established by the foreigners at the coast. Her long working hours and “punctured, obnoxious hands are pushed away” (Khan 124) by her frustrated husband. The stories of exploitation of many other women, are sprinkled and splashed in Salaamat’s ear even in the hissing surf. Salaamat’s village illustrates the case where historically, in capitalist dispensation, foreign goods were absorbed at the expense of displacing local producers, small artisans, spinners and weavers, whereas the metropolis practiced protection against colonial manufacturers. He listens to a poor village woman, Farya, who complains frequently about her hand-woven cotton nets replaced by big nylon-nets spread by the foreign trawlers. Farya, frustrated by the collapsing sources of livelihood, seeks consolation in paying derisive remarks about her daughter-in law. Salaamat also learns about his neighbor Shireen, who trades her body to meet her husband’s heroin needs, a drug “which flooded into Pakistan from the north during Pakistan’s involvement with the US-backed mujahedeen in the 1980’s” (Shamsie 409).

Khan denounces the exploitative ways of “state-capitalism-regime” (Marshall, “Anarchism and Capitalism” 274-6) in which “psycho-cultural structures” of a



community are destroyed with demolition of their economic base. *Trespassing* highlights the ways in which the oustees are alienated from each other and subjected to loneliness. After the communal village-economy is completely destroyed, droves of fishermen seek to escape the super exploitation practiced against them by the multinational “industrial complexes”. The globalization of food and agriculture are taken up by Vandana Shiva who is an advocate of “food justice”. She focuses her efforts on promoting localization of food sources and dismantling the structures. She explains why:

The globalization of food and agriculture systems, in effect, means the corporation takeover of the food chain, the erosion of food rights, the destruction of the cultural diversity of food and the biological diversity of crops, and the displacement of millions from land-based, rural livelihoods. Global free-trade and agriculture is the biggest refugee creation program in the world. (Shiva, “War Against Nature and the People” 93)

The establishment of “shrimp-peeling factory” i.e. a food-processing plant indicates the “area diversion” being the cause of mal-development in rural communities; the novel shows that food is made available to the rich consumers of the first world by compromising the rights and needs of the third world countries’ population. The meat and fish industries established by big corporations not only dispossess the indigenous population of their source of sustenance; rather, it is harmful ecologically. By grabbing fish and other seafood from the ocean with huge trawlers and other industrial fishing techniques, current production methods are endangering people’s health while also threatening the long-term stability of the land, ocean, and genetic diversity that sustains production itself.

Obliteration of sea space is an immense loss to the natives and their culture; exterminating the live-stock and the destruction of the source of sustenance puts an end to the natives’ peaceful life. The novel brings to light the irremediable despondency of Salaamat’s father who mourns this loss “in the darkness of his room, willing the current to turn back to the days of his forefathers” (Khan 123). The grandmother warns Salaamat that the current global order will not be changed as “those ships are here to stay” (Khan 123); so, he must leave for the city in order to find source of sustenance. Salaamat is isolated from his home and the natural environment; consequently, he is unable to get mental peace. Desperate and hopeless, Salaamat thinks angrily of his father who fails to

lend any help at the house. Salaamat, too, is emotionally stricken, unable to express his feelings and almost destroyed by the encroachment; he suffers psychologically because of his severance from the sea and its creatures.

*Trespassing* highlights the economic imbalances induced by hegemonic economic system and the consequent “marginalization” imposed by the city. The worsened condition of fishing community in the city is illustrated vividly by Khan. In the face of neoliberalism, the petty producers, like fishing tribes, who prefer to remain in their traditional occupations accepting lower incomes, suffer from the worsening of their living standards; but their migration to the cities in search of jobs exacerbates their situation. The non-availability of jobs implies a worsening of their living standards. Not only the fishing tribes “experience a reduction in real incomes compared to the original situation”, but this contributes in “pulling down the real wages of even the organized full-time workers ... an increase in the size of labor reserves always has this effect” (Patnaik 295). Consequently, “a congruence develops between the interests of the workers and those of the displaced petty producers”. Patnaik explains that this process of primitive accumulation directed against the displaced people, which worsens their condition, also worsens the condition of the workers in general, including even the organized workers, whose bargaining strength drops as a consequence. This phenomenon of displacement of traditional petty producers, who migrate to cities but are not absorbed into the active army of labor, results in an increase in the relative size of absolute poverty” (295).

The job market does not prove to be the optimal mechanism commended for unskilled people. Ousted from the native place, Salaamat tries to fit-in the system, but fails; appropriation of their communal space forces Salaamat to appropriate himself in the city. He has to learn new words fast; for Salaamat “sand [is] replaced by granite, mud with cement, fish with scraps of rubbery mutton” (Khan 123). The city does not smell of salt in the air but “only smoke and gasses that [make] his chest burn”. The metropolitan city is pervaded by artificial lights that “hide the moon”. He learns, after hard struggle, the ways to cross “the rivers of asphalt” without being hit by automobiles. The city makes him not merely half-deaf but half-dumb. Karachi becomes a new place for him, where gaudily designed and colored boats are replaced by buses. Khan dismantles the myth of capitalism’s inherent tendency to absorb the bulk of petty producers hence it results in a

“prolonged suffering” as is the case of Salaamat’s family. Patnaik explains that the historical evidence proves that capitalism does not have an immanent tendency to absorb the oustees. The dispossessed and pauperized petty producers in Europe many centuries back emigrated to the temperate of European settlements (Patnaik 291), and since for the people of South Asian regions such emigration possibilities do not exist, there is nothing to restrain the growth of unemployment and poverty as a consequence of primitive accumulation. Indeed, unemployment and poverty increase secularly under the neoliberal dispensation in the third world.

Khan criticizes the state policies for allowing American interference in country’s matters. The situation of indigenous Sindhi evictees is further complicated because of Afghan refugees who are poured into Peshawar daily. Salaamat knows about the cause of conflict between Hero and Handsome in a few days. He is informed that immense groups of war refugees have swarmed into borderline cities and towns of NWFP<sup>ix</sup>, “pushing some of the local residents south to Karachi” (Khan 134) that has indirectly added to the burdens of Karachi. The city subjects people to further aggravation of the social contradictions; the social fractures caused by capitalism’s insatiable lust are ossified. The bus-making industry, as depicted in the novel, prospers on the “reserved force of laborers” forcibly ousted from their natural places. Many of the immigrants offer themselves to work in the over-crowded bus-body-making industry in Karachi. Salaamat perceives that the environment in this industry is pervaded with fear and competition. The Panjabi immigrants, who had pushed Sindhis, like Salaamat, to the edges, fiercely resent being pushed out too by Pathans. Karachi presents a comical scenario consisting of a dingy sleeping cell crowded with hundreds of men; the congestion reaches an apex and consequently colossal groups step on scrawny ones and get them “mashed against the wall like mosquitoes” (Khan 134). The weaker states, unable to provide the basic resources to their citizens, ignore that many people are falling off the frame of human. Salaamat questions the state for overlooking the fundamental rights of indigenous population. He surmises that if the system is allowed to sustain, the indigenous population will perish in a few years. The state obliged to, and depending upon American aid, keeps pouring refugees from Afghanistan and violate the basic civil rights of the local community.

The novel further generates discussion about the risky undertaking opted by the people on the verge of famine. Omar Akfou situates Salaamat's trauma in "linguistic violence" (528) followed by corporeal violence. The rural-city migration is dangerous for evictees as they are further subjected to the violence of oblivion in the city. The fierce competition and already scarce resources in cities like Karachi do not offer any hope to the scourged fishing community; consequently, adding to the marginalization of devastated evictees. In the bus-making industry, Salaamat is persistently urged to go back home. Salaamat has to face "pejorative and vituperative expressions" being symptomatic of his being considered "a stigma that should be erased from society" (Akfou 528). His looks, language and eating habits are ridiculed by the inmates of the city; rejected by them, he becomes the "ajnabi, the alien" (Khan 135). Salaamat's wish of painting the bus meets with contempt and humiliation; he gets disturbed and meditates: "How dare they call [him] the outsider when it was his people who were the original inhabitants of Karachi?" (Khan 131-2). He knows that all these people who have flocked to Karachi are "mere appendages to a place that for centuries had thrived as a tranquil fishing village". Salaamat laments that the coastal villages are "pushed to the periphery" and the indigenous people's source of livelihood has been destroyed; consequently, they are compelled to work under outsiders coming from other provinces as well as other countries.

*Trespassing* brings to light the "mass exodus" consequent upon the ever expanding capitalism and its grab over land of the native people. Salaamat becomes a precedent for other family members as well as other villagers. Only after two years of his departure, he is followed by his two younger brothers, Shan and Hamid, who seek work as guards at the tombs of Makli Hills, one of the biggest "necropolises" of Pakistan. Their father Inam Gul serves as a cook in a textile mill owner's house. Severed from communal ties and divested of the sovereignty, the father of the family cannot reconcile with the city life even after many years, as his daughter laments, "... he still misses the village" (Khan 106). Dia also notices, "He talks about it often". Salaamat too cannot tolerate the unbearable city experience. During his tours with Dia and Daanish on the coast, he watches the clouds form and wonders how long it would take them to reach his old village, many kilometers down the coast. Although, he cannot visit his village for many

years, but he is informed that the foreign trawlers had been “issued legal licenses” (Khan 236). He is told by his brothers that almost “everybody from his village had left”. The novel pleads that there is a need for a reordered world in which all human and non-human lives are considered valuable and worth protection through Fateh’s character who comments on Salaamat’s discomfort as:

The Koreans took your sea, but you learned nothing. The Punjabis took your sweat, still you learned nothing. The Urdu speakers burned your bus; nothing. The Pathans took your first pay; nothing again. It’s not just land and sea they all want. They want the air we breathe. (Khan 376)

Likewise, *TMUH* provides a critique of India’s deepening neo-liberalism. Roy is critical of Indian state which compromises its ethnic minorities to “landlessness” only to accommodate big businesses. Roy notices that “a good part or most part of construction in every city and town in India is either illegal or quasi-illegal” (Roy, Aljazeera). She laments that localities constructed by poor people over many years are bulldozed with the approval of the state. Roy gives a list of all participants of this ramshackle condition:

There’s going to be the municipal authorities; there are going to be local magistrates; there are going to be people watching; there’s going to be the media beaming this into people’s homes; and above all, there are going to be the courts that are looking away and not doing anything ... In fact you’re telling them that you’re on your own. There is no help. There is no law for you and all the institutions that were part of checks and balances of that old democracy are now going to be used as weapons against you. (Roy, *Demolishing Muslim Homes*)

Roy identifies the infectious core of capitalism’s materialistic approach through a character Dr. Azad Bhartiya; he introduces a number of poor Indians evicted by the epidemic dispossession sweeping across India. Dr. Azad mentions that on the one hand the country is made hostage by the big multinational companies, on the other hand, the local “kleptocratic elites”(Springer 64) put country’s resources and assets to facilitate these multinational companies in order to multiply their riches and consolidate their political power. Dr. Azad, being Roy’s mouthpiece, openly declares that auctioning of country’s assets both exacerbates and actively produces conditions of poverty. He is on hunger strike for more than eleven years; he challenges “the capitalist Empire”; “US Capitalism”, “Indian and American State Terrorism” (Roy, *TMUH* 126). For him, nuclear

weapons proliferation is tantamount to severe crime. Those who are responsible for country's bad education system, rampant corruption in state offices, perpetration of violence and environmental degradation should be brought to accountability. He is against division of society in economic classes and demands their obliteration; he is also against unemployment which is afflicting the majority of Indians.

Patnaik explains that in capitalist economy “the distinction between corporate financial oligarchy and the rest, consisting of smaller capitalists, petty producers, peasants, and craftsmen, becomes sharper, with the former getting globalized in its operations and hence getting integrated into international finance capital” (283). Dr. Azad's hunger strike is a protest against social and environmental injustice and for a just and equitable world for all people to live in a dignified manner. He stands in solidarity with all dispossessed people of India like “workers/peasants/Tribals/-Dalits/Abandoned Ladies and Gents/ including Children and Handicapped people” (Roy, *TMUH* 126-8). For Azad, capitalism is “a poisoned honey” that contaminates the otherwise healthy springs of life. His critique of the exploitative system that divides world's resources unequally is evident through his juxtaposition of dogs with poor Indians. The five American dogs, occupying the twelfth floor of a multinational chain of five- star hotels called Hotel Meridian, are placed in AC room with adjacent breakfast parlour and bathroom in New Delhi. In contrast to these dogs, common poor Indians like Dr. Azad are forced to live in a “public prison”. The promise of a glittery India, and its illusionary rhetoric of decent houses and decent work place for all Indians, is disregarded by the state. American dogs are accorded reverence, which is evident from the fact that poor Indians cannot name them “dogs”; they are deemed “the officers of American Army, of the rank of Corporal”. Dr. Azad is afflicted by the unequal distribution of world resources that puts the Indians on the footpath while situates the American dogs in a luxury hotel.

Dr. Azad vociferously speaks against the state and its neglect of the citizens. His hunger strike in Jantar Mantar is against the atrocity of the state that frustrates the desire of a common Indian for a decent life. He realizes that the offended people come from all parts of India to register their protest and get some solution for their problems but the state is not paying heed to them. Dr. Azad protests “for their progress, for the acceptance of all their demands, for the realization of their dreams (Roy, *TMUH* 129).

### 4.3 Privatization

Roy defines Privatization as: “the kind of secession in which public infrastructure, productive public assets... that have been built and maintained with public money over decades-are sold by the state to private corporations”(Roy, *LTTGH* 32). Liberalization of the market depends upon privatization which in effect is another brutal effort towards crushing the common people. As capitalism grows in depth and width, it exerts “incredible pressures” to find more such areas in poor countries, where the host states facilitate privatization process. Assets, like land, held in common by people, are made available to the market where “over-accumulating capital invests in them, upgrades them, and speculates in them” (Harvey 149). In the selected fiction, the brutal process of depriving the indigenous people commences with privatization of natural resources and national assets built over the years by tax money of these people. Through this process, the dominant patterns of social relations are transformed and people’s assets are redistributed in a way that capitalist class increasingly gets all the favors at the expense of the Poor.

Roy’s *TMUH* presents the shameless privatization process which lends dual face to India, impeccably clean as shown on various state run TV channels, but stale and deteriorating from inside like “the toilet” owned by a private investor at Jantar Mantar (Roy, *TMUH* 112). This toilet symbolically presents a harrowing picture of Indian state which has handed over its services to the owners of private companies that make profit by compromising welfare of the people. The curtailed role of the state can be seen in the lines inscribed over a billboard by a despondent citizen:

You’ve snatched poor folk’s daily bread  
And slapped a fee on their shit instead (112)

Indian state has left capitalism unfettered to make profit over very basic needs of the people. Jantar Mantar, the central landscape of the book, provides a number of examples of exploited people because of privatization. Here the waste recyclers and sewage workers are also gathered in front of “a glittering public toilet with float glass mirrors and a shiny granite floor”. This commode, owned by private owner, is the source of profit accumulation. To provide the paid services, the lights of the toilet are left on twenty four

hours. However the cost for this basic human need is beyond some of the people; thus, the toilet is impeccably clean and shining from inside, but from outside it gives stale stink like India itself. This duality does not bother the management of the toilet, as they invent many other venues for collecting revenues; the exterior wall of the toilet is let out to the billboard owner that advertise “Honda newest luxury car”. The billboard also needs protection and a personal security guard. Roy’s critique of the system is evident from the destitute condition of Gulabiya Vechania, an evictee who provides the services of security guard. Gulabiya does not have “roofed abode”; rather, he lives in a shanty place covered by “a small blue plastic sheet”. This hovel, where Gulabiya is compelled to live, is unfit for human survival, yet it is a better accommodation as compared to no accommodation a year back, when he was a fresh evictee from Sal Forest.

The primary texts also make evident that capitalism in its latest form establishes off-shore companies in third world countries. The writers expose the “fastest-route” policy of these companies which feed upon the ailing economies of the third world countries. Diffusion of capital accumulation is made possible by the streaming technological revolution as well as “neoliberal economic policies” which allow manufacturing process to be more “footloose and flexible” (Klein, *No Logo* 148). Naomi Klein’s (*No Logo*) critique of globalized capital is pertinent to provide insight into this business of profit maximization at the cost of third world countries as depicted in the texts under discussion. The capitalist invests his money wherever there is a possibility of profit. Being responsible to no one other than his personal interest, the capitalist seeks and exploits the asymmetrical resources positioned in the third world countries, thereby sustaining the target country’s disempowered position. In order to accumulate capital, the foreigner investor operates in continuous time and space. His firm can emerge, vanish and re-emerge at various places; it careens from one location to another location. The firm can exist independent or it can merge with other businesses thus strengthening each other. Third world countries, with the active connivance of the state, provide reduced cost of transportation to these offshore companies, thus, facilitating the investors with “positive business climate”. The process of appropriating maximum benefits for these companies results in gross negligence of human rights violations and environmental degradation. Bookchin’s observation regarding advanced capitalism is quite pertinent:



A capitalist society based on competition and growth for its own sake must ultimately devour the natural world, just like an untreated cancer must ultimately devour its host. Personal intentions, be they good or bad, have little to do with this unrelenting process. An economy structured around the maxim 'Grow or Die', must necessarily pit itself against the natural world. (RS 15)

Through "Bhopal Gas leak"<sup>x</sup> incidence, the novel *TMUH* brings to light the parasitic relation between privatized public resources and offshore companies. Dr. Azad comments upon the desperate situation of civilization's victims who come from Bhopal to record their protest. The fifty maimed and mutilated representatives from Bhopal have been staying on pavement for over two weeks; where the searing summer sun deteriorates their already vulnerable position. They have travelled hundreds of kilometers in extreme hot weather to claim compensation from the state. This incidence is a blatant critique of off-shore companies that completely obliterate the poor Indian lives through the mantra of "development". The multinational company exploits natural resources without realizing that it is correlated with human life and its each element is a part of the whole functioning system; along with human beings, the animals and plants are also harmed. Forced to drink contaminated water, the Bhopalis demand clean drinking water; denied any health care facility by the state after such a gross catastrophe, they demand medical treatment for themselves. The "generations of deformed babies who were born after the gas leak" (Roy, *TMUH* 111) are symptomatic of the irresponsible companies' complicity in distortion and erasure of life in poor quarters of South Asian countries.

*TMUH* proves Naomi Klein's argument (Klein, *No Logo* 148) that the states of poor countries, eager to facilitate the foreign investors, pay no heed to the searing problems of the people compromised by the state policies. The overlooked tragedy of these people speaks volumes of the skeletal social spending that corporatist capitalism demands from the governments ensnared in its trap. Like other "flight companies" the Union Carbide Corporation keeps on drifting from one part of third world to the other part. Practicing a "form of reengineered employment", this company evades any responsibility towards the people suffering from the mishap. The multinational company responsible for Bhopal gas leak also enjoys a free ride in India, where India has handed over swathes of land of Bhopal to start a gas plant. This culprit company, operating under the management of Warren Anderson, is folded up after the tragic event, and erupts after

some time in another location using a new name i.e. Dow Company. The Indian state hoping to get foreign investors bids lower to sell its people and compromise their health, lives, future, posterity and pollute the whole natural resources. Roy stresses through this incidence that the “trickledown effect” promised by neo-liberalism does not reach the poor people living in Bhopal.

As India offers itself as “a low wage zone”(Klein, *No Logo* 155), Union Carbide Corporation regresses to barbaric levels of exploitation by extracting maximum labour and large swathes of land from these EPZs<sup>xi</sup> but sidesteps the cost and liability towards the workers or people living in close proximity to the vulnerable locale. This cataclysmic tragedy exhibits that Union Carbide Corporation does not meet the international safety standards. The vulnerable lives, subjected to widespread assault in this zone, are potent expression of the failure of Union Carbide Corporation to live up to the decent standard of being a mass-employer. The photographs of thousand dead, blinded, distorted children born after the incidence, and malformed choked fetuses preserved in bottles of formaldehyde strung up on the railings speak loud of the “eroded rights” of vulnerable people of India left at the mercy of “private tyrannies”(Chomsky, *TCG* 18).

*TMUH* presents a world tainted by the inequitable distribution of power. Minority and low-income groups have to face “environmental risks” (Adamson, *American Indian Literature* 52) whereas the foreign investors enjoy social power accorded by economic strength. Warren Anderson’s indifference towards the local inhabitants, smacks of capitalist’s apathy towards the indigenous population. This numbness reveals him as a world emperor whose arrogant demeanor shows as if he “owns” the world’s resources. Indian state, obliged by American capitalism and irresponsible itself, cannot force the CEO of this American based company to reach the place in time to help overcome the loss or provide compensation. Warren Anderson seems to be in no hurry to offer even condolences to the people preyed upon by the “predator company” (Klein, *No Logo* 148). Unafraid of the consequence, he declares outright that he does not know any details of the event and prefers to offer his virtual greeting to his mother in the midst of inferno. He is least bothered to look at the protestors displaying an old banner saying “Warren Anderson is a war criminal” (Roy, *TMUH* 111). The banner “faded from decades of use” (111) is symptomatic of state’s negligence that refuses to pay compensation to these

people in decades. Another banner declaring, “Warren Anderson has killed more people than Osama Bin Laden”, highlights the impunity afforded to these companies.

Roy exposes the mechanism of these companies which are unhinged to any ethical liability towards the victims of its lust. Dr. Azad tells that “Union Carbide Corporation” has changed the name to “Dow Chemicals” to enjoy a “free ride” by plundering the resources of poor country reeling into economic globalization. Highlighting the hapless condition of the victims of recklessness of the culprit company Dr. Azad says, “they cannot buy new organs, new lungs, new eyes” (Roy, *TMUH* 111). For the victims of the tragedy, there seems to be no way back to the “another pristine beginning...out of industrial civilization” (Bradford 53). These mutilated and maimed people, who are at the verge of extinction, will have to survive with the “same old affected body parts” (Roy, *TMUH* 111). Roy denudes the callousness of the state which pays nothing in way of compensation to these victims; Union Carbide Corporation, a face of “disaster capitalism”, is least interested in rehabilitation. Dr. Azad juxtaposes the destitute condition of these dying Bhopalis with privileged status of American dogs in Meridian Hotel who enjoy all benefits i.e. free stay, expense account and impunity from any law and watch Bhopalis die (Roy, *TMUH* 111).

*The Ministry* exposes the perennial plight of Indian farmers who have been debt-trapped by the rhetoric of “Green Revolution”. Shiva believes that until a few decades ago, Indian farmers had been the custodians of diverse croplands, growing many varieties of grains and wheat. With the encroachment of industrial agriculture, multinational corporations took control of vital issues of the farmers. Many regions were restricted to grow “monocultures” after “biotechnology was forcefully popularized by the Green Revolution” (*The Violence of Green Revolution* 64). Consequently, most of the diverse indigenous varieties were propelled towards extinction. The “poor man diet” crops are subjected to extinction which has deleterious effect on not only the farmers but also the consumers of local subsistence agricultural products. Thus, the Green Revolution, a trend where Northern development practitioners, allied with multinational corporations, forced chemicals and technology upon developing countries, thinking that it would lead to development, contributed to increased privatization.

Shiva posits that the privatization further lead the farmers towards poverty by divesting them of the land used for subsistence farming. Bengal has traditionally been one of the provinces used for land appropriation. In the protests at Jantar Mantar, a well-known Gandhian activist had committed herself to a fast to the death on behalf of thousands of farmers and indigenous tribes people whose land had been appropriated by the government to be given to a petrochemicals corporation in Bengal. It was the nineteenth indefinite hunger strike of her career” (Roy 105). The female farmer was adored by her people who took great care of her and fanned her face. Other peasant women massaged her feet and gazed at her adoringly. Bengal which had been a rich and fertile land has been devastated by the chemicals imposed through green revolution.

The state which should have given protection to the farmers against this encroachment, has failed to do so; Patnaik lists that the state used to provide a number of facilities to the farmers prior to neo-liberalization in India- to insulate the sector from world market price fluctuations; providing a range of subsidized inputs; research and development in state agencies for evolving better production practices; public investment in irrigation and other facilities of benefit to petty producers and many others” (288). One consequence of this all was an acceleration of agricultural growth that had the effect of manifesting itself. With neoliberalism, however, all these measures of protection and promotion are progressively withdrawn and the agricultural sector becomes open to encroachment by big capital, including metropolitan capital, from outside, and hence to the classical form of “primitive accumulation of capital”. Subsidized inputs are eliminated in the name of fiscal rectitude; public procurement at assured remunerative prices is eliminated as unwarranted interference in the functioning of the market, public extension services are eliminated and consequently, peasants and petty producers are now made to enter into a direct relationship with multinational agribusinesses and multinational retail giants like Walmart. All these measures ensure that Indian farmers are left at the mercy of multinational companies without state interference and the resultant misery is seen in the rate of farmers’ suicides in India in last three decades.

#### **4.4 Commodification**

The selected texts show that despite its claims, civilization furthering market liberalization does not produce symmetrical relations between countries and people. Capitalism is an exploitative system in which everyone does not reap the benefit of a free market; the affected areas are all those third world countries, which have intimately hewed to such an economic line.

In *TMUH* land grabbing does another favor to the capitalist i.e. “subsidizing the poor” (Harvey 139). The capitalist secures cheap labour from these low income zones, declared as “most favorable environment” for multiplication of profit. By privatizing the land, the state divests itself of its responsibility to maintain the basis of economic or social security to the people driven out of privatized land. The “general package of privatization” only exacerbates impoverishment as evictees from grabbed lands only increase the throng of the unemployed people. The poor Tribals are forced out of land because the private companies flock to the swath of land available at a cheap price. The socioeconomic system, which deems people only as tools to make profit, inevitably results in the reproduction of poverty.

*TMUH* exhibits that India’s poverty provides the best germinating ground for the big corporations. People like Sadaam and Gulabiya, driven out of their land and thrown out of state welfare, enhance “the supply of workers available to capitalist at lower wages” (Chomsky, *TCG* 26-27). For Dalits and Adivasis dispossessed of their land, economic conditions are so awful that the poor will take virtually any job available in the market. Chomsky calls it ‘Capital’s clear subjugation of labour’. Forced evictions and homeless people, whose land has been privatized, provide an army of reserved labour force to the newly emerging construction companies in the outskirts of Delhi where the workers do not have a safe place with a roof.

Roy criticizes the skeletal state spending on poor people affected by evictions. The state does not offer any support to them, hence most of them are at their own. As they do not have any accommodation in the newly emerging suburbs, they take to roads to spend nights after hard day labour. The novel records the death of many subsidized workers; who have been ‘crushed to death’ by an automobile which had staggered off the main road and turned the workers into a “paste” (Roy, *TMUH* 256-8). These “homeless

people”, who sleep on the road pavements during summer nights, are those vulnerable workers who find out that exhaust fumes from the passing by vehicles serve as excellent “mosquito repellent”. In the hope of protection from the outbreak of dengue fever, these workers on construction site sleep close to the edges of the road. The killed people are all stone workers as “their eyelashes and lungs pale with stone-dust from cutting stone” indicate. They find work in newly constructed multi-storied palaces, expansive shopping malls and housing estates that erupt suddenly over a few years like “a fast-growing forest”. *TMUH* is a sharp commentary upon the abject state of these people who exist only to generate wealth for the capitalists and who do not exist as valuable citizens. The state fails to provide protection against “dengue fever, the heat, beedi smoke or stone dust”.

Roy exposes the whole system based upon exploitation of these evictees who work for cement factories emerging in the outskirts of Delhi. The evictees, who keep on rolling from one locale to another in search of livelihood, provide blood and spirit to these infant factories. These “corporate vampires” (Bradford 48) do not provide a safe workplace to the workers who are routinely covered with asbestos dust, causing liver cancers. These shantytowns are turning fast into “Cancer Atlas” (Bradford 51) causing few “accidental occurrences” but “a slow, gradual leakage” with the result that chances of cancer are proliferating in the areas suffused with these industries. Tilo is told by Dr. Azad that people expiring of stone-dust lose their lungs as their lungs are “turned to ash” when their bodies are cremated. Dr. Azad Bhartiya, tells her about his older brother, Jiten Kumar, who had worked in a granite stone pit and died at a young age of thirty-five. The metaphoric transformation of Jiten Kumar’s lungs to “stone” is a vituperative commentary on the vulnerable health of people exposed to these lethal industries.

Roy is an activist, environmentalist and a political speaker who exposes the state’s nefarious designs and ruthless policy of “Dam Construction”. Roy postulates that dams used to be appreciated by everyone in past, but now they are “nightmare” (Roy, *The Algebra* 57-8); they are “gift-wrapped package” which are considered criterion of “development” and “progress”; Adivasis take the burden of this development. Dam construction is like having “an expense account” in which India’s “ethnic others” pay the bills for India’s rich people. The novel foregrounds a scenario in which the native

population of India is not only deprived of their land and sources of livelihood, but it has also made them powerless socially and economically. Gulabiya and his brother Lauriya belong to Sal Forest which accommodates in its natural set up “a civilization older than Hindustan” (Roy, *The Algebra* 48) but which is drowned by dam construction. *TMUH* exhibits that through dams, the flow of water is controlled and released without informing the people in the close proximity; consequently, it endangers human as well as animals’ lives by drowning their habitats. Not only that, the aesthetic beauty of the area is also compromised because of dams.

Roy criticizes Indian state for pouring astronomical amount of money on useless projects like dams but it desists from considering welfare of its own citizens displaced because of the state’s useless projects. Many villages have been submerged in water because of dam construction and millions<sup>xii</sup> of people are considered neither for rehabilitation nor any compensation. The people, who lived in forests and whose communal land has been evacuated, are left with no source of income. Thrown into a destitute condition, Lauriya finds a job of a tour- guide at the dam-site constructed at their communal space. His job is to showcase the miracles the dam has shaped. Gulabiya’s mother is engaged as sewage worker in houses constructed “on the land that she once owned” (Roy, *TMUH* 113). Forced to live in a nightmarish world, Gulabiya, with his family lives in an accommodation that is “worse than a concentration camp”. Their accommodation in the resettlement colony consists of a “tin hut with tin walls and a tin roof that was so hot you could fry onion on it”. Pulled out of the river bank that catered to all their basic needs, Gulabiya is forced to become a wage laborer.

The novel depicts the disruption of the indigenous tribes; prior to the construction of dams the inhabitants of the river bank led a simple life full of thriving activities. The children swam in it and enjoyed abundant natural life in close proximity. They lived off the market principles and enjoyed every bit of their life in their village. The Sal Forest used to be their abode with all their basic needs fulfilled. The people had a distinct culture to celebrate, in which the Adivasis drank, sang and danced for many days; but after the encroachment of “development” via dam construction, these people are torn from nature and its abundant life. Gulabiya’s whole family is commodified in such an inhuman way that he lives only with past memories in an abject condition.

Roy, in *TMUH*, foregrounds commodification of the worker who works in security companies; Sadaam Husain, another evictee of the village is available for commodification. He drifts from “job to job” to evade this inhuman socioeconomic system. Sadaam recounts to Anjum his incapacitating experience of being “burned by a tree” (Roy, *TMUH* 74). He tells Anjum that he worked at various jobs as a shop assistant, a conductor on a bus, selling newspapers at the New Delhi railway station and eventually he started working as a security guard in a security company run by “Sangeeta Madam”. Sangeeta Madam is reputed to be a “jolly type personality” from outside, but from inside she is only “a tough-hearted” labour contractor who runs the company “Safe n’ Sound Guard Service (SSGS)”.

*TMUH* also comments on the inhuman practices of businesses where the solidarity between workers is disturbed. The managers, like Sangeeta Madam, prosper and thrive by subsidizing the workers thrown out of their natural territories; her company holds control over more than “five hundred security guards” (Roy, *TMUH* 73-4). Reaping all the benefit of the system, she takes sixty percent commission from the workers’ salary, although she is reputed to be a “better pay master”. The deducted commission from the salary of these security guards leaves “them barely enough for food and a roof over their heads”. The immensity of unemployment benefits the owners and managers of the businesses because thousands of “retired soldiers, laid-off workers, trainloads of desperate villagers freshly arrived in the city, educated men, illiterate men, well-fed men, starving men” offer themselves for commodification; willing to work in a dehumanizing experience.

The victimhood of these workers is further illustrated by Roy through the abject working conditions. The companies prefer “less malnourished and less emaciated” workers who are progressed through a dehumanizing training process. They are trained to show “servility towards rich folk”; which includes saluting their masters; bowing in front of them and making them aware of their empowered position. They are also taught the proper body postures and salutation gestures to please their hirers. These tamed creatures are then spread across the city to provide services to rich people’s houses, educational institutions; expansive farm houses; banks; ATMs; big stores; fast emerging shopping



malls; cinema halls; newly established “gated housing communities”; hotels; restaurants; the embassies and “high commissions of poorer countries” (Roy, *TMUH* 75).

Through exploitation of Sadaam’s character, Roy denudes the nexus between media and big corporations. Roy is particularly wary of Steel industry<sup>xiii</sup> which is one of those handfuls of corporations that rule India and which have consolidated relationship with big house media channels. The growth rate of steel industry is so great that it has spilled across other continents. Its off-shoots are spread and sprouting “over ground as well as underground” (Roy, *Power Politics* 14). The steel magnates own many other venues of power as well like TV cable and broadband networks, and run the whole townships. The steel corporation “manufactures cars and trucks and owns the Taj Hotel chain, Jaguar, Land Rover, Daewoo, Tetley Tea, a publishing company, a chain of bookstores, etc” (Roy, *CAGS* 9). The magazine “*The Art First*”<sup>xiv</sup> has also become an industry with major shares by steel industry making artists conspicuous and using them as advertisement for their steel products. Not only artists, but media also, are controlled by them. George Bradford calls them “the media prostitutes of corporations” (47). Saddam’s very first assignment takes him to “the National Gallery of modern Art” as a team member of twelve other guards. The novel shows that the exhibition of steel artifacts is a pretty expensive business as the cheapest object on display is “the price of a two- bedroom LIG. Saddam calculates that all the items in exhibition cost “as much as whole housing colony” (Roy, *TMUH* 75). The expensive show (more than an exhibition) is sponsored by Art First. The nexus between steel industry, artists working in steel as medium and popular magazines can be gauged from the sponsorship provided by the leading steel magnates. *TMUH* announces that “*Art First*” “a popular magazine” is owned and run by a leading steel businessman who happens to be “the main sponsor” of the exhibition.

Through “steel tree” Roy manages to put forward certain questions regarding the exchange relations taking place between those in control of the whole process of profit accumulation and those whose labour is exploited for the said purpose. Arjun Appadurai (56-7) argues that in a capitalist venture “the broad set of agreement concerning what is desirable, what a reasonable exchange of sacrifices, and compromises and who is permitted to exercise what kind of effective demand in what circumstances” is done by

the power elite. The creator of the tree, an emerging Indian artist, who lives in Berlin, dictates the whole process of “profit generation”. The manual, offered by the artist, consists of strict instructions by the artisan regarding the movement, bolting and unbolting of the tree; he strictly warns against erecting any protective palisade around the tree. His creation, a “valuable artistic commodity” should stand naked to allow his “equally valuable spectators” to hold commune with it unhindered. The guard on duty has to “un-crate” and “re-bolt” it carefully on the front lawn of the National Gallery.

The security job exposes the cruel system in which the laborer is not in control of the working environment or the product made or protected by him. In *TMUH* the steel tree becomes a “commodity fetishism” worshipped by the devotees who visit the gallery to see beautiful buckets, pots and pans attached to its branches all made of steel. Sadaam accomplishes the task of cleaning the tree diligently but keeping a constant watch on it during noon is painful. Severity of the affair forces Sadaam to ask permission from his boss to wear sun glasses during specific hours. However, his wish is not granted on the grounds that the management of Gallery would be “offended” and wearing sun-glasses at work place by a security guard will be considered inappropriate.

The novel shows that for manual laborer like Sadaam, searching for a job, from door to door, is a painful requirement for survival. Labour, for him, is nothing more than “the means of self-preservation” (Perlman, *Anything can Happen* 40). The constant gaze at sun-like burning steel has deleterious impact upon his eyes even after seven weeks of the exhibition. He is not free to wear sunglasses at work place because it is considered a gesture of insolence by the boss Sangeeta Madam. His dismissal from the security company is a strong commentary upon the powerlessness faced by a laborer in India. Sangeeta Madam, the in-charge of the company declares that a worker who “dresses as though he was film star’s bodyguard” (Roy, *TMUH* 77) has no place in the company. His expulsion from the company is another evidence of an alienating experience faced by India’s working class people.

Similarly, *Trespassing* by Khan also presents glaring evidence of devalued labour of displaced people. Salaamat and the people of his village are nothing more than instruments who exist to generate and multiply the wealth of capitalists. Salaamat faces

another kind of exploitation in his job in the bus-body-making industry. The industry opens his eyes towards the monopoly of Pathans in the industry. Salaamat notices that “thirty or so workers [who] pour their lives out on bus art” (Khan 128-131) adds to the arrogance of the owners of the business. Salaamat’s request for work meets enough contempt and marginalization at the part of Pathan who declares, “Wah! We should thank the Almighty the foreigner has come to us!”. His land of origin further becomes a point of humiliating discussion; “everything about him – his looks, accent, language, carriage [is] mocked and shredded” by his co-workers. He is vehemently advised to go back to his village because Karachi is not for fishing tribes. Destitute for work, Salaamat assures, in condescending manner, of his intelligence and ability to learn any new trade required by the businessman. He offers himself for any kind of job that can only pay him only “food and lodging”. Salaamat’s case is another story of exploitation done to a “laid-off” worker rendered homeless and jobless.

A system determined by profit motif encourages competition between workers as well as the rival businessmen. Salaamat is further enlightened about the deadly frictions existing between two power groups lunging for power in Qadafi Town. One of these groups is led by Handsome, an immigrant from Punjab; the other group is led by Hero, an immigrant from North West Frontier Province. Salaamat’s second year of work in the city introduces him to the work of painting buses, as Hero the painter establishes his own business of import of weapons. Salaamat sees the owner of the bus slapping “five lakhs cash” (Khan 239) into Handsome’s hand. He is told of the significance of painting the bus; the onerous activity is presented as a badge of honor; a co-worker Chikna announces: “Ajnabi, your lucky day has come... Handsome is going to let you paint it”. Determined to get a secured job, Salaamat plunges into the task wholeheartedly; recalling the village tradition of decorating boats, he lavishes the interior of the bus with flags as his tribe used to deck the boats with multi-coloured flags for annual Mela. A number of attractive pictures designed by him reflect the village culture that has become part of his memory. For all this labour, he receives “a delighted thump on the back and two thousand rupees” (Khan 244). In desperation, Salaamat walks around the bus that took many a days of his life and laments at “his months of barely any sleep; his runny eyes; his hands sliced by steel”. Salaamat’s exploitation and victimization is reflected through his

laments that “three years of drudgery, three with no home or family, three listening to Handsome’s men jeer him... Hadn’t God thrown enough humiliation his way?” (Khan 254).

*Trespassing* foregrounds the exploitation of female workers in textile mills. Riffat Mansoor, a business woman, hires the services of displaced village women who demand the least wages but offer the best services. Sumbul, Salaamat’s sister, who works for Riffat Mansoor’s textile mill, is a destitute worker, who has been evacuated from the fishing village and seeks work in city, like all other family members. She has been assigned the task of taking care of grubby insects that yarn silk for the factory, but she cannot afford a reasonably modest dress that can cover her body. Her poverty reflects through her infant baby who is nestled in her lap and is “a brittle-boned”, who is “unable to retain food” (Khan 392). The sick child who is “shriveling; dehydrated” has thighs as slender as “her wrists”. The child is so weak as if he is “moving backwards in time, back to the little fetus in her womb”. Sumbul’s earnings cannot afford a medical treatment for the sick baby; she even had to sell “the earnings soon after her third baby is born” to meet the needs of medical treatment of her baby. Khan brings to light alienation of labour Sumbul is subjected to. The silk that she produces through her labour is beyond her purchasing power; having no control over the product of her labour, she cannot imagine wearing the silk produced by her own hands. Salaamat is determined to give the best silk prepared in the factory where she works.

Profit maximization introduces another concept i.e. the “devaluation of productive process” (Klein, *No Logo* 148-58) where “sweet deals” of big companies, engulfing the poor people from the third world countries, are signed between multinational companies and the host states. The “devaluation of productive process” is reflected through *Trespassing* by Khan. In this devalued process “the subsidized workers” exist only in parenthesis and because of soaring unemployment, these brackets are constantly widening and engulfing more people. More and more dispossessed people from “low income zones” of the third world countries are turned into objects for the benefit of the multinational companies. The owners of these companies shift to “offshore” to find “cheap labour, cheap land and cheaply available resources”; the capitalist is no longer responsible for the economic, social or health security of employees. The failing states

present these “low income zones” as the “buy-in-the-bulk price club” where the workers are squeezed to provide maximum labour to the company. The local states auction “the wretched of the earth” (Fanon, 2) at the lowest minimum wage which forces workers to be employed at the cheapest rate. These EPZs (economic processing zones) serve as “fantasyland” (Klein, *No Logo* 157) for investors of multinational companies.

*Trespassing* exhibits all features of these EPZ’s fabricated to tempt foreign investors. In Pakistan, the entire coastal line brought into the orbit of “industrial slums and low-wage labour ghettos” to the foreign companies. Huts are constructed at the shore for these foreigners who subject the fishing tribes to assault on not only land, labour but also life of the people living near these coastal lines. A once modest fishing village is turned into an industrial slum which lacks the necessary equipment to dispose of the heap of industrial waste contaminating the land and water. Karachi faces severe problems of industrialization, i.e. pollution, an exploding population of migrant workers, increased crime, and rivers of sewage. Although these areas offer profit to these companies but are not accorded benefits of industrial zones. They cannot adequately feed the workers, or cannot uplift the economic condition of the people; all the labour standards are flouted conveniently in these zones.

Salaamat’s mother who works for a shrimp factory gets very low wage, which is far below the subsistence level. Salaamat recalls his mother engaged in a job where her working hours are so long that she leaves for her job at dawn and returns at dusk, alienated through and through. Salaamat finds his mother’s and his own job “shameful”, as they play a crucial role in strengthening the employers who destroy their lives by displacing them. Salaamat recalls, with frustration, the days when forced by circumstances, his mother languidly worked for a shrimp-peeling factory. He remembers his mother who “swallowed her outrage and gave her life to the enemy” (Khan 124). The dehumanizing job turned her once beautiful hands into “punctured, obnoxious hands” which were “pushed away” by his father for their ugliness. *Trespassing* depicts the devaluation process in which women are hired as “reserved labour force” who are paid only “five rupees for every kilo of shrimp [they] clean” (Khan 124). The novel also exposes the nexus between state and corporations where “licenses” have been issued to the foreign trawlers which further curtail the civil rights of the native population of the

host country. The allotment of legal rights to intruding companies forces Salaamat's father, uncle and many other people from village to shift to Karachi where they are hired as guards by the wealthy people.

#### **4.5 America's War Industry: the Birth of Disaster Capitalism**

Since Khan's novel *Trespassing* is based upon violent historical event of Afghan War and its horrible effect upon lives of Muslims of Afghanistan as well as Pakistan, some historical facts needs to be excavated to have a clear interpretation of the text. The current history of the world vindicates that war has become "the most profitable business of civilization" (Manicardi 46) and America being the most "civilized" country, leads in generating war-based economy. America constructs its military machine in accordance with "for-profit ventures" of business thriving on violence; America's war industry is designed to infuse new spirit into its dying economy. In a very short span of time this complex has already expanded its tentacles across the world and indulged into many lucrative ventures "from fighting terrorism to international peace-making to municipal policing, to responding to increasingly frequent natural disasters"(Klein *TSD* 21). Tariq Ali makes a point that proliferation of American business interest cannot be accomplished without the "kleptocratic politicians" who stoop to any depths to safeguard the interest of American business. For the super power America, its business must thrive even at the cost of millions of Muslims in Afghanistan or its neighboring countries. American business is protected by its military by creating markets in weaker countries; as "the hidden hand of the market never works without the hidden fist of the military might" (Ali 287). Since the day Soviet Union posed a threat to America's dream of superpower status, USA concocted strategy to crush its power; the Afghan war was planned to bring the world fully under America's control (Ali 255). America's dream of constructing itself as a "single super power" which would "reorder the globe" for its business interests (Ali 255) could not be achieved without Pakistan's participation in the war. The image of Soviet Union was constructed as a "godless enemy" that needed an "urgent cleansing" through "Jihad". Pakistan and its northern borders, assuming their strategic importance, are selected as locale for the war. USA government pours dollars on the sitting

government of Pakistan; the country becomes the “recipient of commodities stamped with stars and stripes” (Ali xxix) to facilitate America’s penetration in Afghanistan.

*Trespassing* presents Pakistan’s involvement in Afghan war as a part of the “war racket” of USA. Khan, a dissuader of war and violence, brings to light America’s terrorism in Afghanistan as well as in Iraq. Pakistan’s involvement in Afghan war is depicted in *Trespassing* where the citizens are paying the price for the dollars poured on corrupt government. Khan’s detest for American aid is reflected through Daanish’s statement, “The problem is that we require aid at all. Beggars, that’s what we are. We can either join the bullies or stay the beggars. These are our two choices” (Khan 270). The novel depicts the “US-backed” (Khan 73) government in Pakistan, the resulting Islamization and its horrific consequences for the poor fishing tribes. Khan’s critique of “US Jihad in Afghanistan” (Khan 308) exposes the government’s decision to chagrin itself in front of the American Empire. Daanish’s father, an educated liberal, refuses to accept “Islamist colors” (Khan 264) worn by the state functionaries and criticizes the government for constructing and supporting Islamist parties as the main “ideological prop” of the regime. Daanish’s father, Dr. Shafqat, disagrees with a colleague who professes, “We have nothing to fear from the deteriorating condition in our country, because, “Islam unites us” (Khan 71). Dr. Shafqat challenges the Islamization of the country in 1980’s and thinks that Islamic ideology has only been used as an “ideological prop” to defeat USSR. Khan questions the policy of the government that “suddenly started supporting the Islamic groups” (Khan 71) and laments those decisions which paved the way for extremism and fundamentalism in Pakistan. Doctor Shafqat is infuriated by the fundamentalist attitude of the government and asks, ‘what is the point of banning horse racing?’ (Khan 72); he declares that such an inorganic change will not transform the population; rather, it will be counterproductive. He realizes that the sitting government is inseminating corruption with one hand and paying-off Islamic zealots with the other, (Khan 72) only to appease America.

Khan in *Trespassing* exposes the deleterious effect of Pakistan collusion with America’s war in Afghanistan; uneducated people trapped by the American slogans of war against infidels further become instrumental for American policies; Handsome’s family adores the general as the “portrait of the General” (Khan 133-4) hung on the wall

in Handsome's office serves as a token of the family's devotion to the general. Many young boys are sent by their families to get training for Jihad in Afghanistan. America emerges as a savior in the ideology perpetuated through Pakistani media. Handsome blesses America for helping his country fight a war against "godless enemy". He acknowledges America's role in "training and arming the freedom fighters". Impervious to the real politics behind wars, Handsome, like many other persons working in bus-making business, believes, 'We are Amreeka's best allies, and they are ours. With their help, we are coming closer to saving Islam'. Handsome is elated at the government's role in organizing "many anti-Soviet rallies" with the help of "religious parties to whom Amreeka was giving aid". Salaamat notices that Hero, too, is a devotee of America and has sent many of his family's sons to get training in a number of training camps established for mujahedeen. Khan laments at the ruthlessness of the state functionaries for sending thousands of young boys "up in the mountains...to learn to load and use weapons". The state with the funds from America is producing "a community of young heroes" who would be set against each other later in the novel.

Khan, in *Trespassing*, exposes that such transactions between America and Pakistan are not wholly unprofitable enterprise for power mongers. The "anti-Soviet Jihad" produced a class of wealthy businessmen who become "drug barons" and "arms dealers" and multiply their wealth by selling death to the citizenry of Sindh particularly. The decades of America's war against Soviet Union facilitated "the cultivation of poppy fields in Afghanistan and the NWFP" which generates money to fund many political parties (Ali 271). In addition to the massive money-laundering, Pakistan's participation in Afghan war exposes its population to lethal drugs like Heroin. The porous boundaries between Pakistan and Afghanistan cannot prevent the flow and penetration of the drug. This is eminent in *Trespassing* where Salaamat, catching fragments of the worker's chit chat, knows that America got victory; "Islam is saved"; Communism is contained but "Karachi broiled" (Khan 240-1). Many Punjabi workers have to leave their running businesses as they have "to defend their families from the stockpile of ammunition the battle [is] leaving behind". The USA- made- weapons are available to many groups in Karachi; the city that swarmed with immigrants swarms with the latest ammunition imported from America. Salaamat realizes that the seeds of violence sown by America,



through Afghan Jihad, are “coming full-circle...those who’d pushed the local people of Karachi to the edge were themselves running from each other”.

Khan also exposes the nexus between USA backed Afghan Jihad and dispersal of weaponry in Pakistan through various characters in *Trespassing*. Khurram’s father is depicted as an ultra-rich businessman who possesses a spacious palace lined with latest models of land cruisers. He describes his father’s profession to Daanish as, “he imports metal things from US and the Europe... [that] explode” (Khan 84). The dissemination of weapons in Karachi is seen as the direct result of Pakistan’s involvement in a proxy war. Khan laments at the penetration of weapons in academia, as a university student in Society Water Office enlightens Daanish about the horrible situation in university which “is closing for weeks” (Khan 329); he informs Daanish that students have joined various conflicting groups in the university and “almost everyone, in engineering, has a gun”.

Containing communism of the Soviet Union is not the only reason behind the establishment of “Disaster capitalism”. America’s aggressive economic pursuits lead American military into Middle East (Ali 291-2). After America attained the status of super power at the summit of Second World War, it decided to “flex its economic muscle” by creating its “military establishment” that would strangulate any challenge to its capitalist supremacy. USA realized that exhaustibility of its raw materials cannot sustain its industrial production for a longer period of time. The superpower needs to import resources (particularly oil) to power its economy; the ever growing need for oil demanded domination of territories rich in oil such as the Middle East. USA intertwined Politics and economics in an inextricable manner; the ever increasing necessity of oil means a never-ending political interference in other countries’ businesses. USA is spurred to allocate “a permanent arms economy”. Economically, “American Arms industry” is the most permanent and reliable sector of American industrialism which remains impervious to the fluctuations in economy.

The arms industry provides “cushion” (Ali 291-303) to the state against any impending recessions that have been regularly afflicting capitalism. So, in the name of defense, a monopoly is constructed that generates immense and automatic lucre. An unresolvable relation develops between America’s war industry, its armed forces and the

political leadership thus giving birth to a “powerful military-industrial political nexus”. This “permanent armament industry of vast proportions” has to create more wars; to make the complex work, USA rises to “manufacture enemies” hurriedly. Using the ploy of “humanitarian intervention” it intervenes with its military presence in almost hundred countries across the globe.

*Trespassing* showcases the horrible impact of America’s “military-industrial-political” nexus through Salaamat’s character. America’s expansion of capitalism has opened many businesses in Pakistan which render human lives worthless. The subsidized weaponry bring people on the verge of civil war. In Hero’s shop Salaamat sees people bargaining over armament. The shop opens his vision towards an unimaginable number of options offered to Salaamat: Remington, Colts, Winchester” (Shamsie 409). Fatah, a Sindhi separatist, examines a gun closely and comments that Karachi has more than “one hundred thousand of these Tokarev pistols” (Khan 247-8). The bullets are so cheap that even poor people can afford them; the parts of the gun “are easy to repair”. Impressed by the deal, Fatah orders for “a case of the Tokarevs” which are “Amreekans first- class pistols and the most popular one in the world” (Khan 248). Hero, an arm dealer, coaxes Fatah to buy the extraordinarily beautiful product whose “stock is made of Amreekan akhrot... the rest is stainless steel”. Fatah is shown the whole showcase of weapons on display including “AK-47” and the lowest price of a bullet that “costs a mere ten rupees”. Hero’s shop opens for readers’ gaze a scenario in which bullets and guns are available to almost all Sindhis. The proliferation of weapons turns frustrated people against each other and a common citizen becomes “mere a number” (101) vulnerable to lethal violence. Machine guns and Winchester are put on sale openly. Hero’s shop becomes the centre of such violent transactions. Indicating “globalization of violence” Hero declares, ‘It’s a small world ...from Amreeka to the Soviets, we all meet here” (Khan 250).

Khan’s fiction exposes the violent American politics which shreds the very social structure of Pakistani society to maintain its own super-power status. Frustrated by his own victimization and marginalization, Salaamat joins the militant group. Sumbul notices that every time he visits her place he carries a different gun and surmises that “he got it at a subsidized rate” (Khan 258). The sale of “three million unlicensed guns” (Khan 241) in Karachi tells of ontogenesis of violence against Karachi’s citizenry. The novel highlights

that although Afghan war ended three years ago, but Pakistan still faces the after-shocks of the war; mujahedeen trained by Pakistan army and American weaponry are “left to fight” (Khan 333) their own countrymen. The law and order situation is so deplorable that Karachi “is controlled by Rangers” (Khan 43).

#### **4.6 State’s Complicity with Violence**

The neoliberal policies cannot take place without the involvement of the states of South Asian countries. The selected fiction points out that profit maximization and wealth accumulation of capitalists cannot proceed without tyrannizing and incriminating the people through state apparatuses. In both the novels the states play active role in “making a good investment climate” (Roy, *The Algebra* 203) for the big companies that have set eyes upon parcel of sweetheart lands in the poor countries. The expansion of capitalism works through “privatization, government deregulation and deep cuts to social spending” (Klein, *TSD* 9) for which the states have to come at the fore front and provide protection to the companies established inside the territories of neo-liberalized countries. The novels expose the so-called “free market policy of the capital” that depends predominantly on violence against all those who oppose wealth accumulation at the expense of poor people of poor countries.

Indian state, depicted in the novel *TMUH*, presents a macabre picture where infamous human rights violations are enacted to turn the minorities and indigenous people into precariousness. The people who inhabit the fringes are terrorized and harassed to expand the space offered to these “private tyrannies”. Bastar and Sal Forest, depicted in *TMUH*, are lands rich in natural resources. Indian state assumes the persona of a subservient state obliged by multinational companies and moves forward to legitimate the “land-grabbing” by the “vampire companies” by appropriating communal law; the state provides a facilitating environment in which such constitutional arrangements can be made and implemented. Any risk to the big businesses is minimized through active connivance of the state. These multinational companies are posed threat by the indigenous people inhabiting the forests hence, Indian state under the leadership of Gujarat ka Lalla ensures legal guarantee to the capitalists to operate unhindered in approaching the land held in common by people since centuries.

India, influenced by Milton Friedman's<sup>xv</sup> philosophy of profit maximization under the regime of Lalla, is set upon neo-liberalizing itself. Lalla, who rode to power on the chariot woven by multinational companies, has to oblige them even at the expense of Indian citizens. Under Lalla's benevolent gaze the entire state architecture is impatient to bow before capitalism. Lalla's government utilizes all its organs to protect the freedom of capitalism both from the antagonistic forces abroad and the fellow citizens barring the way of accumulation. To put it simply, the state functions to provide police and military where any antagonism is speculated. Gujarat ka Lalla's government is held hostage to these companies and is facilitating their "economic crusades". The government as depicted in the novel outscores, "with no public debate or consent, many of the most sensitive and core functions" (Roy *LTTGH* 68) to private companies. Lalla's government "auctions off" the land of the indigenous people to highest bidders.

#### **4.6.1 Law as an Instrument of Violence**

Roy's fiction *TMUH* exposes violence wrapped in legislative code and made inconspicuous by the architecture of judiciary; the incrimination of the poor authenticates Springer's alignment of property with violence. Springer believes that the principal function of law is "not to prevent violence but rather to maintain the functioning of property that forms the basis of capitalism" (Springer, "Property" 2). The novel critiques law as a suture that stitches the violent tercet of property, profit through dispossession and violence together against Adivasis and Dalits. Capitalism's reliance upon law as a support can be gauged from Parson's statement: "capital is law...and law is capital" (107-109). Roy exposes law as a political tool that legitimates "violence of eviction" of poor people. Vulnerability of Adivasis to landlessness is increased by state's demand to prove their "ownership through written certification". To accommodate the foreign investors, the traditional property possession formulas have been remade by adopting a "market based model". As New Delhi is being cosmetized and subjected to "the dawn of her resurrection" (Roy, *TMUH* 96-7), multinational companies come forward and bid to buy land to construct "Kmarts, Walmarts, Starbucks". The incentive of these companies to gain territorial control is, clearly, no longer determined by sustenance needs, but is instead primarily colligated by the desire to gain profit.

Evictees of “Sal Forest” do not find any solace in law as they do not have official documentation to prove their entitlement through possession. The novel depicts Adivasis being forcefully evicted from Bastar Forest. Their dispossession is enacted through “acquisition by pen<sup>xvi</sup>” (Bloomley) as “against the glaring lights and glamorous advertisements displayed in Delhi”, the villages adjacent to Bastar Forest are “being emptied” to make “everyone happy” (Roy, *TMUH* 98). Millions of people from these villages are being evicted “but nobody knew where to”. When the case is filed by these evictees in the court, the judgment of the judges is very strange; it smacks of law’s collusion with violence. The Supreme Court judge ordering immediate eviction of the villages declares, ‘People who can’t afford to live in cities should not come here’. The lieutenant Governor of the city endorses the vicious verdict of the court by providing precedence from a highly civilized city like Paris which “was a slimy area before 1870, when all the slums were removed... and look at Paris now”. Determined to cast Delhi on the mould of Paris, juridical structure comes forward to ban the “surplus people” from entering the spaces evacuated to accommodate big businesses on lands procured cheaply.

*TMUH* highlights “Sal Forests” being evacuated by the state in order to accommodate “Steel Town” and “mining corporations”. The local understanding of territorial control premised upon the community unanimity and actual land usage is disturbed by this “predatory capitalism” when Lalla’s government makes furtive effort to provide a friendly investment environment for the land investors. The inviolable coupling of displacement and law works in all these dispossessions. The objective is crystal clear i.e. evicting forcibly from the desired swaths of Sal forest those communities who have possessed it for actual use since centuries. Supreme Court judges’ verdict seems exclusionary, as it nullifies the existence of “the oldest native tribes of India” whose cultures are characterized by expressions of “orality”. The legal procedures are symptomatic of the violent system that incriminates those who use the communal land for sustenance purposes rather than accumulation of profit. The law here not only fails these evictees, it becomes a “tool of their dispossession and erasure” (Springer, *VN* 34). The people evicted from their communal lands, in *TMUH*, are emblematic of precarious lives, exposed to unemployment and even death. Their lives matter neither to the capitalist nor to the state. These individuals are defined not “by being, but by having” (Springer, *VN*

67). The Adivasis inhabiting Bastar Forest as depicted in *TMUH* do not have any political significance and are not counted “as humans” because they do not hold “property”. The process of “land grabbing” needs other state apparatuses like Police to play their role in protecting the businesses against indigenous population of India.

#### **4.6.2 Police and Military’s War against People**

Roy explicates the nexus between state, violence and capital’s upsurge against the indigenous people in *TMUH*. She also highlights the process of incrimination of the indigenous people by the state apparatuses which is bent upon prioritizing the Western interest over the interest of its own people. Patnaik’s argument is succinct that a nexus is developed between “nationalism and development”, so that “anyone opposed to such intervention in favor of the corporate financial oligarchy is branded as “anti-development” and hence *ipso facto* anti-national” (284). The novel *exposes* the state’s violence committed against Adivasi tribes inhabiting Bastar Forests through the character of Revathy. These forests are the sweetheart swathes of land demanded by the mining companies. Adivasis resistance meets with security forces, which uses state armaments to evacuate the land. Revathy, in a letter addressed to Dr. Azad, narrates the unexplainable evidence of the “inhumanity done to humanity” by Indian state. She tells about the extent to which the state goes to subject people to “shock treatment to soften up” (Klein, *TSD* 16) their resistance. Revathy represents the “banned underground people” who are considered a threat against the prospering “Steel Town”.

Revathy is a determined Maoist who works against “class enemy”. Through her character, Roy exposes Indian state’s repulsive policies against its own people. Through Revathy’s character, the novel brings to light “Operation Green Hunt” (Roy, *TMUH* 420-5) announced by the government in 2008. India’s oldest civilization is incriminated by the state; the state is fully laced with precise weaponry while the indigenous population is defenseless. The forces burn the villages, destroy people’s abodes and kill thousands of Adivasis. Indian state, with its military and paramilitary, is ubiquitous in Andhra Pradesh. Their Forest is invaded by “Cobras, Greyhounds, and Andhra Police” assigned to crush anybody who stands up against capitalism’s assault against them; murder of Comrade Nirmalakka, and comrade Luxshmi are the cases in point in which the victims’ bodies are

maimed brutally before murder. Comrade Padmakka stands up against state's invasion; consequently, her "knees are broken", her "kidneys and liver are damaged" before her erasure. Revathy also suffers at the hand of "Operation Green Hunt"; she is captured by the security forces, tied up and transferred to a government school reserved as torture cell. She is raped and tortured by a throng of policemen who put cigarettes on her bare body. The novel shows that Revathy is not the only woman "softened up", this experience is shared by "so many women in the forest". The doctor approached by Revathy, for treatment purpose, is shocked to see "all the cigarettes burns were bubbles" and her "whole body was blood".

#### **4.6.3 Media Complicit with Capitalism**

The selected fiction exposes symbiotic relationship between media and corporations. Media emerge in both novels as a structure controlled by corporate business which uses it for their self-interest. It fails to probe and disseminate the truth; rather, it plays an active role in "structuring public sentiment" (Butler, *PL* 1). In Khan's *Trespassing* the university, a home to intellectual investigations, also becomes handmaiden to corporatism and does not allow the investigators to probe the causes of the Gulf War. Any critical perspective regarding War is not only impossible to get published, for the mainstream media would refuse its publication, but it involves risk of "hystericization and censorship" (Butler, *PL* 2). Daanish finds out that studying "fair and free journalism" (Khan 24) does not suit the States. Still he is intrigued by journalism. Fully aware of the risks involved in this profession, Dr. Shafqat does not approve of his boy's choice, yet Daanish considers the "profession [is] in his blood". Imbibed with a rich family history of sacrifices for truth, Daanish understands the significance of media in raising consciousness of the people. Daanish's grandfather, who co-founded one of the renowned newspapers for Muslims, suffers many tribulations for the sake of truth before independence; he is incarcerated for articulating his desire for freedom. After ten years of independence, he is chained again for speaking up against the military coup.

Daanish's stay in America in search for "fair and free journalism" is frustrated by the impoverishment of Muslim countries in media war. The worst example is set by the Gulf war "won with weapons that exploded not just on land but on paper" (Khan 25). The

onset of Gulf war in September 1990, forces Daanish to question the legitimacy of the war and America's role in it. But the university teaches him not to ask "certain questions". His Professor Wayne's office proclaims "Trust your choices. Everything is possible" (Khan 145). Wayne invokes the learners to "explore different avenues". While some students reach only to the importance of vitamins or gender pay gap, Daanish's preoccupation with Gulf War is not approved of by the professor; consequently his assignments get harsh criticism from his professor who considers Daanish "an amateur" and comments that his "writing style is ponderous and, well pretty emotional". All Wayne emphasizes during classes is "the most popular subject and "how to beef up its selling point" and to make the audience "gasp and drool". Wayne's audience could be made to "gasp and drool" by newspaper's entries about nudes exhibitions, their legitimacy and approval; hence, Gulf War and its horrific impact upon Muslim population in Iraq, does not merit journalism's probe in the university.

Khan emphasizes that American mainstream media does not report anything about the war and the turbulence it caused in the Muslim world. She exposes American media's criminal negligence towards the effects of sanctions upon ailing and dying people of Iraq. She highlights that it fails to probe into the causes responsible for the war. Daanish, carrying a tradition of responsible journalistic values, decides to go forward in the world hoping to have meticulous training. He determines to report about the turbulence around him and play the role of objective speaker of truth for those who stay behind and rely on journal's images. However, he is dismayed to find that since six weeks of the onset of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, no class discussion is conducted around the topic; no paper entries about international sanctions against Iraq are brought forward. All that American media tells its readers is that "40000 US troops had been sent to Saudi Arabia" (144). Daanish believes that the conflict should be targeted from all dimensions. An analysis by contending parties should be brought out in an unbiased manner and public should be given access to the debates between contending sides.

Khan questions America's policy in changing the status of Iraq "from a friend to a terrorist" (147) overnight. She also questions that against USA's claim of invasion of Kuwait by "120,000" Iraqi soldiers, why does America not produce a single image justifying this claim. Khan claims through Daanish's probes that an objective journalism



does not accept statements unless they are supported by hard evidence; particularly, in war times, faithful reporting becomes very important. Daanish's search for objectivity arouses displeasure from his professor who accuses him of being emotional. In the American university, his Muslim identity becomes a weapon to silence him. Khan exposes failure of American academia in cultivating an intellectual field where responsible and distinct voices can be heard and appreciated. In *Trespassing USA* emerges as a place where complexities are altogether refused in recounting histories of nations and vengeance rules the domain. It fails to offer any prospects for engendering "public reflection and sensible criticism" (Butler, *PL 3*).

Through the character of Daanish, Khan critiques American ruling troika i.e. "the White house, Pentagon and media" (150) in hiding and distorting the truth. Daanish's questioning enrages the professor who recommends "vitamin story" to him. The novel lays bare Professor Wayne's shallow attitude which "does not conflict with US supremacy, but confirms it, stokes it, insist upon it with long term implications" (Butler, *PL 7*). *Trespassing* exposes America's supremacist opinion of itself; its aggressive policy; its narrow range of questions that can be asked about its policies. The novel exhibits that America seems to be insensitive and in no hurry to ameliorate the violence done to the Muslim world by addressing the causes of war; it does not feel obligated ethically to stem further dispersion of violence. Daanish reports that Pentagon devises rules for war coverage, which amounts to "deleting the war entirely" (Khan 163). The deletion of war altogether means that Iraqis' life is not considered valuable from America's perspective; Iraqis "are denied a human status in the US policy and press coverage" (Butler, *PL 3*).

The novel shows that American media precludes American public from knowing the truth as well. The media desists from publishing deaths, flames and mangled bodies of the Iraqis. War hospitals are conspicuously missing in reporting; no damage to Iraqi property is to be broadcasted. This war is "surgical and pure" (Khan 163). American public is not shown humanity's sufferings; hence, a "violence of occlusion" is practiced through American mainstream media. The novel shows that the "deleted war" has impact on American public; consequently, only a handful of university students watch even that "sterilized news". The hostel dorms depict a scene where most of the students are

consumed by Pizzas and cokes; Iraqi national assets and resources destroyed by American planes fail to grab American journalism students. The searchers of truth seem immune to the tragedy of war between two Muslim countries inflamed by America.

American media succeeds in “manufacturing consent” (Chomsky & Herman, *MC* 4) of American population to such an extent that hatred against Muslims is visible through their facial expressions. Muslim students are “denied access to cafes” (Khan 163-5); most of the cafes announce “We’re closing” while “no one [is] in hurry to leave”. *Trespassing* narrates events in which Mosques are targeted by Americans; restaurants and officers held by Muslims are attacked. Khan exposes criminal silence of media in not reporting against American bombs “dropped on Iraq every thirty seconds” in indiscriminate air raids targeting civilian population.

Likewise, media raids in Roy’s *TMUH* are pronounced. Media serve as hand maiden for capitalist businesses. Indian mainstream media as depicted in *TMUH* focus only upon the stories which sell well, whereas the real issues of social significance like social injustices, ethnic marginalization, minority victimization, environmental degradation, are issues of no significance for media controlled by corporations. Jantar Mantar provides the best locale which can skyrocket the sales of media originated programs. Digging for news is on the rise where fiercely competitive reporters who are “excellent looking but untrained” asking the evictees silly questions. Roy highlights that the TV channels preying upon sensational news “never run out of despair” in India (Roy, *TMUH* 99-104). Anchors and commentators comment about dispossession of millions of people that “somebody has to pay the price of progress”. Roy laments that the media has ignored its duties and preys upon artificial stories of shallow people like old politician who becomes a “reservoir of public anger”. This “circus” of “India’s Second Freedom Struggle” becomes the cause of media’s high sales over few days. Advertisements are thrown generously for the Old man; the industrialists, notorious for corruption, whitewash their money by investing in the movement against corruption. The old man’s artificial iconicity becomes so vibrant that the media telecasts even his breathing and sighs for public consumption.

Roy exposes media's criminal silence regarding Indian state's atrocities in Kashmir. Jantar Mantar, where a group of Kashmiri women have gathered to protest against their "disappeared sons, husbands and brothers" (Roy, *TMUH* 114-6), fails to give media attention for "The Association of Mothers of the Disappeared"). The women who had suffered the worst tragedies in Kashmir are successfully silenced as their stories are too old and unmarketable in the "super market of grief". The old tattered banners of Kashmiri women fail to draw anchors avid for sensational news. The Indians had only rage for Kashmiri mothers protesting the loss of their relatives. These Kashmiri mothers had repeated their stories innumerable times at innumerable meetings but to no avail; Kashmir's horror congeals into a "hard, bitter shell" that only enrages Indians. Roy highlights that Kashmiri mothers' trip to Delhi, to claim media coverage, is turned into a miserable experience for them; they are subjected to the violence of occlusion by threatening and heckling by Delhi Police.

#### **4.7 Kashmir: A Profitable Enterprise**

Roy's *TMUH* lays bare the reasons for which Kashmir has been plundered by Indian state and its functionaries. From the weapons' trade, private militants stoking the war, security companies having stake in Kashmir, log business swelling with shriveling forests to trafficking of the weaponry, everything brings profit for war players. Kashmir's experience exposes that Indian government's particular brand of "shock therapy" is turned into a fully articulated war economy in Kashmir. This war economy is built in times of turmoil, but it now exists quite independent of any advantages. Indian military destroys the natural resources of Kashmir for petty economic gains, as well as indulge in abducting and killing Kashmiri children and youth. Biplab Dasgupta, a servant in the Ministry of Defense, informs that in 1996, border-crossings between Pakistan and India provided opportunities for "business" to Indian soldiers; serving at border security posts, they sell safe passages to people from both sides. Imbibing market principles, these Indian soldiers made profit with "efficiency" by selling many things in the market; apart from passages, diesel, alcohol, bullets, granites and army rations are also commodities on sale.

Roy denudes the horrors played by Indian state in war against Kashmir. Apart from merciless killing of people, nature too is obliterated ensuing immense loss for Kashmiris. Roy highlights through a number of characters in *TMUH* that killing of the Kashmiri youth, extermination of their livestock and the destruction of their crops severely curtails any chances of the peaceful life of Kashmiris. Indian military exploits the nature of Kashmir callously. The military's disgust for ecology is clear as it is interested in making profit, not to preserve the natural resources of Kashmir; Kashmir is subjected to deforestation as saw mills mushroom inside army camps. Kashmiri carpenters are hijacked and press ganged to craft wooden articles for Indian military. Military trucks overloaded with "carved walnut wood furniture" return to India every day. Indian soldiers are proud of being a part of "the best furnished... army in the world" (Roy, *TMUH* 171)

Roy laments that valley's beauty is ransacked for economic interest of a few people. One of the beneficiaries of this marketability of Kashmir is Major Amrik Singh. Apart from enjoying his exploits as hunting and slaughtering Muslims of Kashmir, he is known for his expensive tastes that only Kashmir can provide. He exploits other avenues of 'entrepreneurial potential' that any "military occupation offered" (Roy, *TMUH* 337). Making full use of his stay in Kashmir, he establishes sawmills, in the name of his wife, in the forests of Kashmir which is the reason for his thriving furniture business. Being the sole proprietor of Kashmir, he is generous with Kashmir's woods and forests; he distributes furniture items freely amongst the people of his choice. He is reputed to have "carved coffee tables and walnut-wood chairs, bedside tables pressed on his friends" (Roy, *TMUH* 337).

The profitability of war in Kashmir is also explicated by one of the victims of Amrik Singh, a militant detainee Aijaz, who tells Naga, that Indian soldiers sell weapons to Kashmiri militants. Roy lays bare the vested interest of Indian military in continuation of war as they sell their ammunition to Kashmiri militants. Aijaz explicates the whole practice of illegal business by giving the precise price of weapons to Naga by commenting, "It's twenty rupees for a bullet, nine hundred for a carton" (Roy, *TMUH* 228). Naga, exasperated at this shocking revelation, is further dumbfounded by Aijaz who shares inside details of military in Kashmir in these words:

They don't want the militancy to end. They don't want to leave Kashmir. They are very happy with the situation as it is. Everybody on all sides is making money on the bodies of young, Kashmiris. So many of the grenade blasts and massacres are done by them. (Roy, *TMUH* 228)

#### **4.8 Inhuman Technology**

The selected fiction exposes the lethal and violent aspects of technology that has been subjected to the nefarious designs of capitalism. The writers debunk the civilized people's claim that assisted by technology, they have overcome the encumbrances of our uncivilized ancestors. The fiction shows that technology has only multiplied the encumbrances. A civilized person is trapped into uncomfortable and exhausting tasks through technology. The novels depict that contrary to the otherwise claims of its advocates "technology is never human" (Manicardi 258); it uproots all that is vital in the world. The imaginary world created in the primary texts is bereft of real life, emotions, feelings, pain and happiness of the people misusing technology; it engages the civilized people in its rules and regulations. Manicardi explicates the role of technology in aggravating human's loss as:

When we use technology we lose the sense of how things function, since it's not us but machines that are doing the work. The results are terrifying. Nowadays we can destroy nature without personally participating in any way- with the chainsaw, or turning on an engine, or spraying pesticides on plants, or hitting a switch that drops a bomb somewhere. (259)

*TMUH* opens up a field in which technology shows no reverence and regard for life and it makes its practitioners equally "inconsiderate" (Manicardi 263) towards nature. The whole achievement of technology is creation of "disaffection for the world"; which culminates in sapping humans of "sense of responsibility" for precious lives. The novel situates some empowered individuals at a high pedestal from where it makes them oblivious to cataclysmic destruction caused by their technological advancement.

*TMUH* presents an evidence of the inhumanity of the people using technology. The aggressive economic pursuit of some big businesses come to destroy whatever stands in the way of capital fundamentalism by using inhuman technology. Here construction of Steel Town demands erasure of all systems of existence that predated capitalism. To 'dispose of' any possibility of life efficiently, military and paramilitary troops assisted by

the employees of RAF, attack “resettlement and unauthorized colonies” (Roy, *TMUH* 98). Adivasis being evicted stand up against this inhuman attitude of the state. They protect their land by digging up the roads and barricading the path by putting stones and broken glass. Against this unarmed crowd of Adivasis, the police assisted by “bulldozers” have gathered; they are ready for the final attack. The people under erasure refuse to be moved despite this threatening force of technology. A slogan inscribed on a rock speaks of their defiance against encroachment of technology, “You can kill us, but we won’t move”. The forces subject them to erasure by destroying their abodes. The technological encroachment can erase the culture and history of the people who took many generations to build up. Roy’s comment is pertinent:

Their homes, their doors and windows, their makeshift roofs, their pots and pans, their plates, their spoons, their school-leaving certificates, their ration cards, their marriage certificates, their children’s schools, their life time’s work, the expression in their eyes, were flattened by yellow bulldozers imported from Australia. They were state-of-the-art machines. They could flatten history and stack it up like building material. (Roy, *TMUH* 99)

Through this episode, *TMUH* debunks the popular claim that technology is an “unpremeditated or unguided phenomenon” (Noble 65); it emerges rather, as a means to strengthen the social and ideological status quo. Technology maintains the disparity amongst classes. Indian government takes hold of technology to further its ideological agendas to “purge off” the land of its ethnic others. These big businesses deem “cataclysmic erasure” inevitable to make way for their “purist invention” (Klein, *TSD*19).

#### **4.9 Industrial Progress: Construction of a Mass Grave**

The world spurred by profit, as depicted in the primary texts, is “an unhappy world created by unhappy people” (Manicardi 35). The novels show that civilization endows the upper class with the right to exploit the natural environment in which development “supplies an alibi for the protection of strategic political and economic interests” (Huggan and Tiffin 35-36). The writers expose the capitalist class’s ulterior motives behind the claims of “development”. The harmonious coexistence of all constituents of earth has been ruffled by the encroaching civilization. It has caused environmental destruction by devastating the whole ecosystem and incessant environmental interventions. The writers castigate human desire to reduce living forms to “consumable and disposable” objects.

This habit of mind bequeathed by civilization is the root cause of all damage to environment and life itself. The selected texts expose the objectifying habit of humans who assert their power over powerless animals. Many non-human lives are submitted to not only dietary needs, but also experimental and aesthetic purposes in both the novels.

*TMUH* opens in a wilderness caused by civilization where “sparrows... have gone missing” (Roy, *TMUH* i-ii). Many species of birds like “the old white-backed vultures, custodians of the dead for more than a hundred million years... have been wiped out”. The vultures dying of “diclofenac poisoning” are indicative of the human’s desire to turn all animals to their profitable businesses. Delhi is the place where cattle are “turned into better dairy machines” because the civilized people living in the city demand more “ice-creams and chocolate chip”, and they need more “mango milk shakes”. This pressure for more production and profitability is preyed upon vultures. The city and its inhabitants are impervious to the catastrophic changes shown metaphorically through “passing of the friendly old birds”.

Bhopal, in *TMUH*, is presented as a “betrayed Eden” (Buell 37) which is encroached by “development” and drenched with chemical poison. It becomes the experimental subject of the technological experiment called “Green Revolution”. Vandana Shiva in her book *The Violence of the Green Revolution: Third World Agriculture, Ecology, and Politics* writes:

The Green Revolution has been heralded as a political and technological achievement, unprecedented in human history. It was designed as a technological strategy for peace, through the creation of abundance by breaking out of nature's limits and variability. Paradoxically, two decades of the Green Revolution have left Punjab ravaged by violence and ecological scarcity. Instead of abundance, Punjab has been left with diseased soils, pest-infested crops, waterlogged deserts, and indebted and discontented farmers. (8)

Western industrial civilization has plundered South Asia by hiding multinational corporations’ interests behind “fig-leaves” (Chomsky, *TCG* 17) of “development” and “national interest”. George Bradford’s analysis of the whole situation is succinct here. Bradford condemns the “Green Revolution” (51) in India that claims to revolutionize the traditional agriculture to uplift it; but which turns the whole enterprise into a nightmare. It is simply a “miracle for the banks, corporations and military dictatorships” (Bradford 48-

53) who advocate this revolution. In the name of agricultural revolution chemicals including fertilizers, and insecticides ruffle “millennia old rural economies based on subsistence farming”. The Green Revolution, so lauded in the Western world, produced only “proletarian fodder” in Bhopal. This revolution demands a price “paid for by the pillage of nature and human beings in the countryside”. Bradford thinks that using the ploy of “progress”, the third world countries are made only “dumping ground and pool of cheap labour” for western multinational corporations. Technology, no longer needed by the West, is exported to the developing world along with the discarded chemicals, medicines and other banned products in their own countries. Through this episode, Roy exposes the same old formula applied by all multinational corporations i.e. very low, if any, safety standards for the workers are applied. Further, the costs are borne by the developing world like “the victims of Union Carbide, Dow, and Standard Oil” companies.

The macabre picture of people sacrificed at the altar of “development” is nowhere more evident than in the tragedy struck in Bhopal. Roy presents graphical image of the misery of people who try to escape the burning air but “poisonous clouds pursued” them putting their “eyes and lungs on fire” (Roy, *TMUH* 151). This “industrial plague” is responsible for venting the poisons into the atmosphere. It jeopardizes not only humans’ lives but endangers the life of animals as the gas leak mixes with the diet of animals sold in the market. This chemical is sprayed on plants, vegetables and food crops. The deadly products of industrial civilization are simply dumped “legally or “illegally” (Bradford 51) wherever it is convenient to the industry. The tons of the lethal chemicals produced from these chemical plants are “manufacturing mass death” (Bradford 51). All these chemicals leach into drinking water and the local sites, enhancing the chances of their contamination. This event is just one specimen of “genocidal war waged” by corporate against poor people of the poor country in the name of development.

#### **4.10 Hostile cities: Production of Poverty**

An inevitable offshoot of civilization is urbanization. Urban centers are developed to accommodate a high influx of population migrating from rural areas. Forests are razed to develop urban cities; for profit spurred efforts of city planners, sprawled cities are more



significant than people's contact with nature. Artificially created cities are offered to people as epitome of civilization. Alienated from nature, city's inmates' dependence on artificial objects grows exponentially. The cities become the sources of exacerbation of asymmetrical power allocation. The novels present juxtaposed images of city's "super wealth right next to grounding poverty" (Roy, *The Algebra* 36). In Khan's *Trespassing Karachi*, a land of opportunity, is turned into a "hostile city" (Chomsky, *TCG* 27). Khurram's family enjoys opulence made out of dubious business deals; Riffat Mansoor's textile mill offers her and her family a luxurious life style, whereas Salaamat's whole family's lives are consumed to ease the lives of rich. In consonance with Anarchists' premises, the texts present a scenario in which the system in the name of "development" produces "an ever-widening chasm between the dazzling rich and the disposable poor" (Chomsky, *TCG* 15). The civilization that swells on the sweat and blood of the poor, presents many challenges "for a vast majority of the population left outside the bubble" (Klein, *TSD* 15).

In *Trespassing* the waves of immigrants occupy Karachi as a result of Afghan War; the immigrants are just herded into boxes similar to "concentration centers"; the evictees have nowhere to go. People like Salaamat who are trapped into inner-city slums are pressured by other forces. Drugs, prostitution, gentrification, police repression are results of cutbacks in little security that they had in their native places. All this creates a sense of hopelessness in the fishing people. Frustrated and deprived, most of them turn to drug dealing and adopt violence against other equally victimized people. Khan's depiction of Karachi confirms that "Target killings are a terrifying reminder of the precarious nature of life for the people of Karachi" (Farooq et al. 152). Salaamat, trapped in a militant organization, is a pertinent example of this process of destruction caused by city.

*Trespassing* exuberantly depicts the hostility of city life in which the poor are preying upon poor; the rich people are locked away behind their barricades. Textile mill owner- Riffat Mansoor's house is surrounded by many bodyguards. Her city house, spreading over many acres, is elegant and beautiful; the inhabitants are driven into limousines as witnessed by Salaamat. Sealed off by many bodyguards, the family cannot see and hence feel the misery of the impoverished people. Dia, Riffat's daughter,

commutes between their farm house and city house in Limousine; the dirt-poor of the city have no protection against “superfluous people<sup>xviii</sup>”.

Against such a luxurious background, there is a less deluxe segment of city presented in *Trespassing*. Service lanes are ripped open on Drigh Road; citizens of Karachi will have to wait for many decades to see new lines replacing the old ones. The deplorable condition of roads is explicit from their being “clawed and abandoned like rotten meat” (Khan 42-3); the passers-by cannot cross without sullyng their shoes. On his arrival, Daanish is welcomed by barrage of news about the town. His family informs him that “more than three thousand kidnappings” are reported in a single month. The hostility of the city is evident through deteriorating law and order situation; the city administration has to engage the services of “horrible Ranger men”. The city, ruled by dacoits, has to be disciplined through curfew. Daanish cannot ignore the “tiny traps” for people of Pakistan in the name of “developmental schemes” like initiating “Yellow taxi” program for unemployed people; the destitution, however is not abetted for them.

Similarly, unequal distribution of resources has resulted into a sharp disparity between possessed and dispossessed as depicted in *TMUH*. A letter written by “Father John-for-the-week” makes a glaring comment upon “three thousand unidentified dead bodies... on the city’s streets last year” (Roy, *TMUH* 96-9). Delhi is encroached by civilization where two different kind of people live. People sitting in their brand new cars are surrounded by “surplus people” turned into beggars. Here the dispossessed herding Delhi, in search of manual labour, cannot be absorbed in the new emerging digital industry because of their lack of professional credentials and lack of proficiency in technical labour; these homeless people are found sleeping on “narrow pavements, head to toe, head to toe, head to toe, looping into the distance”. India, after technical revolution and linking its economy with military industrial complex, is unable to absorb the new wave of immigrants in state sponsored welfare system. Thus, for the people left out of state support, there is no possibility of upscale mobility. Their precariousness is heightened by industrial revolution.

#### **4.11 “Development” at the Expense of Country’s Poor**

Roy, an advocate of the “unconsoled”, questions the very notion of “development”. She vehemently exposes the political victimization hidden behind “progress” and “development”; the private companies as well as corrupt politicians secure their vested interest by usurping the fundamental rights of Indians. The needs, desires and aspirations of the Adivasis, Dalits, and religious minorities are disregarded by the government of India. India launches power projects like construction of massive dams and irrigation projects on the lands possessed by Adivasis. Construction of a series of dams means ousting millions of people, predominantly the minority tribes subjected to “ethnic otherness” (Roy, *The Algebra* 62) using the ploy of “national development” and “common greater good”. Roy questions the construction of dams which are, to her, “brazen means of taking water, land and irrigation away from the poor and gifting it to the rich” (Roy, *The Algebra* 57).

*TMUH* is a vehement critique of developmental projects constructed over the debris of Adivasis. Neglecting their battle for survival, the government denies them social justice; fruits of development, in the form of dams so lauded by the state media, bring only “horrors for Adivasis” (Roy, *The Algebra* 91). One such eviction case is presented through the character of Gulabiya whose family has to pay the price for construction of dam. He belongs to Adivasi tribe which traditionally live in forests and depend on nature for their sustenance. Through dream as a trope for depicting Gulabiya’s memories, Roy elucidates the pre-development life of the Adivasis. To evade the nightmare of existing sordid reality, Gulabiya dreams of his past life which was free and independent; he and his family lived deep in a forest close to the “silk cotton trees”. They virtually had no contact with the market of the progressing world; they gathered all their basic needs from the forest. To fulfill their water needs they had river close to them. They did not depend upon money because the river was enough to “ensure” them. Forests were close to provide for their basic needs. Having livestock they did not need any “fixed deposit”. Gulabiya dreams of the past when he was self-sufficient to escape the induced impoverishment. He dreams of the past when their family had plenteous fruits offered by the forest and they did not have to steal the mangoes from the trees on their own land. He recalls the days when his brother was not forced to find a dehumanizing work as a “tour

guide” at the “dam-site” and “showcase the miracles the dam had wrought” (Roy, *TMUH* 113).

This pre-civilized life was fulfilling and off the reach of the profit oriented market for Gulabiya and his family. After the “development” encroaches his village, it is submerged and now lies at the bottom of a dam reservoir. The construction of dam has snatched away the natural source of sustenance from the villagers as: “Fish didn’t swim through his windows” (Roy, *TMUH* 113). With civilization, their very existence is deemed “outlawed” (Roy, *TMUH* 218). Food bearing trees, hunting, fishing, gathering mushrooms is strictly prohibited without a “state-issued license” (Roy, *TMUH* 218). These “natives-turned-workers” (Roy, *TMUH* 207) are made dependent on market for their sustenance.

Gulabiya’s problem is complicated because of the state’s refusal to consider these evictees as human beings worth protection. The state declines to chart out any alternative rehabilitation policy to resettle them somewhere. Roy states that Indian state’s policies regarding rehabilitation of the evictees are clear that it “does not have a National Rehabilitation policy” (Roy, *The Algebra* 63-4). These evictees have not been settled anywhere so, they have been displaced frequently. Roy comments, “Once they start rolling, there’s no resting place”. Their displacement in the name of “development” is close to their annihilation as their resettlement colonies are “worse than concentration of the third Reich”. Gulabiya remembers the colony where his hovel is “a tin hut with tin walls and a tin roof that was so hot you could fry onion on it” (Roy, *TMUH* 113). His dream elucidates the integrity of the forest people with their natural surroundings depicted through various festivals enjoyed by the people. The seasonal changes were celebrated by the people by drinking, and dancing for weeks. The river was a reliable companion which provided livestock as well as pleasurable activity of swimming. Forest children played their flute sitting close to the river. Their displacement has caused rupture in age-old connectivity with the ecosystem; they used to enjoy the company of Sloth and Sambar close to their forest. The past has been turned into a sad memory.

Roy criticizes the state for driving these victims of development into “cracks and fissures” (Roy, *The Algebra* 64) of industrialized Delhi. When the possessed commute on

roads in their “sleek climate-controlled cars” (Roy, *The Algebra* 64) the superfluous people surround them with their little offerings like mobile phone chargers, cloth dusters, business magazines (Roy, *TMUH* 100). These destitute people do not merit any interest of the possessed people whose gaze is possessed by their sweetheart business deals of more dispossessions. These evictees live on the city’s industrial outskirts sitting on heaps of city’s waste, surrounded by colorful plastic bags close to the contaminated water and air. On the other hand there are rich consumers stalking market full of imported canned food, shoes and garments. These rich people “who counted as people” (Roy, *TMUH* 113) inhabit a very different world, where luxuries of life are made available to them. Their insensitivity and jubilation at availability of multinational products is presented in these words, “You don’t have to go abroad for shopping any more. Imported things are available here now. See, like Bombay is our Washington and Kashmir is our Switzerland. It’s really like saala fantastic yaar” (Roy, *TMUH* 99). Roy debunks the so-called harmony imposed by developmental civilization; it is harmony “between the people with the hammers and the people getting beaten over their heads with them” (Chomsky, *The Common Good* 27).

#### **4.12 The Creation of Money**

Primitivists criticize “civilization” for creating money and making people rely on it for their needs. Money for Manicardi is not “just any slip of colorful paper or metal card” (226); it is a “countable way of interpreting relationships” in a world ruled by market. Money is used to measure the value of people. The value of money is only a political construction to condition the world to its power. Prior to the introduction of profiteering mentality” the pre-civilized people ensured “their cohesion” (Manicardi 207). As long as they and their mentality were not encroached by market logic, the uncivilized people “favored prestige ... over the accumulation of material wealth”. The pre-civilized people did not desire to change “the world into a product”. Uninterested in possession, the pre-civilized people saw nature as “an indissoluble whole”.

Roy, in *TMUH*, denounces the “profiteering mentality” believed in by many characters. She exposes the claim of civilization that money can heal the psychological fractures of individuals and laments that wealth generated outside the frame of

“production” and “consumption” is not considered wealth and is dismissed out-rightly. She pleads against the instrumental mentality which turns everything and every form of life into a capital for wealth generation and is dismayed by the civilized world which attaches a price tag to all such forms of life. Roy vehemently articulates against encaging animals in torture cells; deserts being turned into marketable ventures; the market mentality is visible as “rivers were bottled and sold in supermarket, fish were tinned, mountains mined and turned into shining missiles” (Roy, *TMUH* 98) as depicted in the novel. Her novel highlights that seen through economic glance, “nature and its creatures do not possess a standalone meaning” (Manicardi 207); they are valuable only if they exist for capitalist exploitation.

Roy is also against the mathematical precision in people’s relations with each other which is inaugurated by the philosophy of money. Economics has not only taken away human’s ability to procure their survival needs, it has stripped people of the very humanity by adapting their inner exigencies into the “profitability of trade” (209). Immersed into the ideology of profit, civilized humans are not dictated by feelings and emotions, rather by the rules of economics (209). In *TMUH* a gruesome murder of Sadaam’s father takes place for a few coins. Sadaam’s father is stopped at the nearest police station “to pay the Station House Officer... his cut” (87) which is almost triple the usual agreed upon amount. The SHO Sehrawat wants the money as bribery for carrying the carcass of a cow. Sadaam’s father tries “hard bargaining” but to no effect; taking advantage of the politically charged atmosphere, Sehrawat orchestrates the mob assault. The cow protectors bring all available weapons and kill the Dalits in cold blood.

This economic model, ingrained in civilization, is followed by Janak Lal Sharma, who, unlike Gulabiya Vechania, knows the importance of money and leaves no opportunity to exploit the protestors at Jantar Mantar for economic gains. Janak Lal Sharma is the “toilet in-charge” in Jantar Mantar and makes the best use of basic human need to make profit. His spacious valet is organized very carefully by denomination. The small box that he keeps shows his desire to augment his profit by allowing the people to recharge their mobile phone and camera batteries. He embezzles with the money earned from the toilet users by entering fewer fees for ablution. With passage of time, he learns many tricks of the trade to supplement his earnings. As the unrest in the country mounts,

chances for business progression for Janak Lal get multiplied as more activists and protestors occupy Jantar Mantar; every needful person brings a prospect of profit for Janak Lal.

### **4.13 Conclusion**

Navigating through the selected fiction, I evaluated the violent interference of capitalism in lives of characters from both countries. The analysis shows that civilization, by using its weapon of capitalist development, threatens the very existence of multiple forms of life. Many events become malignant index that civilization is turned against itself and its achievements. The novels lay bare the catastrophic consequences of civilization and its developmental mantras on all living beings. The destruction, invoked by many industries, seems to engulf the whole ecological space abounding the presented countries.

The selected fiction is an inspired outburst against the sinister attempts at the dehumanization of man, annihilation of natural life and disintegration of harmonious relation between man and nature. The writers, with great sincerity and depth of feelings, expose genocidal and cannibalistic aspects of civilization that change the perspective of people to profit mentality thus compromising lives of human and non-humans for economic gains. The novels are violent outrage against unjust distribution of resources in which people are divided in possessed and dispossessed. The instrumental mentality deems every form of life exploitable which can be crushed for momentary gains. The selected fiction warns against different facets of developmental civilization like privatization and commodification which go against the principles of democracy and subject the third world countries to irremediable repression.

## Notes Chapter 4

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<sup>vii</sup> For further detail please see *A British Anarchist Tradition: Herbert Read*, by Carrisa Honeywell, p 137

<sup>viii</sup> *Sindh* is the province in which Karachi is located. For further detail please see Saba Pirzada's "Postcolonial Development, Socio-ecological degradation, and Slow Violence in Pakistani Fiction" (p 104).

<sup>ix</sup> *NWFP*, North West Frontier Province, the former name of Pakistani Province now known as Khyber Pakhtoon Kha.

<sup>x</sup> *Bhopal Gas Leak*: It happened in 1984, in Bhopal when Union Carbide Gas plant emitted lethal gas in air, thus contaminating the air and water. It is estimated that this leak resulted in 3,000 deaths by the deadly gas cloud rising in atmosphere, and 20,000 were permanently disabled. The gas left a 25 square mile swath of dead and dying people, animals, as it drifted southeast away from the factory. For further detail please see *Questioning Technology* (p 47-53) by John Zerzan.

<sup>xi</sup> *EPZs*: Economic Production Zones, the low income zones in poor countries like India, Pakistan and Bangladesh where foreign, predominantly Western, investors are attracted for investment. For further detail please see Naomi Klein's *No Logo*, (P 158)

<sup>xii</sup> Millions of people affected by dam construction: Roy believes that thirty three million people are displaced by big dams. Knowing about this massive number of people displaced because of the "pseudo- developmental projects, Roy feels like stumbling on "a mass grave". For further detail please see the essay "the greater common good" by Roy, published in *The Algebra of Infinite Justice*, pp 61-2. India: Penguin Books, 2001.

<sup>xiii</sup> Steel industry here refers to Tata Steels one of the biggest industries in India that actually "run India". For further discussion Please see *CAGS* by Arundhati Roy (p 12).

<sup>xiv</sup> *Art First* is the cutting edge contemporary magazine owned by Steel industry. For further detail please see *CAGS* by Arundhati Roy.

<sup>xv</sup> *Milton Friedman* was the economist who not only propounded neo-liberalist philosophy but vehemently advocated its advantages for the civilized world. For further detail please see *Shock Doctrine* by Naomi Klein. (P 6)

<sup>xvi</sup> Blomley differentiates between "*Acquisition by plough*" which is the actual usage by the local tribes, and "*acquisition by pen*" which means land grabbing done by powerful groups and where law conveniently turns blind eye to the violent grabbing of land. In



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simple words, the stroke of the law's pen underwrites and thereby attempts to erase the violence of property from view.

xvii *Superfluous people*: Noam Chomsky believes that the current capitalist system creates such an oppressive society which relegates a massive number of people as useless people because they do not contribute to swell the market by making profit. For further detail please see *Class Warfare*, (p 117)

## CHAPTER 5

# GENOCIDAL NATIONALISM AND PRODUCTION OF MASS GRAVE

### 5.1 Introduction

Using anarchist perspective provided by Rudolf Rocker, Abdullah Ocalan, and Prabahat Patnaik, this chapter analyses Nayomi Munoveera's *Island of Thousand Mirrors* and Arundhati Roy's *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* to prove that civilization disrupts the unity of the people and divides them along religious/ethnic and national categories. It further sets to establish that the conflict, between the advocates of a unified group based upon homogeneity and a more inclusive and heterogeneous existence of different ethno-religious groups, is stoked by a few people who have their vested interest in schisms between different communities. The common citizens of the states, depicted in both these novels, are instrumentalized by a small group of people to defend its own personal and political interest. The violence that erupts in both novels does not spring from the intrinsic desire of the people to wage war against ethnic minorities; rather, it is fomented by a few power mongers who create a fearful vision of the world in which the "minorities" are shown as enemies. The power wielders present violent aggression as the only relevant solution to all problems of differences presented in the novels. My argument is that division of people into exploitative categories slaughters the qualities of sympathy, imagination and respectful acceptance that have been much valued qualities of a pre-civilized existence.

## 5.2 Violence Inherent in Civilization

The selected novels are replete with the worst kind of violence in the form of body mutilation, incineration, drowning, killing, and dismembering. The preponderance of violence against minorities and the retributive violence by the minorities, substantiates that this unprecedented violence is the product of unequal distribution of resources across the hierarchies created to privilege a few and objectify others. El-Gendi traces this violence in the creation of nation-states. She establishes that the existing postcolonial states have been constituted and shaped by the former colonial powers in ways that allowed these colonial powers to have their “sphere of interest” in their respective colonies. She writes, “In the 1914-22 period, Europeans and Americans were the only ones seated around the table when the decisions were made” (26). The contending powers including Britain and France decided the fate of the people in former colonies by ignoring local identities and political preferences and instead determined borders with a ruler-arbitrarily” (23). In addition to that, the institutional structure of the nation-state itself “introduces incentives for political elites to privilege members of the national majority over ethnic minorities” (EL-Gendi 29). The foundational principle of nation-states, that “states should be governed in the name of a nationally-defined community” (El-Gendi 29), results in the privileging of the dominant ethno-national group around which the nation-state was established. The establishment of hierarchies in the creation of nation-states entailed in differential treatment accorded to people belonging to different beliefs. Hence, people who belonged to the minority groups were not provided “equality before the law”, “protection from arbitrary violence”, and “political participation”. All these privileges were confined only to the members of the dominant ethnic group. Al-Gendi posits that this differential treatment could not glue the people for a longer period of time and became visible right after decolonization.; after only a few years of decolonization, the minorities became increasingly conscious of their “ethnic and racial heterogeneity”, and of being considered and waved off as “foreign elements”. They were never incorporated into the national identity, but rather faced evolving forms of violence and discrimination against them.

Patnaik draws upon the establishment of anti-imperialist nationalism in pre-partition India to chart out the penetration of “bourgeoisie nationalism” in postcolonial states. He comments:

The so-called anti-imperialist struggle was simply a Hindu upper caste movement that merely succeeded in carving out some space for the emerging bourgeoisie recruited from this background... from the point of view of dalits and other oppressed segments, the post-colonial dispensation has been no better than the colonial one (possibly even worse). (Patnaik 277)

Maia Ramnath, a postcolonial anarchist, questions the establishment of nation-states as decolonization failed to bring any healthy change in the condition of former colonies. She contends that colonialism’s bleak shadow cannot be dispensed with in the newly established nation-states; colonialism helped the newly decolonized countries incorporate themselves into global capitalism (cementing a dependent and peripheral position). The new nation-states inherited the mechanisms of disciplines, punishments and carceral and surveillance regimes from the colonial states. Ramnath argues that any anarchist movement against colonial regime demands an “overhaul of international oppressions apart from the elimination of the external one; as many external forces “collude opportunistically with local reactionary elements”. Hence, Ramnath rejects “nationalism” based upon “normativity as policed by conservative elites, or deployed by chauvinistic reactionaries”. She emphasizes that anticolonial struggle is not only a struggle against colonialism but also “nationalism” simultaneously (“Non-Western Anarchisms and Postcolonialism” 6).

Anarchists are weary of the idea of nation-states; nation-states are not “equipped to be the vehicles of either resistance or liberation” (Ramnath). In Ramnath’s estimation, the acquisition of a state by a national liberation movement can never be postcolonial, since state in essence perpetuates coloniality. Although, under a colonial rule, the hostile colonial forces can be easily discerned; but upon attaining independence from foreign rule, the nation-state under the dictates of the national economic and military powers, adopt “the old structures, and behaviors of the colonial apparatus” (Ramnath). She stresses that an anarchist approach to the hierarchies developed in a nation-state should be as critical as its critique of anticolonial liberation. The more radical imaginaries should

include only those definitions of self-determination and sovereignty that are not consequent upon state-building or mimicking the “pre-colonial social forms” as models. Abdullah Ocalan, A Kurd anarchist challenges the liberal democracies in modern times which exploit the concept of nationalism for the benefit of the ruling elites. He believes that nationalism aims at monopolization of all social activities. Nationalism demands that:

Diversity and plurality had to be fought, an approach that led to assimilation and genocide. It does not only exploit the ideas and the labor potential of the society and colonize the heads of the people in the name of capitalism. It also assimilates all kinds of spiritual and intellectual ideas and cultures in order to preserve its own existence. It aims at creating a single national culture, a single national identity, and a single unified religious community. Thus it also enforces a homogenous citizenship. (9)

Ocalan believes that such a kind of homogenic national society in nothing more than an artificial society and is the outcome of a deliberate “social engineering project” (10). This designed project of homogenization of a society cannot be accomplished without the extensive use of force or the financial incentives and they have often resulted in the annihilation and termination of minority communities, or resulted in “forced assimilation” (10).

Anarchists contend that “fearing others” is the brick and mortar of the civilized world; it depends for its operation on “the system of slavery and dependence” (Manicardi 162). Civilization does not work without division of society into higher and lower groups, thus generating hierarchies. The separation of people into different classes, ethnicities, religions and races responds to civilization’s essential requirement of the distinction between power wielders and slaves; people are manipulated through fear to believe in the inevitability of this separation. This fear and terror suits the power wielders and they rely on terror to keep themselves privileged; hence fear is constructed. Millions of people have to be convinced of the hovering threat to keep them toe the line, follow orders, and scarify their lives, comfort and honor. Civilization invents this enemy sometimes as a nasty neighbor, an enemy state, a different ethnic group or a different religious party. From birth to death humans are taught to water, cultivate and nurture fear.

This “constructed enemy” fulfils a number of purposes (Manicardi 172); the “imagined enemy” embodies all woes of society which can be eradicated by annihilating the enemy. Civilization places the power that invents this enemy at a very high pedestal; it apotheosizes the inventor of this fear as a moral guide, an infallible person, the only person who can bring out the people from destitution. The fear-based politics distracts people from focusing on real dangers and issues that torment their existence. In short, politics creates, foments make-belief dangers by concealing the real problems.

### **5.3 Nationalism and Genocide**

In the selected literary texts, this fear of “others” is translated as “nationalism”<sup>xviii</sup>. The power wielders use a narrow construct of “nationalism” grounded in “land, purity of blood, religion, culture and language” (Nussbaum 21) to victimize the minorities, thus jeopardizing the notions of venerable plurality and heterogeneity within the borders of a country. Thus, these nationalists construct a framework that does not include certain lives and expose them to violence of death.

*ITM*, by Nayomi Manoveera, is a debut but mature novel which is set in the recent past. Instead of rehearsing and trivializing the present and giving a monolithic portrait of the recent Sri Lankan civil war, Manoveera contextualizes the present turmoil in its conflicted past. The novel is haunted by the specter of the colonial past plunder when power transfer was “unevenly” done to placate the majoritarian population of the country. The novel opens in 1984’s “Island of Ceylon”<sup>xix</sup> when the white man departs leaving behind a legacy of conflict between two groups. The white man leaves with a heavy heart taking along precious possessions of Sri Lankans such as “rubies; emeralds; topaz” (Manoveera 9) along with rare animals found in Sri Lanka. The departing ships of English captain also consist “... the jewel encrusted thrones of Kandyan kings; the weapons of Chola warriors; priceless texts in Pali and Sanskrit, Sinhala and Tamil”. This plunder of Sri Lanka’s material and intellectual resources insemminate the seeds of exploitation and violence for the infant state.

The symbolic presentation of “the flag” of the nascent state hints towards germinating violence in the ideology of the nation. Manoveera hints at the very outset of

the novel that the newly formulated constitution fails to give consideration to “multicultural/multiethnic population” inhabiting the Island. The resultant struggle, over apparatuses of political power, is charted through an ever widening chasm between majoritarian Sinhala population and a minority Tamil through their respective flags and their metaphoric implication. The newly-emerging state designs its flag with “a poised stylized lion, all curving flank and ornate muscle, a long cruel sword gripped in its front paw” (Munoveera 10). The image of the lion represents Sinhala who believe that they are the progeny of an “Indian prince” and “a fierce cat”. The color distribution on the flag too becomes the source of concern for different factions in Island; the flag contains “a small green portion” symbolic of Muslim population, whereas “orange portion” signifying Tamil population which makes up the largest minority of Sri Lanka.

The transfer of power is followed by an era of conflict between both the contesting groups. Tamils, with the passage of time, are more marginalized because of the policies of the state and consequently get enraged and consider “the orange strip inadequate” (Munoveera 4-10). So, the national flag, that fails to accommodate minorities adequately, is replaced with another flag, signifying militancy proportionate to the combativeness represented by a snarling lion. On the new Tamil’s flag is projected “... a snarling tiger, all bared fang and bristling whisker”. To heighten the aggressive effect, “dagger-clawed paws” of the tiger are designed on the flag. The background of the flag consists of an equally militant symbol of “crossed rifles ... over the cat’s head”. The fierce struggle insinuated at the birth of the state deepens, further fomented by successive generations of politicians for their vested interest. The symbols of both ferocious beasts indicate that Munoveera is not interested in taking sides; rather, she presents the ensuing war between equally corrupt and ferocious savages that defies innocence on either part.

Although *ITM* encompasses social issues of class and caste ingrained in the Sri Lankan society, but it addresses most powerfully Sri Lankan present-day chaotic status by underscoring the reason that the conflict spanning over three decades has been stoked by a constraining framework of “nationalism” which denies the minorities their right to live. Despite showing minute conflicts between different regional, social and caste groups, the main focus of the fiction is on violent conflict between ethnic groups competing for dominance and a center-space. Occupying a center-space is replete with

constructing the contending group as “enemy” responsible for all their woes which must be annihilated. Both the contending groups construct their own definition of an authentic human, thus excluding those people from that frame of reference, who refuse to believe in and extend their cooperation in violent politics.

*ITM* uses trope of memory to recuperate the historic events and their impact on the lives of people from both sides. It tells untold stories of many unnamed, dispossessed people whose lives have been exposed to “precariousness” by the logic of “nationalism”. It charts the loss, fear and disruption on both sides of the margin, working to divide the people on the ethno-religious basis. It tells that individual lives are profoundly imbricated in collective history of communities going through turmoil. The wider convulsions of family and nation become inseparable from the personal agitations afflicting the characters.

*ITM* is the story of two women engulfed by war; their intertwined fates tell of vulnerability of common citizens who are drawn into madness by ruthless policies of the power mongers. By giving a multiple-perspective narrative and introducing Saraswathi as a narrator in the second part of the novel, Munoveera problematizes portrayal of Tamils as ‘menacing others’ in the context of the escalating terrorism of 1990s. By giving the narratives of both sides, the novel careens the argument from intrinsic discrepancies to bigger issues of power allocations. By depicting the love relations between Visaka and Ravan, Yashodra and Shiva, the writer recollects an unforgettable period of harmony between people of different ethnic communities; the sharing of lives and territorial spaces culminates in profound friendships and inter-faith marriages between families of contesting groups.

The novel shows, however, that this communal harmony is disintegrated by rulers and politicians who do not deem the minorities as fully humans. The horrible events of Colombo as presented in the novel force the readers to think about genocide. Genocide has been defined in the Article 2 of United Nations Convention as:

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in



part; (d) Imposing means intended to prevent births within the groups; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. (Qtd. in Nussbaum, 45)

All the events happening in the novel surface only to expose that genocide happens in both fictional worlds created by the writers. Mass killings and gang rapes are rampant; the ethnic minorities are sought out for extinction; sloganeering by the perpetrators indicates that the intention is to assert right-wing supremacy and destruction of the target populace. The killings are accompanied by destruction of the property as well as living abodes of the target community.

*ITM* presents two narrators who undergo the traumatic events of civil war in Sri Lanka. The loss, fear, terror and trauma have been experienced by them in its entirety. Yasodhara, the narrator of the first part of the novel, narrates the events happening in Colombo, a city inhabited by various ethnicities. Wellawatte house, designed and constructed by an Oxford-returned judge, becomes the witness of genocidal violence; the otherwise calm atmosphere of this palatial house is disturbed by the widespread violence. Although racism and caste become a special focus of the judge after he returns from London but this is not lethal. His daughters are made to learn lessons of superiority and inferiority generated by economic as well as social factors. The judge's education at Oxford affords him considerable sources to change the race hierarchy into caste hierarchy. He, very painfully teaches his family the manners of white race; he insists upon an accent trimmed to white taste. The dishes prepared in the house are all foreign, having no compatibility with traditional Sri Lankan culture. Private tutors come to teach the daughter elocution lessons and Beethoven practice becomes a mandatory ritual of the family. After the death of the patriarch, Sylvia Sunethra-the matriarch of the family, rents out the upper portion to an influential Tamil family. Although there are cultural and religious differences, yet friendships and love relations flourish in upper, lower domains. The novel shows that interaction between people is a daily matter which results in the love relation between Visaka and Ravan; the depicted families are impervious to religious and caste polarity.

Munoveera shows that Colombo, Sri Lanka's megalopolis, is first hit by violence. The state is left in the hands of irresponsible politicians who, in order to have electoral support from the majority Sinhala population, make discriminatory laws<sup>xx</sup> that fuel the

anger of the minorities discriminated upon. *ITM* lays bare the politics behind 1958 riots in Colombo. The rumours of "... the air turned into the smoky scent of sulphur" blowing down from Colombo are heard in nearby villages. Whispers announce blatantly, "They are killing Tamils in Colombo" (Munoveera 26). The insistence on "Land, purity of blood, unity of religion, culture and language" increases with every passing day in Sri Lanka; the only solution presented by the dominant culture is assimilation.

Munoveera accentuates through this novel that terror through exclusionary politics does not spare children; the discrimination based on ethnicity seeps into academia. Nishan, the "father-to-be" of the narrator Yasodhara, witnesses such an exclusionary version of nationalism enacted in one of his school journeys. The train that takes children to school is attacked by a mob; the children are frozen to see that the people who invade the train are saronged and fully equipped with machetes. Unguarded and unarmed uniformed children raise their hands in submission to the terror written in the eyes of these militants.

Munoveera highlights the blood curdling emphasis of right-wing adherents who cannot tolerate any possibility of difference. Terror of the long bare knives is compounded by inflammatory language fomenting the already volatile atmosphere. The enraged voices of the saronged people shout unanimously, "Tamil devils. Get up! Stand up! Stand up!" (29). A small girl Radhini's dark complexion singles her out for the vengeance. The absence of pottu makes these men surmise that she tries to seduce Sinhala boys by not wearing the traditional Hindu mark. One of these men threatens to "make a pottu... in the middle of the forehead". Insistent upon the "purity of blood" these men fear that Tamil girls can bring imbalance in demographical dimensions by seducing Sinhala boys. These men, bent upon preventing any means of impurity in their race, are on the lookout for Tamil girls and vow to annihilate them; hence, Radhni becomes an easy prey. The belligerent men are interrupted by a teacher whose timely interference comes to rescue her.

The novel (Munoveera 29-30) presents a sharp contrast between the advocates of plurality and sympathetic inclusion based upon heterogeneity and "right wing" activists bent upon imposing a unitary homogeneity, thus barring all possibilities of ethnic coexistence. The female teacher, who understands the importance of difference,

announces fiercely to leave the children alone as, “they’re just school kids”. She risks her own life by pushing past the sinewy shoulders of the “blood hungry men” and enwraps the little trembling girl in her caring embrace and announces staunchly, “The girl has done nothing. Let her be”. The men expressing their fear of Tamils insist upon spilling blood and justify their callous behavior by declaring that the little girl belongs to Tamil community who claim their land and jobs, and if uninterrupted, “they will take the whole country”. The fear of the usurpation of land, and resources for impoverished people, explains the cause of this bellicose behavior. Knowing the importance of assimilation, Miss Abeyrathna commands the girl to recite something like the “Ithipso Gatha” which would prove her allegiance to majoritarian Buddhist religion. The girl obeys and recites the Buddhist verses explicating nonattachment to the world and the inevitability of death. Terror is reflected through tremor in Radhni’s Tamil inflected voice. Radhni is rescued, but the event teaches children that assimilation is the only way of survival for minorities.

In contrast to the common citizens who understand the importance of diversity and coexistence, *ITM* portrays mad politicians who play “hate-card” to make big deals in political field. One of such politicians comes on fore front to highlight ethnic differences. The Colombo national television gives a clear vision of a Sinhala politician who sets the pace for subsequent events in the country by vehemently insisting upon Tamil’s alienness and disowns the whole Tamil community in the process:

If there is discrimination in this land which is not their Tamil homeland, then why try to stay here? Why not go back to India where there would be no discrimination? There are your kovils and gods. There you have your culture, education, universities. There you are masters of your own fate. (Munoveera 76)

This irresponsible statement of the politician is reminiscent of the anarchist stance which exposes the inextricable and symbiotic relationship between civilization and politics. Politicians, to satiate their power-lust use state machinery to perpetrate violence on people. Thus, instead of offering redress to the victims of riots, the politicians insinuate that Tamils are not endemic to this land; they imply that Sri Lanka is not their motherland and this pure land should be protected from foreigners. The candidness of the expression and provocative contents of the politician’s speech hails another spell of violence in the country of which Black July<sup>xxi</sup> is a significant marker.

*ITM* explicates that the civil war in Sri Lanka is not a spontaneous upsurge of violence on the spur of the moment; rather, it is deliberately and meticulously plotted and carried out with the proclaimed objective to win. This “institutionally organized murder” (Manicardi 199) is premised around violence, sequestration and annihilation of life to impose political, economic and religious homogeneity on people belonging to different ethnicities. The government agenda is reflected through the statement of politician who downplays the common vulnerability and interdependence of the ethnicities sharing a common land and horizon. This politician, in order to placate his own people and expanding his vote bank, disowns a portion of citizenry and thus becomes instrumental in igniting fear and hatred against the government and its representatives.

#### **5.4 Nationalism Defined by Hindutva**

Similarly, in Roy’s *TMUH* the fundamental breakdown of the supremacy of law happens. Although, the perpetrators of violence claim of spontaneous rioting, but deliberation in rioting surfaces from the textual evidence. The killings and incineration are the result of hatred and fear disseminated from many decades’ grassroots work of right-wing organization which has symbiotic relationship with the power magnates sitting in the parliament. The rhetoric of supremacy of law and plurality of democracy proves a sham through the text as complicity of the state organs is observed. The offenders commit barbarities with impunity and the state offers no redress to the victimized minorities. Suspecting the whole structure of civilization, Roy argues that genocidal violence has played a significant role in “the parade of civilization’ (Roy, *LTTGH* 137). Civilization cannot operate “without delving into fascism”. Exploring the nexus between nationalism and fascism Roy comments that most often “nationalism dovetails into fascism” (Roy, *LTTGH* 15) and in its all forms i.e. “communists, capitalists, fascists... nationalism has been at the root of almost all the genocide of the twentieth century” (*LTTGH* 15).

*TMUH* rents with genocidal violence. Elimination and extermination of religious minorities, with crude elicitation of pests, varmint and plagues are ubiquitous in the novel. The novel sets a stage based on historical events where a horde of perpetrators faces its victims, subjecting them to wanton killing. In the regime of Gujarat ka Lalla a sophisticated plan for total extermination has been in motion. Political violence is

targeted against Muslims and the accompanying propaganda indicates a desire to wipe them as they are conceived as “dangerous enemy”. To go about the business of genocidal violence, Hindu majoritarian nationalism severs any human connection with the Muslims. The Muslims are deemed “subhuman... parasites” (*LTTGH* 139) who should be eradicated to purge the society. “Indian Nationalism” has become, under the benevolent gaze of the state, “Hindu Nationalism” which defines itself through hatred of Muslims. Muslim’s sacred places like saints’ shrines have not been only razed but are replaced with “saffron flags” of the Hindu right and the statues of their heroes and gods. The novel evinces that the slow but steady poisoning of civil life as well as the state institutions has been done through a deliberate effort done over many decades which has eroded civil liberties of the target populace.

The violence against Muslims has been depicted through one of the protagonists, Anjum, a transgender on her trip to Ajmer Sharif, accompanied by an old friend Zakir Mian, to pay her visit to the saint of love and offer “a green and gold chadar as an offering to Hazrat Ghareeb Nawaz in Zainab’s name” (Roy, *TMUH* 44-5). Caught in the swirl of ferocity, Anjum cannot be located by her transgender community back in Khawbgah. Ajmer Sharif’s links with India and the international gaze are severed completely; the genocidal stage set in Ahmadabad has to be concealed from the world. Zakir Mian’s son Mansoor Ali’s visit exposes horrendous crimes done against Muslims of Gujarat. He gets to know that a railway coach<sup>xxii</sup> has been torched by ‘miscreants’ in which “sixty Hindu pilgrims [are] burnt alive”. Roy builds up the background for the present animosity in two communities by presenting “a screaming mob”<sup>xxiii</sup> that had brought down the old Masjid known as Babri Masjid. The event indicates two chronologically distant but related events i.e. the construction of a Hindu temple at the site of an old mosque razed ten years back. Both these events have been used to mobilize Hindus against Muslims, as it was profitable to the then opposition constituted by BJP<sup>xxiv</sup>. The novel indicates that summoning Hindus against “Babri Masjid than for anything else” (Jafferlot 92-93) is pretty convenient.

Roy lays bare the right- wing organization’s emphasis upon assimilation. Roy is wary of “purist” ideology perpetuated by the state which criticizes difference as “impurity”. Giving the graphic picture of fury and wildness rampant in Gujarat, the novel

displays that the wanton killing of Muslims goes on for two months. Mansoor Ali, after two months' unbearable waiting, arranges a third trip to Gujarat. Cognizant of the religious enmity, he tries to assimilate himself in Hindu appearance; he knows that the people subjected to violence refused to adopt Hindu culture and religion. Determined to show adoration, he shaves off his beard, the mark of his allegiance to Islam. By wearing red puja threads on his wrists, he ceases to be a "foreigner". Mansoor Ali's assimilation becomes his passport for a safe entry into Gujarat, where he fails to retrieve his father or any news about him, but stumbles upon Anjum in a refugee camp<sup>xxv</sup> in Ahmadabad.

Gujarat incidence, although does not inflict physical wounds on Anjum's body, but her soul does not escape the irreparable damage. The incidence saps her vitality and leaves her listless and uninterested in her surroundings. Gujarat carnage opens many vistas for Anjum's spiritual consumption. The "Gujarat holocaust" (Roy, *LTTGH* 18) teaches her that Muslims are butchered at the altar of an exclusivist, reductionist and violent ideology known as Hindutva<sup>xxvi</sup>; this fundamentalist ideology underscores some symbols for its allegiance. The devotees of this ideology consist of thousands of Indians who are girded with petrol bombs, pistols, knives, swords and tridents. Apart from Bajrang Dal's <sup>xxvii</sup> elective constituency, the lowest caste like untouchables and indigenous Indians are marshaled against Muslims by the sitting government. The economic foundation of the Muslim community is systematically destroyed. The people who lead the mobs hold state sanctioned lists which indicated houses and workplaces of Muslim households.

*TMUH* exhibits incineration as another horrifying hallmark of this extermination project. The mobs are accommodated in trucks having incendiary gas cylinders; the rioters use "stockpiles of gas cylinders, which explains the gas shortage of the previous weeks" (Roy, *TMUH* 45). This incendiary stuff is used to ablaze Muslim houses and business settlements; these gas cylinders are also used to incinerate the victims after murdering them. The mobs are protected by police absolutely. Anjum is stranded in the refugee camp because the butchers rule the surroundings; as the mobs become the arbiter of the daily routine of the trapped people and decide who can meet whom and who can go where. Ostracism of Muslims is carried to the peak; Muslim students cannot attend their educational institutions. Overshadowed with dread, Muslim parents do not let their

children go out of their houses. Survival necessitates that they cover themselves up in Hindu attires and learn Hindu chants to pass off as Hindus.

Anjum sees that this organized slaughter has been done by mobs who were “armed with swords and tridents and wore saffron head bands” (Roy, *TMUH* 45). RSS’s grassroots work,<sup>xxviii</sup> symbolized by saffron color, declares that Gujarati Muslims do not qualify Hindutva’s declaration of “Nationhood”; hence, they are excluded from the frame of human being. Muslim community’s refusal to abandon their distinctive characteristics and their resistance to merge with the Hinduised national character becomes an unforgivable sin. The perpetrators, from their gait and appearance, seem pure nationalists. Anjum recognizes the exclusionary and reductionist agenda of these workers in “Newton’s army, deployed to deliver an Equal and Opposite Reaction” (Roy, *TMUH* 62). Anjum is terrified to see thousands of Hindutva devotees shouting unanimously: “Only one place for the Mussalman! The Graveyard or Pakistan”!.

The novel exhibits that Hindutva and its “purist nationalist ideology” does not allow plurality; they demand “unequivocal display of obedience” (Chatterji, “The Biopolitics” 336). The purist ideology accentuates that all inhabitants of India “must worship” the same gods; eat the same meals; and celebrate the same events. It’s pure adherents work diligently and proficiently to test the breeze and bring to light any remnants of life spared accidentally by them. Anjum is caught by these hounds, feigning death by lying sprawled over the dead body of her companion. Although, she is spared, to avoid “bad luck” (Roy, *TMUH* 62); but she is forced to chant “Vande Mataram<sup>xxix</sup>” to wipe off the signs of difference. Anjum obliged to chant the mantra “weeping, shaking, humiliated beyond her worst nightmare”. She is left “Un-killed. Un-hurt. Neither folded nor unfolded. She alone. So that they might be blessed with good fortune. Butcher’s Luck”. Vande Mataram, learnt in the camp, is taught to her adopted daughter Zainab because Anjum learns that such chants can give them safe passage from the vortex of mob ferocity.

Anjum has also witnessed mob violence done in Delhi against Sikh community, but distinctiveness of Gujarati episode leaves profound imprint on her mind; particularly, the memories of sadist and brutal sexual assault played on the bodies of women. The

sights of disproportionate inscription of violence over women's bodies make her scared for Zainab. She tries to erase from her memory the thought of "how they had folded the men and unfolded the women" (Roy, *TMUH* 62) and after dismembering them, they shredded them limb from limb and incinerated them. To ward off sexual violence against Zainab, she leaves with her one day and returns with a completely transformed Zainab; all mark of feminine appearance is erased from her body. Her hair is cropped short; her dress is changed from girlish frocks to a Pathan boy's attire to pass off as a boy. Premised upon her experience and observation in Gujarat refugee camp, Anjum thinks a male appearance might not attract violent male gaze, so she declares, "It's safer like this (48)". She is afraid that the violence let loose in Gujarat can spill over to other parts of the country; hence she changes the name of the girl from a girlish Zainab to a boyish Mahdi.

The novel charts irretrievable loss and its never ending impact upon the consciousness of the victimized community. Around two thousand Muslims are killed and those who survive, overwhelmed by trauma, cannot bear the memories. Anjum becomes a "fugitive absconding from herself" (61); unable to find solace even in overpopulated Khawbgah, she leaves for a graveyard. Saffronized deluge follows her even in graveyard. A fully equipped army of mad people holding saffron flag<sup>xxx</sup> in one hand and "infants impaled on their saffron tridents" (Roy, *TMUH* 61) in other hand submerges her in bloodbath in her nightmares. Loss of Zakir Mian and memory of his "neatly folded body" haunts her for many years.

## **5.5 Complicity of the State in Perpetrating Genocidal Violence**

A state that is bent upon privileging some segments of society to have electoral benefit does not shirk using state machinery to achieve its nefarious designs. The perpetrators display disgust for the history of marginalized people and make furtive effort to wipe out all signs of glory of their past. *ITM* provides succinct example in the event of Jaffna Library burning in which a mob 'headed by police and paramilitary storm the public library' (Munoveera 76). This cultural terrorism would not have been possible in the absence of benign gaze of a state. Books are ripped from their shelves, and thrown into mounting fire; this conflagration raises high in the sky burning thousands of library books into the funeral pyre. The burnt books and their soot covered pages fall over lagoons and



marshes; they fall over the fields and tree branches. Precious words, diligently constructed, neatly assembled and preserved over centuries' hard work, find their way "into cooking pots and outhouses". Invaluable "fragments of angular Tamil language" are seen floating in Jaffna.

*ITM* exhibits that the state is not content only with burning the history and culture of a people, it seeks to spread terror. July 1983 brings not only its usual stifling, breathless heat for the city and its inmates but also dread and terror. Retrieving Yasodhara's memory, Munoveera writes that Colombo becomes a "burning city" heralding disaster not only for target population but for some Sinhala people as well. Yashodra and Shiva encamped in their private sphere of blue room, exploring their newly developed love for each other, are pulled apart by screams. Running to their respective families, they find out that mob is gathered in the street. Both the families are shocked to see open-bedded trucks housing red eyed men singing bawdy songs. Sharing of "arrack bottles" is a visible marker of celebration of some debauched university students who seem to be on an entertainment trip. This well-organized mob is equipped with weapons like "... knives, metal poles, machetes, dusty hoes, large white cans full of incendiary gasoline" (Munoveera 81).

The complicity of the state organs with this unbridled debauchery is presented through many indicators. The people storming Colombo streets have "clean white pages, neatly corner-staple census accounts, voting registrations" in their blood stained hands (Munoveera 81). These lists consist of the details of the houses and business locales of Tamils and Muslims; the census accounts are organized with "precision and orchestration" in the otherwise smoky, "charred flesh-smelling chaos". This belligerent concourse advances unhesitant to the abodes of Tamil families. The mob takes out Tamils and rips their clothes, shatter their bones and "cut through flesh"; they burn not only the houses, businesses, shops, furniture but also throw Tamil infants in blazing fire in front of their lamenting mothers.

The terror outside the gate of Sylvia Sunethra's home floods her abode. Answering the door bell, she is shocked to see the leader of the mob, holding a curving fish knife in his hand, proceeds and demands that the Tamil family living upstairs should

be handed over to the men. The novel explicitly makes visible the support that the people in hard times extend to the target community. Sylvia Sunethra turns the mob away and careens her way upstairs from back side. Cognizant of the “thick cloud of fear and silence” (Munoveera 82-3) enwrapped house, she assures and provides them support. On her assurance and promises of security Shivalinghams burst forth from behind the furniture and under the beds. For these three days no cooking smell wafts from upstairs, no sound of music, and no jabbering of Tamil is heard. During the dark of the night Sylvia Sunethra ascends the stairs to provide not only the basic needs to Shivalinghams in their time of need but also moral support.

Munoveera explicitly discloses the reliance of citizens on conformity in *ITM*. The novel shows that the reductionist ideology is detrimental not only to the ethnic minority but to all those who do not subscribe to the reductionist ideology. Aunt Mala and Anuradha refuse to toe the line of rioters and have to pay the price. Cocooned inside their cozy atmosphere of a dream house, they represent the educated upper middle class of Sinhala group. The “muffled screams” accompanied by the “burning flesh and smoke” try to penetrate the concrete walls of their little home. They are interrupted in their passage to the hospital. The convolution of madness embraces the couple, the moment they come out of their home. At the turn onto Galle Road they observe rolling smoke coming from abandoned cars, looted shops, and destroyed property of Colombian Tamils. The novel depicts a horrendous picture of frustrated people who constitute the mob. Munoveera indicates that instead of distributing basic necessities of life, the state has distributed weapons such as “machetes, old dusty hoes, axes, knives and kerosene oil”. On taking stock of the situation, the couple wants to leave the sight of violence but is entreated by a teenage boy in school uniform to rescue him. The couple realizes that the pubescent Tamil boy is “chosen as sacrifice” (Munoveera 84-5) for the depraved and destitute condition of the people; he becomes a scapegoat for “broken governmental promises... and decade of relentless physical labour” of Sri Lankan population.

Pushing through the congealed crowd, Anuradha becomes the boy’s shield. Disregarding greater human values the mob shouts that Tamils “are ruining our country” (Munoveera 85) and they should be taught a lesson before they “crack some heads and murder us in our beds”. Anuradha’s negotiation to spare the life of the boy, further

infuriates the mob; the mob hits Anuradha. His wounds invoke “ear-shattering screams of an animal in terror”. Wounding Anuradha does not serve the purpose; the real target however is Tamil boy who is pulled forcibly. The screams of the boy neither, nor sobs of Mala effect the mob. Mala is shocked to see that after turning the car to ashes, the mob turns to the teen boy and her wounded husband. Mala can view only two vaguely human figures garlanded with flaming tires; bound hands of the victims preclude any possibility of escape. Smell of flesh burning rises as the melting rubber merges with skin. A black rain of her husband’s ash follows her in her house and reminds her of an irreparable loss.

*ITM* also shows that genocidal violence cannot happen without state’s complicity; the state hides behind the mob. The otherwise normal humans are turned into mobs under certain conditions. Rudolf Rocker provides the reason for the constitution of mob. The shocking inequality resulting from socio-politico/economic conditions builds hatred in the deprived people. This hate is like cancerous growth which disrupts the healthy tissues of social fabric. In accordance with Rocker’s position, the novel *ITM* shows that in the times of social disintegration, the social ties binding men for centuries become loosened and community’s interests are compromised to safeguard the interests of the rulers. In such time periods, the communal feelings of the people are enfeebled and resultantly, the individuals lose equilibrium. The people, who are frustrated because of deprivation, and whose communal feelings have been crucified, become the mob. Rocker states that mob is a collection of “the uprooted people driven hither and thither on the stream of events” (Rocker 74). These “uprooted people” are collected and used against the target community. It is under these conditions that the people who have been deprived since centuries have been collected and made into mob and maneuvered to move ahead in a single direction i.e. annihilation of a target minority. The mob is here forced under the yoke of leader’s individual desires. The fanaticism sprouting in *ITM* is born of this deprivation and acclivity of “anti-social feelings” in them. This blind religious fervor of the people for a party leader could be excused if it were impeccable (Rocker). But this harmlessness melts in the hands of power wielders. This uncritical religious zeal of the illiterate infantile people is turned into “irresistible power” that culminates in any kind of social perversion. Rocker believes that depriving the routine needs of people is frightful, but imposing “long years of misery of their reasoning power” (Rocker 188) is far more

lethal for any society. These intellectually deprived people trust all those people who satiate their “hungry longing” with enticing assurances (Rocker 188). Munoveera depicts the picture of Colombo in which mob is let loose on the streets. It avenges poor Tamils of centuries of their dispossession and misery.

Munoveera exposes that the most outrageous aspect of the riots is the preponderance of women as victims. A burning bus, surrounded by a jovial mob and bleeding riders, stops Mala’s march ahead on Galle Road. She is dismayed to see frenzied rioters focusing all their strength on pulling a woman from small side window of the bus. Mala turns to salt at seeing Lot’s wife flailing in uncertainty between the bus and death; her forehead is bisected and she falls into the circle of men. For Mala, shrieks of the helpless victim are merged with jetting gasoline sound, and uproarious laughter of the men. The city is wrapped by the smell of burning flesh which reminds Mala of the “festive roasting of” (87) meat during Muslim’s Eid. After accomplishing the task assigned to them, the people, constituting the mob, retrieve from their frenzied state and scatter slowly and gradually to their human form. They head to their different villages, towns from where they have been called to participate in frenzy. Colombo presents a ravished spectacle with burned cars, shattered glass; looted factories constructed after centuries of hard work, towers of garbage including “blackened bodies” of Tamils, “orphaned children” and “dishonored women” (89).

Dislodging the hegemonic representation of “others” both in form and content, *ITM* presents a dialogue between two generations from the contesting sides; giving the multiple perspective of the reality consuming millions of lives in three decades of the strife between two warring groups. By giving a multiple perspective narrative and introducing Saraswathi as a narrator in the second part of the novel, Munoveera problematizes portrayal of Tamils as “menacing others” in the context of escalating terrorism of 1990s; she also careens the argument from intrinsic discrepancies to bigger issues of power allocation.

The novel contrasts Colombo’s situation ruled by “mobs” with Northern Province prevailed by Sri Lankan military might; the Northern Province has been turned into a war zone. The ravaged province confirms Manicardi’s stance that nowadays wars are not

fought between equally equipped armies of two states; rather, these are “aggressive actions taken by an army against its own defenseless populace” (Manicardi 133). Saraswathi’s account brings to light suffering and violence done to the ethnic ‘other’ by the whole state apparatuses designed particularly for their complete annihilation. Regular bombing the civilian areas, destruction of the villagers’ residences and forcing them into refugee camps is part of the program of annihilation. The state, with its monopoly of violence, extends its security forces and equipment to stop grouping and regrouping of Tamils. The state installs “a strong monitoring systems and increased military check posts to crush the danger symbolized by Tamil militants” (Fazil 162).

The Lagoon seems a “foreign occupation”<sup>xxxii</sup> with conspicuous security arrangements, heavily armed guards, precise weaponry, check posts, regular patrolling, frequent search operations, arrests, detentions, abductions and disappearances. The Lagoon is severed from the other parts of the country as well as from international gaze. Telecommunication and transportation services are suspended and electricity is blocked. Munoveera highlights attendant problems posed by this blocking. Food, fuel, medicine and other inevitable stuff cannot reach the village, thus further reducing the chances of survival of already impoverished people. Non-availability of food items results in malnutrition. Saraswathi recalls the extreme shortage of food items in the village. Prohibition of fishing, for the community based on fishing for its sustenance, is yet another attempt at genocide. Saraswathi recalls that apart from pervasive fear, impending death, and starvation is the normal pattern of people’s lives in Lagoon. She recalls the indigent condition of the people on the verge of famine as:

I have not tasted fish for so long... The fishermen no longer go to sea because the soldiers arrest anyone found in the water; they are afraid of Sea Tigers, who load boats with explosives and ram into the navy boats so there hasn’t been sea fish in the market for years. (Munoveera 121)

Village people used to scrounge money to buy lagoon fish for their families which are, though not tasty, a source of cheap meal, is also not available to them anymore. She remembers that in war days “there are so many bodies rotting and bleeding” (Munoveera 120) thrown into the water that people get sick by eating Lagoon fish. For children born in war, food is only a dream. Hunger keeps the family from sleeping. Sounds of machine

guns used extravagantly in the surrounding areas are magnified during the dead of the night. To drown these terrifying sounds, the parents tell stories of their opulent past. Appa tells his daughters of an opulent past; he tells them that in the pre-war days when soldiers and Tigers yet did not contest this land, prawns “as big as arms” (Munoveera 138) were a source of healthy diet. Appa reconstructs the past and tells his starved daughters that the fishermen used to go in the morning with empty nets and returned in the noon with baskets full of sea food. Saraswathi’s empty stomach rumbles at these weird dreams of past. Hence, the girls try to sleep by imaging “fragrance of prawn curry, the fat white flesh, sweet as fruit, spilling from the hard crimson shells between our grinding teeth’ (138).

Colombo’s horrendous flesh burning smells are replaced by thundering tanks and flying jet planes in Lagoon. The state, with its precise and latest weaponry, attacks defenseless villagers who are stranded between bombardments on the one hand or IDPs<sup>xxxii</sup> on the other hand. The novel gives a sharp commentary on the “Mass Exodus”<sup>xxxiii</sup> accompanied by civil war. IDPs cannot provide protection to the war effected people. These camps also serve the state; they are run by the military, which in the name of security, identifies LTTE cadres and detain many people in “Surrendee camps”(Withanalage 18). These refugee camps serve as conduits between war torn area and detainment centers.

*ITM* also hints at sexual victimization of girls in these camps; the camps cannot provide enough security measures to young girls and women whose vulnerability to sexual abuse is aggravated because of lack of privacy. This lamentable situation has been vividly expressed by Amma when Appa opens up the topic for opting to IDP camps. He begs Amma to take daughters and leave the village for the camp. Getting away from their home into IDPs “... with no food and shit-filled toilets” (123) is unimaginable to the women of the house. So, her family prefers staying in their own house. Every time when low-flying air -crafts bombard the area with precision, the family has to move to the trenches nearby. Their neighbouring houses have long ago deserted for IDPs camps, which are notorious for their foul smell; the novel indicates that thousands of people are thrown in this hellish place where there is no running water. Saraswathi is glad that even

at the height of vulnerability and endangered lives, Amma refuses to leave their small ravished house and prefers to stay in their tiny house.

*ITM* exposes the brutality of the government which mutates its legal structures and judicial system to punish a community. Genocide is accompanied by murder of law as a system of dispensing justice to its citizens. During the three decades of war, “... Judiciary emerged as an organ compliant of the sitting government” (Perera 194). The state concocts “Prevention of Terrorism Act”<sup>xxxiv</sup> to crush dissidents. These emergency laws outsmart the regular laws and grow into their own miserable problems. Dictated by emergency laws, the Lagoon becomes a site where “state of exception” (Agamben 13) is declared to terrorize the people. The “suspects” are detained and excruciated in far-off locales like derelict houses evacuated by the war victims. These houses are managed by the military of the ruling force. The bodies of Tamils are safely “tortured, burnt and disposed into the sea” (Munoveera 196) from these safe houses.

Perera argues in “Confessionary Evidence” (196), that the Sri Lankan government introduces “legal war” which is a “complex battle strategy of the government” to out win the LTTE. Many Tamils are arrested only on suspicion. These “Tiger Suspects”<sup>xxxv</sup> are detained, prosecuted and sentenced to death without trials or with sham trials without following the juridical procedure. Many young boys have been abducted by the military and killed in detention centers. *ITM* dramatizes the trial of and disappearance of Kumar and Maaryama’s son. They both were “tiger suspects” who are supposedly murdered in interrogation/detention centre. Saraswathi’s youngest brother Kumar has been arrested. His arrest has been arbitrary, and no warrant for arrest has been produced, as the oppressive state does not feel the need to even wear shams of justice. Kumar and other suspects are tortured and treated with degradation; Kumar is exterminated and is not heard of later in the narrative.

Munoveera lays bare the sham juridical system through military tribunals. Kumar’s detention and disappearance in *ITM* unveils the state’s genocidal intent; the judicial system serves the state. From the perspective of justice, this procedure of capturing people by military arbitrarily on suspicion and then tortured to death without following legal course is devised by the state to annihilate Tamils in the name of

“security risk”. The military officials, involved in investigation, are accorded the decisive power. These investigating persons in army uniforms decide upon the worth of lives. In order to maneuver and suppress any opposition to the indiscriminate use of violence the military is authorized to maintain these safe houses which operate as torture camps. These torture centers exist outside the reach of law and such “disappearances” of Tamils do not appear before the “eye of law” (Perera 194). Law is conveniently allowed to look the other way when lives are taken in these camps. Hence such torture centers serve the state well by crushing any chance of rebellion by Tamils. These disappearances are meant to “execute swift military operations” against contestants.

Swift “white vans” have become the symbol of terror for the villagers; they ramble from time to time to abduct villagers for interrogation. The village is suffused by many check-posts and interrogation centers. Hence, Saraswathi’s memory reconstructs the image of the youngest son of the family who has disappeared; Kumar has been singled out by the forces. After the war claims the bodies of Saraswathi’s other two brothers, Kumar is the only hope of the family. He is spotted by the soldiers in the market; the news of his abduction is broken by the old village woman Kanahama who is the only witness of abduction.

*ITM* also exposes another horrific facet of inhuman state. The people, who are taken into custody through illegal means, are kept in detention centers for “indefinite time period”. Munoveera laments for all such bereaved families whose mourning never comes to an end as the bodies are never handed over to the families. The “indefinite detention” is followed by “indefinite mourning” (Butler 55) in the novel. Saraswathi tells that the bereaved mother never cries for Kumar, though she often cries for her other two sons. The “indefinite detention” (Butler 55) of the youngest son keeps her hopes alive. Every day opens a new chapter of waiting for mothers of the disappeared. Although she does not utter Kumar’s name, yet the family reads indefinite waiting in mother’s eyes at the dusk of every day. Saraswathi reminds the mother of impossibility of such a hope because everybody knows that “the soldiers [are] everywhere and when they take you, you do not ever come back” (Munoveera 127). Like Kumar, Maaryama’s son’s disappearance, too is wrapped in “Conspiracy of Silence<sup>xxxvi</sup>” (Somasundaram 24). Maaryama’s youngest son has been bundled up into the back of a speeding white van a



few days back. Unable to tolerate the pain of indeterminacy Maaryama lies unmoving on her bed. She cannot be left alone because she "... makes furtive attempt to the well" (127). Her dark room and her son's picture in her quivering hands are visible markers of her unbearable grief. Her house presents the sight of a funeral house; its pervading smell of "mourning" disturbs Saraswathi. Both the cases show that the death neither, nor life is proclaimed with any certainty in the Lagoon.

One of the abominable facets depicted by Munoveera in *ITM* is the preponderance of rape and sexual excruciation; women and young girls' bodies become the site of violence. Abdullah Ocalan rejects the very idea of nationalism because it perpetuates hierarchies within the decolonized states. He believes that nationalism is in essence "patriarchal". Sexism is employed by many nation-state systems to maintain themselves and to preserve the power of patriarchy. Women according to Ocalan are not only used as "valuable reservoir of cheap labor" (12); rather, they are "both a sexual object and a commodity" (12). In a society that adheres to the concept of nationalism women "become an accessory of the patriarchal male society" (12). Although the scale and severity of this sexual crime is symptomatic of a full-fledged war against an ethnicity, yet it is different from other casualties suffered in the war. A common maneuver is to gang-rape a girl, (usually a pubescent), and then to abandon the victim. The rapes here are more sadistic, monstrous and their pattern calls out for explanation. Sexual assault and its politics have been discussed at great length by a feminist scholar Susan Brownmiller. Brownmiller writes that rape has been considered as a criminal act and is declared punishable<sup>xxxvii</sup>. She thinks that rape has always served as a "weapon of terror" (31). It has accompanied: the wars of religion; revolutionary wars; uprisings; riots; revolutions. Men have always enacted their power contestation on women's bodies.

Like anarchists, Brownmiller is convinced that "nothing is spontaneous" (29) in a genocidal war; every act of violence comes down to annihilating the opponent. The recurring pattern of sexual violation indicates that rape is not simply an unfortunate by-product of war; women are not incidental, unavoidable casualties like ravished houses, burnt property and spontaneous killing of animals or destruction of ready crops. The continual sexual harassment of Tamil school girls by Sinhala soldiers cannot be overlooked as irrational practice committed by boisterous soldiers, but it serves as an

integral part of “ethnic cleansing agenda”. The pattern of rape in *ITM* indicates that it is not spurred by inherent unavoidable sexual urge of men; it is a “scare-tactic” by an opponent army.

Rape, in *ITM*, is not motivated by the “irresistible beauty” of the victim. Pre-pubescent girls are subjected to rapist’s whims. The textual evidence shows that most of the girls were abducted and kept for some time in the military barracks/interrogation centers for their sexual use. As is depicted in *ITM* usually, the Sinhala soldiers keep track of the village girls and swoop down on them when they are alone at home and the protective shield of the family is nowhere close to them. One such victim in *ITM* is the narrator/protagonist Saraswathi whose ravished home does not provide any protection against “the crashing of boots” (Munoveera 144). Dragged on the deserted road and desperate for help, she looks towards numerous windows exposing curious faces, but no one tries to intervene. The place chosen for her molestation is ‘a burned off carcass of a deserted house with broken and ravished walls and roof’.

Elucidating the pattern of the sexual crime, Munoveera reveals that the helpless young girls are abducted under the pretext of finding out information; Saraswathi’s detention is pretended to be done to elicit political information about her “gang”. The derelict room becomes an interrogation camp. The soldiers impose questions about her identity, her nexus with militant organization, and the location of Tiger’s training camp. On her resistance, she is ruthlessly beaten; rifle butts are smashed in her face; her teeth are broken; her blood is spilt; her dress is torn into pieces exposing her bare body to the undesirable gaze and touch. Her corporeal violation is accompanied by verbal dehumanization by uttering animal names like ‘Tiger! Bitch’(145). Saraswathi, years after the act, cannot forget the heinous violation in which she is broken in spirit. Her wails, “they break into me. Break me. Break into me... until this body is no longer mine, until I am only a limp, bleeding, broken toy” (Munoveera 145), are a glaring commentary on the heinous designs of the state bent upon exterminating a minority.

*ITM* displays that rape serves as “a political tool” (Brownmiller 31-3). Sri Lankan civil war sanctions soldiers to express “their contempt for women”. Military aided by the “power of weaponry... confirms for men that women are peripheral, irrelevant to the

world that counts". The uniformed men equipped with ruthless rifles believe that the war is a game played by men; women are only war toys. This exclusion of unarmed, unprotected, civilian girl of adolescent age irks their contempt for women which is vented on Saraswathi. She is nothing more than a "Tiger-bitch". Their excessive use of "rifle butts" in her back proves that her existence as a venerable human being with feelings and subjectivity is out of question to them. Saraswathi is the cushion that will make them feel "war-heroes".

Brownmiller writes that raping men are exalted to an extraordinary status by war; it provides opportunity to participants their "exclusive-male-only membership" (35). Equipped with life-taking apparatuses, they are licensed fully to decide upon the life or death of their prey. This power over "life and death" of people has never been imagined in their wildest dreams in ordinary days. War enables them to prove their newly won superiority to women, to other men and the world around them. The men shed off the civility code worn in normal days and use the license to practice over women's bodies. The juxtaposition of a fragile unarmed little girl poised cowering against armed men creates an exaggerated masculinity/femininity dynamic that leads towards rape. Through rape the rapist/soldiers prove his superiority to himself.

Raping, being significant of the conquest of a conquered people, becomes "Sexual coup de grace" (Brownmiller 35-8). It symbolizes ultimate humiliation of the dominated nation. Sexual assault against women of ruled nation becomes a blatant evidence of its men's "masculine impotence". In traditional societies, protection of women is considered their men's foremost duty and pride; rape demolishes any remnants of illusionary power of men of the conquered nation. The assaulted woman becomes "a ceremonial battleground, for the victor's trooping of the colours". The sexual act committed against raped woman serves as a message shared between men; a "vivid proof of victory of one and loss and defeat for the other".

It is an uncontested fact that the dominant side in any contestation does the raping and dominated party's women are subjected to this heinous assault. Rape not only breaks the victim's spirit by dehumanizing her, it breaks the entire hierarchical kinship system prevalent in the effected community. In traditional South Asian societies where father not only earns for the family, but protects the women of the house from invaders and

intruders, rape breaks that protective unit and exposes the fatal vulnerability of the hierarchical structure operating in the house. Appa's self-criticism and his isolation fits well into this pattern of national subjugation and humiliation. He is ashamed of himself for not providing a protective environment to his daughters. Genuine concern for ravished family women is compounded by "shame" over being an inadequate father. Grief, over his daughter's personal loss, is exaggerated by his own impotency, symbolized by "useless leg" that he drags to reach trenches. Appa who is "too old and sick" is ashamed of himself for being an inadequate parent and hides from the grieving women by leaving early every morning and returning very late in night.

*ITM* exhibits that during wars, rape works as "mollification factor" (Brownmiller 96) for foot soldiers; it is one of many advantages afforded to them. For the ordinary foot soldiers, who do not enjoy any other palpable fruit of the war, rape becomes "a tangible reward for services rendered" (Brownmiller 35-8). To keep them in line, available to wage war for the commanding authorities, they have to be mollified and pacified. They, who are forced to fight a war that they do not know the dynamics of, are to be provided with "tangible reward".

Munoveera frowns upon the callous state of a society that blames victims of this heinous crime instead of accommodating and suturing their wounds. Through the characters of Saraswathi and her very close friend Parvathi, the novel exposes lamentable behavior of the villagers which complicates the travail of the ravished girls by ostracizing them and further limiting their chances of survival. Thus the families of the victims push them into spiral of victimization and instrumentalization practiced over them by forces of darkness around them. For such ravished victims, the prospects of future grooms and blissful lives of hearth are turned into nightmare.

In traditional households like Saraswathi's, where women lead cloistered lives, rape becomes a serious threat to the masculinity of men/ protectors of the household. The villagers show revulsion from their raped daughters and wives. Hegemonic patriarchal culture seeped in women's chastity, puts burden of blame for awful happening on Saraswathi and Parvathi. Completely ostracized, these victims become the stock of folk's rumor. Parvathi cannot engulf this excruciating behavior of the villagers. Whenever she is seen by Saraswathi, she has a defeated person's aura around her, "... silent as a ghost on

her mother's arm, her head drooping like a heavy flower over a fragile stem" (Munoveera 136-7). Tired of this contemptuous attitude, and almost completely silenced by her own family, Parvathi commits suicide by jumping into well; Saraswathi cannot recognize Parvathi's face as it is "bloated and water-logged". Men of the family extricate themselves from her funeral ceremony; her last rituals are performed by her mother and sisters. In Parvathi's case, lack of alternatives leads to fearsome and irrational solutions like suicide; when all other options are foreclosed for such victims, suicide seems the only viable option.

Munoveera throws light on many other aspects of women's victimization after rape. The second and more dreadful round of dehumanization and humiliation starts as Saraswathi makes for her home. Her home, constructed bit by bit in an organic relationship with its inmates, holds a central position for her. After the humiliation, Saraswathi rushes home sobbing, crying, and trembling through fields and bunds; the thought of caring touch of her parents hastens her steps. But the organic bond has already been ruptured by the war. Saraswathi, like other survivors of trauma, is socially withdrawn and due to the feeling of inadequacy she becomes a burden on an already exhausted family. The dreadful memories leave her trembling, gritting her teeth, trying to stare "into the impenetrable dark" (Munoveera 150) in her room.

Amma shoulders extra burden of responsibility by stripping her material assets to buy fish, greens and spices for a sumptuous meal for Saraswathi. Her mother has to take up the role of valiant mother<sup>xxxviii</sup>(Chenoy 6). She sits close to her, tells her of mango trees and nests of birds in the trees; but caring hand of Amma cannot help her. Her shrieks cause consternation in the village; neighbors visit the house to inquire about her health. To quell their curiosity, Amma tells them that their daughter suffers from malaria and will get better with the turn of the wind. Overcome by guilt, Saraswathi desists from seeing any visitor.

Munoveera explicates that girls' sexual victimization is coupled with another casualty of war i.e. education; Saraswathi's education is disrupted because of this incidence. Despite being a very promising student, Saraswathi has to say good-bye to her academic pursuits. A favourite student of a Colombo returned teacher Miss Rajasingham, Saraswathi loves to do math sums. She is being trained for Teaching Certification. She

recalls her meticulous and precise Math expertise; she used to solve “complicated questions” in no time. She used to “love the long columns of numbers, the need to proceed logically and patiently as the numbers lead to the final and inevitable answer” (Munoveera 150-1). The deep black circles around her eyes are reminders of her personal loss. Ashamed of herself, she realizes that she has “slipped in some other place... where men can tear girls, rip them open, and bury a kind of corruption in their flesh”. The complex mathematical questions that she loved to solve, are turned into “messy heap that will not disentangle in order”; the numbers do not succumb to her frail mind and weak hands and she realizes mournfully that the bright academic career has “slipped through [her] fingers”.

Tired of the extra burden of responsibility, Amma decides to send Saraswathi to the “Training Camp” established by Tamil Tigers. Her pleadings do not affect Amma who commands her to “Learn to fight. Become a hero” (Munoveera 152). Through the character of Saraswathi, the writer exposes lamentable behavior of the villagers which complicates the travail of the ravished girls by pushing them in the vicious cycle of violence. She is told to leave the sanctuary as her chances of marriage are almost eliminated; her sister’s bright future is also at stake because of stigma attached to her. The Party demands that all signs of feminine appearance must be eliminated; her mother shaves her jet black hair and lifts the weight of sixteen years of “dream” from her shoulders.

Similarly, Roy in *TMUH* constructs a scenario, where taking the lead of the USA, Indian state wages a war against its own people. Roy highlights the role of all institutions of the state which help in bringing about genocide against Muslims. She is adamant in her critique of all the institutions which are declared above any kind of accountability. She comments that all these institutions “far from working as a system of checks and balances, quite often do the opposite” (Roy, *LTTGH*, xxx); all these institutions are hijacked by a reductionist ideology immersed in Hindutva. Roy labels these institutions as “Fascist institutions” and is against providing unbridled freedom to them in which they are not challenged by anybody and are allowed to “exercise unfettered, unaccountable powers that must never be challenged” (Roy, *LTTGH* 16).

*TMUH* highlights the most chilling aspect of the violence done in Gujarat i.e. the complicity and collusion of those who were entrusted with law enforcement. The state institutions convey a message that violence against Muslim minority will continue unabated. The killing in Gujarat goes on unhindered for many weeks with complicity of the police. The mobs have been provided with electoral lists of Muslim houses and their businesses. Instead of protecting the people from violence, the police here simply prove to be “adjuncts of the mob” (Nussbaum 60). The collusion of the police can be gauged from the narrator’s voice that when the injured or dead bodies were taken to the hospital, they were not catered to by the hospital as the Police would not register the cases against culprits. Roy elucidates that “the police were often part of the mobs” and after their murder, the dead bodies did not “resemble corpses” (Roy, *TMUH*, 45).

Roy highlights the violence done to Kashmiris after the emergency is declared<sup>xxxix</sup> in Kashmir. The second half of the novel exposes the “legal innovations” devised during Emergency, in Kashmir. Chatterji (“the Militarized Zone” 96-9) argues that following colonial legacies the Indian state defines Indian “nation as a new form of empire”. This formative process of expansion necessitates a “hyper-masculine militarization, and territorial and extraterritorial control”. Further she writes, “State racism- the primacy of Hindu majoritarianism will in state decisions- orders India’s rule in Kashmir”. This “state racism” depends largely on the use of disciplinary patterns and genocidal violence as technique of social control. Kashmiris are subjected to surveillance and penalization. Violence courses through the extra-legal organs of the state. Death is disbursed through both “extrajudicial means” and legal ways. About oppression in Kashmir, Roy is convinced that there is a consensus in all organs of Indian state “including the media, the bureaucracy, the intelligentsia and even the Bollywood” (Roy, *LTTGH* xxxi). Through the character of Biplab Dasgupta, Roy critiques “State Racism” (Chatterji 99). Dasgupta, who serves in Indian Bureau as Deputy Station Head, and is deputed in Kashmir, witnesses the “saffron tide of Hindu Nationalism” (Roy, *TMUH* 165) working in Bureau. The novel exhibits that the officers of the Bureau blur the distinction between “religious faith and patriotism” (Roy, *TMUH* 165); as most of his colleagues in bureau are “conservative, closet Brahmins” who follow their religious rites secretly.

The “state of Emergency” exacerbates precariousness of Kashmiris. It licenses use of extra-legal as well as that violence which is legalized by the state. With the suspension of the civil state, in practical terms, “suspension of the law” (Butler 51) is affected. The declaration of Emergency means using state’s prerogatory power which boils down to an elaboration of the administrative bureaucracy. The state of emergency is a “legal innovation” in which the officials will decide over the life, death and detention of the target population; the officials are accorded the power and authority to decide which prisoners will be permitted to have their cases tried in the courts and which cases will be left untried for an indefinite time period. Roy tries to discern in *TMUH*, the means through which law is suspended and the kind of justification which is offered for that suspension. The law is put to instrumental uses in the service of confining and watchdogging the Kashmiri Muslims. Indian state does not consider itself subjected to law; rather, law is subjected to suspension and tailored to suit the requirements of the “supremacist nationalist” state. The state of India, in *TMUH*, allocates sovereign power to its executive and administrative officials like Amrik Sing, Ashfaq Mir, and Pinky Sodha to wreak havoc over Kashmiris.

The second section of the novel is dominated by Tilo’s account. Tilo, the protagonist of the novel, is an Indian born character who spent her life in Delhi. She develops amorous relation with a Kashmiri, Musa and visits Kashmir to join Musa. Kashmir opens horrible vistas for Tilo’s consumption. In Kashmir, the boundaries between life and death have become fluid; death and war go on in Kashmir uninterrupted. With the exacerbation of violence, the prisons are filled with Kashmiris, and graves are fast filling with dismembered bodies of the youth. Tilo cannot overlook the conspicuously excessive militarization that orders every moment of the lives of Kashmiris; uniformed persons are ubiquitous in Kashmir. Kashmir’s streets, people’s neighborhoods, their public and private buildings, the beautiful forests and lush green fields have been “securitized”. The Kashmiris are, according to the diary entry of Tilo, “in the rifle- sight of the soldiers” (Roy, *TMUH* 347). All the activities of Kashmiri including “walking, praying, bathing, cracking jokes, shelling walnuts, making love or taking a bus ride home” make them “legitimate target” of Indian military. The Kashmir visited by Tilo is a collection of detention centers, interrogation cells, Indian army



cantonment and torture cells which indicate the shadow of death hovering incessantly over Kashmiris' lives.

Tilo witnesses horrendous crimes done against Kashmiris in the name of "national security". She visits Kashmir's cities and countryside, from Srinagar to Bandipura; it is through her observations and experiences that violence inscribed over the collective body of Kashmir is narrated to the readers. Escorted by Khadija, she has a chance to visit the grieving families whose sons and daughters are violated for protesting against Indian oppression. The grim daily reality of losing family members for no crime is ossified in her mind. Her memory becomes an obligation which must be told to the world; her encounter with the mutilated Kashmiris finds expression in her diary which is later found by Biplab Dasgupta in her apartment.

*TMUH* foregrounds awful crime done against many Kashmiri children as a part of genocidal attempt. Apart from Miss Jebeen's murder, Tilo is told about "Operation Good Will" (Roy, *TMUH* 280) in which twenty two Kashmiri children are taken for picnic and drowned by Indian army. The callousness of the state policies is debunked through this inhuman episode in which the unfortunate parents of the drowned children are not allowed to protest against this gross criminal activity; those who dare to protest are killed for questioning Indian military's attempt at Kashmiri genocide.

Roy foregrounds a "series of impunity laws" (Chatterji, "The Militarized Zone" 111-2) operating in Kashmir during Emergency. In *MUH*, Armed Forces Special Power Act, legalizes killings of thousands of Kashmiris only on "suspicion". This law awards 'special powers, privileges, and impunity' to Indian forces. Under this law, the soldiers are authorized to arrest, interrogate, maraud people's houses, commit custodial ferocity, and license prolonged detentions without bringing any charges and also without following the just legal procedures. To top this all, this law provides immunity from prosecution to all its practitioners. The novel also exposes the nexus between legal impunity and moral exemption to the practitioners of this law. Indian soldiers are petty sovereigns who can do anything in these villages. The uniformed persons enter any village under crackdown which lasts for a couple of days. People are forced out of their homes at gunpoint at any time of the day or night. The village under crackdown

reverberates with not only “the occasional gunshots that tore through” Kashmiris but also “the softer sounds, of their cupboards being opened, their cash and jewelry being stolen” (Roy, *TMUH* 281). The soldiers destroy the economic means of Kashmiris by breaking their hand looms and killing their livestock.

The “suspension of law” is nowhere better explained than a number of detention centers all known by their fancy name like “Shiraz Cinema”, “Cargo”, “Papa I” and “Papa II” all established as “military tribunals” in *TMUH*. As these military tribunals are not the courts of law they do not follow any legal procedure in trying the suspects. These tribunals are empowered in the sense that the decision of a life worth extinction or survival are taken by the officials working for these tribunals. The decisions, regarding prisoners’ right to have a trial, are made by these officials. Furthermore the detainees are not accorded the status of “prisoner of war” (Butler 51); the detainees like Aijaz and Junaid Shah do not have the right to counsel and means of appeal specified by Geneva Convention. For Kashmiris facing crackdowns “Operation Tiger, Operation Serpent Destruction, Operation Catch and Kill” (Roy, *TMUH* 116) are nothing new.

In *TMUH*, the administrative bureaucracy is elaborated and its powers extended. Indian army deputed officials like Major Amrik Singh to play with the lives of Kashmiris. This “legal innovation” helps Amrik Singh in vitiating his desires and urges. All the decisions regarding life/death, disappearances, and neutralization are done by Amrik Singh. Major Amrik Singh emerges in the role of a sovereign; his “deeming” someone dangerous is enough to subject that life to extinction. Aijaz case, in particular, provides ample evidence to show that the characters are at the disposal of Amrik Singh. At the behest of military officers, Aijaz is detained for an indefinite time period. His mutilated body speaks volumes of the inhuman treatment meted to him. He is even denied medical treatment. The right to legal assistance is also denied to Kashmiris like Aijaz; the prisoners in these detention centers are not called “prisoners”, they are rather “militants”. To them the title of “prisoners” would imply “that internationally recognized human rights pertaining to the treatment of prisoners of war” (Butler 64) should be applied to them. The Kashmiris kept in detention centers are “detainees” for whom waiting would never end and chances for fair trial are out of question. For Kashmiris the state of India arranges the pre-legal state as an ‘indefinite one’. Law is barred from their lives, “not

only in the present, but for the indefinite future” (Butler 64). Indian state, with the help of its military, is in a condition to exercise its “extra-legal power” against Kashmiris.

*TMUH* exposes the barbarity of the impunity laws which could be gauged from the number of disappearances in Kashmiri villages. Tilo witnesses many Kashmiri women prying between army camps and police stations holding up “dog-eared, passport-sized photographs grown soft with tears”. They show these old photographs to the officers on duty to search their sons, husbands and brothers. The petty officials, intoxicated by the indefinite power accorded to them by their racist state, decide which disappearance case can be converted into “A fee? A feast? A fuck? A truckload of walnuts?” (Roy, *TMUH* 315)

Shiraz Cinema is reined by “extra-legal” operations committed by Major Amrik Singh. A number of other young boys who have “disappeared” in many years have been spotted by Musa in Shiraz Cinema; he recognizes a detainee named Junaid Ahmad Shah who used to be a tall, lissome man admired for his good looks, is reduced to a shivering, hunched and bald middle aged person. His dim and sunken eyes watch out from “deep, grey hollows” (Roy, *TMUH* 340-1). The atrocity faced by him in the detention center is eloquently expressed through tremor in his hands. Another victim of this ‘prerogatory power’ is Noor Khan who is deranged after serving a term in Shiraz Cinema for an unlimited time period. Noor Khan’s case is also not presented for trial in any court of law; hence his case is not reviewed by courts. His fate too is decided by officials like Amrik Singh on a periodic basis. Crossing the lobby inside the cell, Musa is shockingly surprised to see a “bound, beaten, bleeding boy” who is an acquaintance from his childhood. Musa knows that the boy’s disappearance has driven his mother close to heart failure as she has been visiting military camps and police stations in her desperate search for her son. Although saddened by the condition of the boy, Musa is content that “at least some horrible good has come of this night” that will put an end to the indefinite search of the bereaved mother

These officials like Ashfaq Mir, ACP Pinky Sodha and Major Amrik Singh work rule these military tribunals. Although, they are not “members of judiciary” (Butler 57-8), yet they are accorded the powers of judges; consequent upon this unlimited power over

life and death of hapless Kashmiris, they disregard the legal procedural requirements. The novel exposes the condition in which the detainees are not detained as a result of a judiciary review, rather “by a set of administrators who are given broad policy outlines within which to act”. Led by Major Amrik Singh these officials are accorded the power to make and implement “unilateral decisions”. Accountable to no law, they operate without any legitimate authority. The power in the hands of these sovereigns is “a lawless and prerogatory power” termed as a “*Rogue power par excellence*” (Butler, 56).

For a state in service of nationalism, “delinquents” (Comfort 18) like Amrik Singh, are valuable asset. He is nothing short of a devil for whom killing is fun, a game, a hunt, in which his “quarry’s wits were pitted against his own” (Roy, *TMUH* 336). Seeing himself “a sportsman than a soldier” he enjoys killing people brutally. He is reputed to be “a gambler, a daredevil officer, a deadly interrogator and a cheery, coldblooded killer”. In his inexorable pursuance for entertainment, he discharges a hard caught militant to track again only to relive the excitation of trapping him.

Through Tilo’s eyes, detention center and its dreadful setting is graphically presented by Roy. The “cinema” looks like an ordinary “tool shed” fitted with many “carpenter’s worktables, hammers, screwdrivers, pliers, ropes ... concrete pillars, pipes” (Roy, *TMUH* 380-1). The cinema also consists of abundant “cans of petrol, metal funnels, wires, electric extension boards, coils of wire, rods of all sizes, a couple of spades, crowbars”. The cinema is equally equipped with jars of chili powder. Tilo learns in exquisite detail to what “extraordinary usage” these usual objects are subjected to. Butler raises the objection against “indefinite detentions” from human’s rights’ perspective as:

The state should detain those against whom there is evidence that they intend to wage violence against the state, it does not follow that suspects should be presumed guilty or that due process ought to be denied to them. This is the argument from Human Rights perspective. (62)

The so-called legal procedures also indicate gross violation of human’s rights in these torture centers. Confessions done in the tribunals are another kind of “legal innovations” meant to befool the people. Tilo, during her short stay in Shiraz Cinema, encounters one such detainee who has been detained for an indefinite time period. He is brought inside

Ashfaq Mir's office by a burly policeman because the boy's limb is mutilated. His plaster casted arm and bandaged neck speaks volume of the torture inflicted on his body to "neutralize" (224-7) him. This tortured boy does not grimace with pain when he is placed on the floor in front of the visitors. Ashfaq Mir, the Deputy Commandant of the Shiraz Cinema JIC, comments that the detainee Aijaz stayed with a militant organization for some time, but during his detention he has realized "the error of his ways". As per Ashfaq Mir's statement, Aijaz has renounced his past and denounced his colleagues for indoctrinating him. His case has been prepared to be presented for "judicial custody" after serving a term of two years in torture center. Aijaz on his part exposes all this "drama of confessions". During his interview with a right-wing reporter Nagaraj Hariharan, he tells of the enforced confessions elicited under gun point; he is given "electric shocks and made ... to sign a blank sheet". Aijaz elucidates that the Police tortures everybody in these camps to have confession papers signed by the detainees; the detainees are later on punished on account of these fake confessions

*TMUH* denudes "fake encounters" practiced in Kashmir. Ghafoor, a minor character, tells of a local Kashmiri laborer from Bandipura, declared as "a dreaded Afghan terrorist" (Roy, *TMUH* 193) is beaten and with his legs tied and "weighed down with a rock" has been "stuffed in the manhole", where he dies of the injuries. Ghafoor and Tariq are commanded, on gun point, to sign the witness papers. The papers declare that Ghafoor and Tariq have witnessed a Police encounter with "a dreaded Afghan terrorist" in a populated Kashmiri market. Such contrived encounters represent a normal routine of "fake encounters" done in Kashmir which are broadcasted in mainstream Indian media.

*TMUH* underscores that military and police killings are not limited to encounters with protestors. The army personals open fire at a peaceful procession of Usman Abdullah, a young university lecturer. The peaceful march is attacked "without provocation". The soldiers carelessly take positions in haste and open their machine guns' fire in "receding backs and heads and legs" (Roy, *TMUH* 324-5) of the protestors. In panic, some frightened soldiers start pouring bullets in Kashmiris sitting in their windows and balconies. The novel shows that the death toll rose to seventeen including women and children sitting in their balconies. Roy indicates that Indian soldiers have

acquired quickness and efficiency of disposing of and washing out the blood of Kashmiris professionally. This “post-massacre protocol” speaks of their preciseness learnt over the years in Kashmir. Streets are hosed down and blood directed into the open drains. Shops are immediately reopened, and “Normalcy is declared”. To befool the media and people, military tribunals are instituted to inquire into the causes of such massacres, but no genuine effort is made to establish facts in a regime where state organs are subservient to a fascist government.

*TMUH* exposes callousness of Indian State during and after massacre of Sikhs in 1984. The carnage of almost three thousand Sikhs after the murder of Indira Gandhi is a genocidal effort to muffle and annihilate a community but the state shows a clear hesitation to investigate and initiate juridical trial based upon adequate evidence. The wholesale murder fails to ignite any serious reflection or commitment to practice justice in the country inhabited by multi-ethnicities and faiths. Rather, consorted efforts are made to prove that these are retributory acts are emblematic of Sikh’s religious tradition soaked in violence. The massacre of three thousand Sikhs after the murder of Indira Gandhi in 1984 is not being subjected to any juridical or parliamentary scrutiny. Likewise, the massacre of Muslims in Gujarat in 2002 does not draw state attention towards any attempt to restore justice for the victims or their families. Eye-witnesses’ vindications and batches of evidence do not play any role when all the state machinery is piled to defend violent “nationalism”.

## **5.6 Death Producing Death: Violence and Retribution**

Judith Butler proposes that in order to find exhaustive answer to the questions of violence we need to see the conditions that gave birth to people causing terrorism. Individual responsibility of the persons perpetrating violence must be examined in tandem with the conditions that produce them; individual responsibility cannot and should not be extricated from collective responsibility and conditions responsible to produce such horrendous acts of violence. Butler thinks that the individuals committing violence cannot be condoned as “dupes or mechanisms of impersonal social force, but agents with responsibility” (15). But this fact should also be not overlooked that these individuals are “formed”, and reducing their violent acts to “self-generated acts” or “symptoms of

individual pathology or evil” (15) would be an equally monstrous blunder. Butler suggests that in exploring accountability of perennial violence around us, individual should be presumed as “the first link in the causal chain that forms the meaning of accountability” (16). Allocating all blame on individual would be tantamount to foreclosing “the possibility of questioning what kind of world give rise to such individuals... what social conditions help to form the very ways that choice and deliberation proceed?” (16).

*ITM* explicitly enlists the conditions that make radical violence the only viable deliberation for people. Tamil inhabitants of Colombo, as a result of racial profiling, are forced to flee for their lives. Some of them exiled abroad and the rest have to claim their villages abandoned many decades ago. The Tamils’ enforced exile leaves behind broken and burnt houses, the “unburied or unburned bodies of loved ones” (Munoveera 89) and their family wealth. The only thing they take along is their “nationalism”. It is these dispossessed and displaced people who are made “... the most militant and determined separatists” in the novel. This social disintegration caused by the state is conducive for violent forces. The plight of these people is an asset to the power lusty leadership of militant organization LTTE. The leaders of the militant organization welcome these abject people into a never ending cycle of violence. Nationalism based on land becomes the pivot around which all their activities are planned; as these separatists demand “a long curving slice of land along the northern and eastern coasts of the island. They call it Eelam” (Munoveera 70). Thus a new spell of “outright blood-lettings” starts. These revolutionaries coalesce around the figure of a leader who promises them eternal peace and justice in the desired piece of land.

The subjection of people to newer power in the name of nationalism is only a ploy; it is “a shield to hide one’s power lust” (Rocker 190-1). Rocker posits that people cannot be emancipated by bringing in “a new and greater power”. That will ensnare them again into another and a new “vicious circle of stupidity”. The dependency upon any outer force cripples the creative powers of individuals which needs a free environment to prosper. Rocker doubts the efficacy of emancipation based on the narrow concept of nationalism. Nationalism to him implies ‘newer and greater power, more authoritarian and dictatorial’ with more lust, replication of violence yet on a broader scale.

The pitfalls of such revolutionary nationalism are visible in *ITM*. Here this retributory ideology gives birth to a new rising power in the person of “the Leader” (Munoveera 89) of LTTE. He desires to bring an end to the Sinhala oppression by generating a new privileged class in the form of the planners of LTTE (Perera 23); this new arising power has its ends i.e. the state. This emerging power adjusts the outer form of power policy according to the changing times, but the objective remains consistently the same. To achieve the ends it can employ any “means serviceable to its purposes”. Anarchists are skeptic of power; they believe, ‘... power is inherently amoral and transgresses against every principle of human justice’ (Rocker 74). Rocker’s observation neatly fits into the situation of *ITM*. “Nationalism” is only a desire to gain a new secessionist state i.e. Tamil Eelam. The leaders of this nationalism do not desist from compromising any person for this goal. They are ready for “a complete absorption of man” in the so-called noble cause. The textual evidence illustrates that modern nationalism, based on “Tamil Eelam”, is not invoked by the love of the people; rather, it springs from “the ambitious plans of a minority lusting for dictatorship” (Rocker 182) and is dictated by the desire to enjoy a privileged position.

LTTE, in the name of “nationalism”, demands blind belief in the magic power of this dictatorship. The leader is apotheosized. The love of home and fellow humans is mashed by the grandeur of the national cause and these individuals coalescing around the figure of the leader serve as “fodder” for the cause. In the light of Rocker’s proposition, the novel illuminates that “nationalism” propounded by Tamil Tigers is nothing more than a hollow slogan and it is as lethal as “nationalism” propagated by majoritarian Sinhala politicians. It excludes certain people, not only Sinhala but Tamils as well from the definition of authentic humanity. This nationalism wants only a state and labels all those people who oppose the policy of the “Leader” as “traitors” (Rocker 183).

*ITM* shows that “nationalism” turns into an excruciating, reductionist ideology in the hands of the “Leader”; it does not desist from inflicting misery against the dissenters belonging to their own camps. The disappearances and murders are not always done by the state organs; the hegemonic militant organization LTTE incriminates those who oppose its policies or those who do not acquiesce. The “conspiracy of silence” is more impenetrable when people are abducted by the same community and the victims cannot



talk about that even within the inner family circles for fear of punitive measures taken by the party. Apart from the peril and risk of backlashes, the disappeared becomes a “traitor”. The suffering family itself is subjected to ostracism by the society for fear of their association with the “traitorous” family. This “auto-genocide”<sup>xl</sup> (Somasundaram, 12) is committed through brutal slaughter of the suspect. LTTE claims unquestioned loyalty of the people and those who do not toe the line are liquidated; which results in evaporation of its own ethnic members. This process of self-destruction weeds out many a people with leadership qualities or those politicians who could bring reconciliation between warring elements.

*ITM* is replete with such instances where dissenters, intellectuals and “moderate politicians” are liquidated ruthlessly and labeled as “traitors”. Saraswathi is a witness to such a case of false accusations and revenge from LTTE- Yalini’s father is a victim of “auto-genocide”. He refuses to take sides; hence, he is punished. Saraswathi is dismayed by Yalini’s father’s sagging body, held against a lamppost by arms tied behind and a thin piece of wire that pricks into the blotched crimson skin of his neck. His belly has been knifed through to expose his intestines (Munoveera 132-3). He is labeled as a “bloody traitor, who got what he deserved”. The impression is disseminated that he must have been informing the soldiers about “the ambush in Vavuniya” (Munoveera 77). This charge of being traitor meets the resistance of a woman who claims of being his neighbor; she refutes the charge with courage, “No, that’s absurd. This man wasn’t an informer. He was a neighbor. I would know if he was doing such things”. Harsh policies of the secessionist organization foreground the misery of the survivors of the so-called traitors. Knowing about the “deep trouble” of Yalini’s family, Saraswathi comments that they are “running, out in the open land, like animals scabbling for whatever shelter they can find”. The novel shows that the people who refuse to toe the line are equally vulnerable.

Hence, the novel testifies Ocalan’s position that the call for a separate nation-state results from “the interests of the hegemonic groups” but do not reflect the interests of the people since another state would only be “a creation of additional injustice and would curtail the right of freedom even more”. Tamil’s struggle over the last five decades shows

that they have not only struggled against repression by the majoritarian state and its policies and for the recognition of their existence but also for the liberation of their society from the grip of feudalism and a hierarchical arrangement inherent in nation-states and their accompanying practice of liberal democracy. Considering Ocalan's position it does not make sense to "replace the old chains by new ones or even enhance the repression" (14). Establishing a new state Eelam, in the context of Tamil would mean strengthened victimization and exploitation, which implies that a new nation-state claimed by Tigers will not guarantee "liberation" of the oppressed people.

### **5.7 Construction and Distribution of Hatred**

Munoveera shows that to achieve its ends, the organization constructs hate through a number of channels. The party, cognizant of the impressionable age of the children, takes control of them and brainwash them against Sinhala populace. Munoveera, not only condemns the recruitment of the children by psychological manipulation, she tries to reach at the depth of the problem by probing "pull factor". She examines the depravity of the organization that turns to children to do their fighting as the older men have already been compromised by this war. The role of schools has been reduced to insemination of hatred rather than ignition of critical spirit in children. Munoveera laments that the organization takes advantage of the children's love for heroism; the children presented in the novel are more amenable to nationalistic enticements. The organization arranges a host of such traps employing a number of psychological tactics. *ITM* shows that recruiters exhibit dead and dismembered bodies to the Tamils. They publicly display videos and posters eulogizing the "Leader"; Leader's fervent addresses and speeches are displayed to cast psychological impact on children. These recruiters, armed with all such weapons, stalk Saraswathi's schools and remind the young learners the lessons of nationalism that excludes others in these words and persuades them that it is their "duty to fight for [their] Motherland" (139). They convince the young generation that they cannot achieve emancipation from Sinhala domination without taking to violence. Saraswathi recalls that the psychological manipulation of her brothers is done by promising them "heroship". The recruiters tell her brothers that they will be extolled for courage and bravery; she recalls her brothers coming home "quivering with hate". This talk of salvation and

emancipation is on everybody's tongue. The boys convince Amma of the same logic of love for an imaginary homeland, whereas hate for fellow beings. Amma accepts their vision of emancipation and bravery. Saraswathi recalls that when the boys joined the organization initially, Amma displayed her pride by keeping "her back straight" (Munoveera 139).

Munoveera laments over instrumental use of children by the Party organization. Without child militants, the Party cannot function. Saraswathi tells the reason for this conscription of children of the dead or disappeared people in these words:

... we also take child from every family. This is the price of the war. Sometimes they give us child quickly and easily, but sometimes we have to negotiate and threaten. I hate these scenes. I hate ripping a child from his mother's arms, but it must be done. This is war and to fight we need bodies. So we take these children. We wipe the tears from their faces and take them because they are hungry, or because they have no shelter. (Munoveera 180-1)

Foregrounding the reasons for child conscription, Munoveera explicates that children are easily trained; they are eager to follow orders and more easily give in for conformity. Further, a few days training equips them with requisite skills to dodge the opponent soldiers. Young children are agile too, which is an added benefit that accrues to the organization bent on violating all life in its vicinity; because of their swiftness and agility they can easily slip over the land unnoticed and can attack the enemy unaware. Children are also taken because they can generate feeling of love and empathy even in the hearts of battle hardened soldiers. These soldiers hesitate before the young children and "... those moments of hesitation often grant [them] victory" (Munoveera 181).

Rocker's stance is augmented by Paraskos; Paraskos also believes that any ideology "whether from the political left, right or center, lead inevitably to the same dehumanized form of society" (xvi). The "dehumanization" indicated by Paraskos is visible in the novel *ITM*. Saraswathi recalls that the hatred fed to her brothers saps them of their humanity; they lose all interest in humans and their relations. Completely dehumanized, they show conspicuous lack of involvement in anything other than their imaginary piece of land and their weapon; their language stinks of cruel butchery. For Saraswathi, they are very different from "the happy childhood memories". The novel

shows that when the party fails to collect the required number of adult fighters, it turns to the children by employing more coercive means for conscription. The “push factor” includes threatening parents of the children, abducting and press-ganging. The party produces oppressive conditions for children and their parents who detest not only the war, but questionable policies of the Tamil organization. Saraswathi’s mother laments that she has sacrificed her sons for the cause and now her daughters are being claimed. Saraswathi has been abused by soldiers and pushed by oppressive surroundings; she has no choice but to join the militia. Once recruited in the camp, she is also instrumentalized. The fascist movement leaves parents with no choice but to sacrifice their children for the cause. The villages under assault dread not only the bombardment done by armed forces; they have the fear of Tigers claiming their sons and daughters. This enforced conscription is offered to Saraswathi’s parents. Holding AK-47s, the Tiger women enter Saraswathi’s house. The fascist gaze of Tigers measures the girls and demand that the girls are sent to the camp for training. Saraswathi recalls that their gaze “turns suddenly cold”. They command Appa to keep younger daughter for one more year, but Saraswathi is “ready” (Munoveera 142) for possession by the party.

The demeanour of Appa itself is sufficient for children to lose all hope. Appa has been treated in contemptuous way but he responds in submissive manner in the interest of the child being claimed. Appa’s powerlessness, in the face of an armed militant group bent on making mischief, is evident through his persistent gaze at the floor. War has already affected his parenting skills, his role of the breadwinner and protector of kids’ honour, he assumes a submissive posture in order to avoid unnecessary hassle for his daughters. Appa’s bent body, his conciliatory gestures, his low and almost pleading tone, with smile while being accosted by the recruiters, is symptomatic of his diminished parental role in the traditional family set up. The party workers persuade the parents in the name of “greater goals” for the girls. Attaching conscription with patriotic activity, the visiting Tiger woman questions, “What bigger aspiration could you have than for her to fight for her people?” (Munoveera 141). Unable to resist their persuasion, Appa agrees to send his daughter to the camp.

In the training camp, the physical training is accompanied by assailing of children’s consciousness; the camps are the real breeding grounds for hatred. Saraswathi,

on entering into training camp, is stripped of all humane feelings for fellow humans. She recalls her experience of her early days in the camp when she is told of the ways in which “Tamil blood has been spilled” and how they have been mortified, and crushed by the state. She is told in the camp of the myriad ways in which the Tamils are hated; she is shocked to know that “such ferocious hatred could exist” (Munoveera 173). The reiterated point in the camp is that between these two factions the only relationship that exists is “hatred”.

The primary texts explicate that widespread violence cannot take place without construction and funding of hatred at grassroots level. *TMUH* also shows that Gujarat carnage is the apogee of deliberate construction of hatred against Muslims. The hostility between majority Hindus and minority Muslims has been inflamed by the “Hindu right” in many parts of the state. The Hindu right organization RSS<sup>xli</sup> has organized very effectively at the grassroots level, filling the void left by the state. The novel explicitly depicts the consequences of animosity seeped so deep into the mindset of people that “thirty thousand saffron parakeets” (Roy, *TMUH* 62), wearing khaki shorts and caps, carrying all sorts of armament available to them marching in a line, are so immersed in an ideology of hatred that all those hordes of people do not desist to crush human beings different from them. They are parroting what has been told to them by their instructors and whip up violent sentiment around many sensitive issues. The sworn goal of this organization is to “unify India under the saffron flag, a symbol of Hindu power” (Nussbaum 155). RSS fabricates a fake history of centuries of “Muslim tyranny” in India to justify their ill-willed actions against Muslims. This hatred manufactured through many decades is an asset to the political party of BJP. The steamed hatred against Muslims “unites Hindu vote” (Roy, *LTTGH* 146) in favor of BJP, and it ensures “a landslide victory” for the party. The task of uniting voters under the saffron flag and confirm victory is entrusted to Rashtriya Swayamasevak Sangh (RSS<sup>xlii</sup>), which is the heart beat of the political party (Roy, *LTTGH*, 146).

*TMUH* is replete with instances where basic human rights have been neglected by the state and fundamentalist Hindu organizations step forward to fill up the gaps left by the state. Flush with “funds from millionaire supporters of Lalla” (Roy, *TMUH* 104) these organizations initiate a number of schools, clinics and many other desperately

desired services. The devotees of the organization understand powerlessness incited by poverty; they have forged abhorrent melting pot into which “the frustration caused by deprivation and injustices of day to day life- and hopeless future- can be poured and directed to baneful objectives” (Roy, *LTTGH* 40).

Roy critiques Gujarat ka Lalla’s reliance on violence to consolidate his political position. With his coming to power, “governmentalization of Hindutva” is witnessed; under his benign administration, RSS has assailed the schools, designed and implemented a curriculum that idolizes Hitler; as some of RSS workers and supporters “openly admired Hitler” (Roy, *TMUH* 45) and plan to use Hitler’s methodology against Muslims of India. This control of the text books tells of the absence of a critical thinking in schools. Here the “Vedic science” is said to be the source of all science, the cadres of RSS do not acknowledge Newton or any other scientist because in the current scenario during Lalla’s regime, the official statement of text books is “that ancient Hindus had invented all science” (Roy, *TMUH* 45). In the state ruled by Lalla, the schools produce citizens whose brains are disturbingly shaped by a deforming ideology and instead of critically thinking about the ideology perpetuated by Hindu-right organization the students disregard all scientific evidence and consider heresy as source of all knowledge.

*TMUH* highlights that the high tide of Hindu nationalism is observed in 2002 after GKL’s coming to power in Gujarat. In the emblematic power display, consequent upon construction of hatred, festivals and celebrations turn more aggressive thus generating conditions for proliferation of brutality. Dosehra’s festival is one such event; in which massive crowds organized by the ruling party fill Ramlila ground with thousands of “saffronized cadres” stalking the ground. Roy highlights that these festivals, arranged to terrorize Muslims, grow fat on hatred funded by wealthy members of the party; consequently, every year the effigies of demons of Hindu mythology grew higher and fatter. The Hindu myths are acted out with more ferocity and “ever-more generous scholarship (Roy, *TMUH* 86-7). With its grass root approach thousands of RSS workers have successfully injected poison in consciousness of Hindu children by assaulting and rewriting Indian history. The history textbooks under Lalla’s regime include fabricated accounts of dishonoring of Hindu women by Muslim men and pillaging their temples by greedy Muslim rulers. Gujarat carnage becomes a visible manifestation of the success of

hate constructed in *TMUH*. History that does not suit the RSS-BJP union is altered altogether. “A few audacious scholars” who have assaulted history in order to produce a monolithic Hindu image of the past, have participated in bringing carnage thus emphasizing a mythic purity of Hindus in past.

*TMUH* displays the consequences of this skewing of inquisitiveness at school level and civic society in general; the animosity germinated and funded after many decades’ diligent work entails in fascism’s stringent grip over the civic life, visibly marked in the incidence of February 2002. Though America’s orchestration of 9/11 incidence created a congenial atmosphere for “pre-emptive” assault against already disenfranchised Muslim minority living in India, but RSS and BJP coalition’s long drawn effort in hate construction cannot be disregarded. Half a century’s deliberate effort to bring religious animosity between two distinct communities was only aided by USA’s foreign policy regarding Muslim countries and their pillaging. Hence burning of the train stands out erected on the model of 9/11. Train burning in 2002 is seen by many opportunist politicians “as a boon” (41-4).

*TMUH*(41-5) depicts a highly charged atmosphere constructed against Muslims on a global scale; an opposition politician then<sup>xliii</sup> taking advantage of this volatile atmosphere steps forward and declares in front of media that the incineration of the train “definitely looked like the work of Pakistani terrorists”. The speech of the BJP leader associates “unbelonging and nonassimilation” to Indian Muslims; being inflammatory, this public statement puts the Indian Muslims’ lives at stake. His allegation against Muslims is without any evidence and it indicates a deliberation in planning a pre-emptive violence against Muslims. Following this event, he plans his first “Rath Yatra”, which further inflames the already hyped communal rage and prepares the atmosphere for “neo-fascism” (Roy, *LTTGH* 35). This highly instigative speech act is endorsed by the statement of another politician, a spokesman for the state that “every action would be met with an equal and opposite reaction” (Roy, *TMUH* 45). This rhetoric of “action and reaction” clearly speaks of deliberation in the act of violence rather than a spontaneous rioting.

Deploying the logic of action and reaction, BJP politicians gain many benefits. The rhetoric wipes out all the burden of blame which is shifted from perpetrators to the victims. It entails that once an action is taken it follows its natural course and ends in an inevitable reaction. Such explanations not only exonerate the retaliative violence as a reaction to condemnable dispositions of the Muslims; it also presents this retributory violence as unstoppable when once started working more like a “natural cataclysm than a set of blameworthy human act” (Nussbaum, 27). Such chilling remarks of these spokespersons and politicians are unforgivable because they emphasize that the sweeping butchery of thousand innocent people can be exempted as a reaction to the incidence. In addition to condoning genocide, such logic reiterates standard propaganda against Muslims- that they are terrorists, that they cannot become democratic citizens and, are not willing to coexist with people of other religions.

Roy exposes the deep and inextricable connection between key parliamentarians and right wing organization in *TMUH*. The “poet-prime minister,<sup>xliv</sup>” who like many other ministers of his cabinet, is an official member of “an old organization (Roy, *TMUH* 41-2). He sees 9/11 as an opportunity for a landslide victory in next elections and indicates that the terrorist attack that happened in America can also happen in India and that the government should pass a pre-emptive law against Muslim terrorists by passing “a new anti- terrorist law as a safety precaution”. So a justification is being planned for a full-fledged assault on law to be used exclusively against the targeted Muslim population. The “poet- Prime Minister” like other fundamentalist public actors repeatedly develops a nexus between Muslims of India and Pakistan and the international terrorism. He particularly embarrasses any peace and justice loving person by declaring that Muslims in any part of the world “do not want to live peacefully” (Roy, *TMUH* 12). Preparing a ground for state terrorism, he endorses America’s position and declares, “The Mussalman, he doesn’t like the Other’.... his faith he wants to spread through Terror’ (Roy, *TMUH* 41). Through this remark, he propels an ideology in which Muslims are seen as disruptive and separatist. A deep sense of victimization and humiliation suffuses his narrative of history. Here, the subsequent violence is treated as an inevitable part of the initial alleged Muslim aggression, and the politician becomes another victim, not a responsible agent linked to Hindu aggression.



Roy indicates that major political parties have devised instruments like GKL for a landslide victory. BJP needs a staunch believer in the ideology of Hindutva who could bring a landslide victory for the party, for which Hindu- right hard liner “Gujarat ka Lalla”<sup>xlv</sup> is selected as a candidate for the party. GKL emerges with his pronounced linkage with RSS; being a full time RSS worker, he is delegated to play a special role in Gujarat on behalf of the party a little while before he was made the “chief minister of Gujarat”. GKL serves the party well by exterminating Muslims and thus winning Hindus’ hearts as well as the title “Gujarat ka Lalla”.

Roy in *TMUH* brings out the significance of time period selected for Gujarat genocide; it happened at a very crucial moment in the political history of India when the chief minister of Gujarat, GKL was “up for re-election (Roy, *TMUH* 45). He makes an appearance on TV in a “Saffron Kurta with a slash of vermilion on his forehead”. His saffronized persona is indicative of the umbilical cord sustaining and linking him with RSS as well as his violent aspirations; he orders in a callous and calculating manner that the incinerated bodies of Hindu pilgrims must be displayed “for the general public to pay their respects” in the state’s capital Ahmadabad. His command plays havoc with the emotions of already charged spectators of the mainstream TV channels that add fuel to the communalism already set in motion. This political move consolidates his position in the elections. Only in a few months after Gujarat episode, he returns to power with a deluging majority and is up for victory in “election after election in Gujarat” (Roy, *TMUH* 63). Although a few responsible people articulate that Gujarat’s chief minister should be tried for his gross actions and policy, but this political engineering earns him love of fundamentalist Hindus.

GKL becomes more belligerent and openly declares war against Muslims of India by highlighting a Muslim era of cruelty and injustice. Being the chief minister of Gujarat, he begins to talk a lot about “avenging centuries of Muslim cruelty” (Roy, *TMUH* 81). Muslims are shown aggressive and belligerent race and that they can reawaken the old aggression if not stopped on time. This rhetoric from a fabricated and false history makes a common Hindu identify with the centuries old subordination and abjection at the hands of Muslims. The Hindus are instigated to stand up for their proud and pure Hindu India. Confident of his success in one state, the party decides to seek his services for other states

which he condescends graciously. To serve the party as well as his own self-interest, he has planned his 'March to Delhi'<sup>xlvi</sup> which portends the replication of Gujarat episode in other states.

## **5.8 Brutalization of Society**

The civil war in Sri Lanka has enhanced "brutalization of society" (Somasundaram 15). The novel is replete with images of widespread military check-posts, sentinels equipped with precise weaponry, bristled wires, lynched and incinerated bodies. The gun culture has diffused profoundly in an otherwise peaceful Sri Lankan culture. This gravely affects the consciousness and thinking patterns of the individuals. Saraswathi is the perfect example whose consciousness has been inscribed by an inerascible blood-ink by horrifying mutilation, dismembering, decaying and bloated bodies of her friends; grown inside the war Saraswathi cannot imagine that life outside war can exist. Her imagination presents war as the only enduring and growing creature "with pointed tongue and wicked claws"(Munoveera 189) that devours and gets plumb on blood of her people.

Children, thus soaked with hatred, turn into ferocious beings who dread not even death and who are barren of the value for human life. The society as a whole is immunized against such wicked practices. There is a general ennui. The oppressive conditions coupled with insemination of hatred have produced "Shiva Nataraja<sup>xlvii</sup>". Saraswathi, aware of her own brutalization says quite rightly:

The soldiers have left me a blank page. They used me, and then threw me away like a piece of refuse. They did expect me to survive. They should have killed me, but they didn't, and that is their mistake. Now, the tigers write upon my surfaces.  
(173)

Saraswathi's stay in the training camp militarizes her completely. She is turned into a "perfect weapon" (Munoveera 177) for the organization which could be used for a number of purposes. The task of these tigers is to wreck violence on unarmed Sinhala civilians who are caught unaware during the dead of the night. Usually a fully armed squadron enters silently as specter in the villages already marked. In the quiet of night, villagers' "inevitable cacophony, the loud begging for mercy, the calling upon long-dead mothers and prayers to various deities" make no impact on the sealed hearts of the militants; rather, the terrified sounds of the villagers enrage the militants further. In a

graphic style, the narrator explicitly tells of the havoc let loose on the people. The Tamil tigers, with their sworn aim of drawing “the bloodiest picture” (184) usually enter the villages at midnight; they use machete expertly by cutting it “through flesh” and leave “dead babies and bludgeoned women with streams of blood” flowing from their faces. Saraswathi, who is “the perfect weapon” of the party, is transformed into “the Shiva Nataraja, the dancing face of death (177). Civilization is responsible for producing a torn social fabric, economic deprivation, a preponderant environment of hatred. *ITM* laments at the loss of precious asset of the society i.e. Tamil children. Munoveera indicates that Sri Lankan youth which would have participated in positive construction of the society, is rather turned into violent automatons thirsty for enemies’ blood.

### **5.9 Nationalism Constructs Hierarchy of Grief**

*ITM* explores the relationship between the violence that claims the lives of many innocent people and violence of omission. Grievebility also serves as a “political construct” (Butler 32) which is not allowed to all equitably; the “differential distribution” (Butler 32) of grievebility is also determined by “nationalism”. Serving a political purpose, grievebility establishes “a human” in its normative form. *ITM* presents a number of examples to explicate the conditions that determine “grievebility”, its availability, and the frame for establishing people as “humans through grievebility”. It also shows under what conditions certain people are excluded from the normative frame of human by denying mournability. The “cultural definition of human” determines the kind of loss (Butler 38). The death of someone who is included in the cultural definition of human is considered a “loss” worth grieving, only then mourning is allowed to take place. But, if the dead person falls out of the “cultural frame defining a human”, then that death is not deemed “grievable loss” and no mourning is allowed to take place. This prohibition on mourning is “violence of de-realization” (Butler 33).

Butler’s position helps us to see the politics involved in the rituals of grieving and mourning in the primary texts. The novels show that “nationalism” determines the restrictive frame not only for authentic humanity; rather it decides admissible “grievebility” and “mournability” accorded to people belonging to different factions. In *ITM* elaborate cemeteries are constructed for martyrs which serve as instrument of

distributing mournability. Only those Tamils, defined by the Tigers, by virtue of inclusiveness in nationalism, are seen worthy of grieving. Nationalism defines which deaths cease to become, “publically grievable” deaths. Tamil martyrs are made into national icons for recognition; the act, of erecting their posters, is a way of “distributing grievability”. Those who offer themselves to annihilate the “others” are seen as “fully humans”; rest are subjected to the violence of “de-realization”.

In contrast to the martyrs, *ITM* presents certain other lives that are not considered “grievable”; they do not qualify as “lives”. Such life is “... already the unburied, if not unburiable’ (Butler 34). Saraswathi is also initiated into one such ritual when a Sinhala soldier is tracked and brought to the camp for punishment (Munoveera 174-5). Apart from testing Saraswathi’s skill and courage to kill an opponent, the graphic event serves to allocate grievability by “humanizing” Saraswathi from “Tiger! Bitch!; it will dehumanize the Sinhala soldier by conferring on him the status of a “dog”. The soldier’s being “tied” to the chair; his “black hair falling on his face” renders him an unrecognizable face; his watching “from one face to another in silence”; his “screams” already deny him a “human status”. The soldier is already “a non-human, un-realized” in the eyes of Tigers. Saraswathi moves forward and has to disregard the misery of the soldier who “crawls away” from the site of butchery. In his effort to escape, he “trails off blood and urine like a dog run over on the rail tracks”. His status as a “dog” exacerbates his vulnerability; his bulging red eyes speak of the dread and “a stream of words in his incongruent” Sinhala tongue is “un-interpretable” for “human” predators. Saraswathi’s boots crush his lungs” which sets forth “red bubbles frothing at his mouth”. His murder, not a “mournable death” evokes no sympathy; the Sinhala soldier falling off the definition of “human” does not deserve a dignified burial.

Saraswathi is applauded for accomplishing the task. The ritual of killing is administered publically; through such displays from time to time, the new cadres are taught organization’s acceptable standards of humanity. The ritual proves Saraswathi as a “venerable human” worth emulation. Meena, another cadre in the training camp congratulates Saraswathi for this bold act and comments, “Some girls are frightened at their first kill. They cry and even vomit sometimes. But you...”. Although, Saraswathi attempts to wash off “the thick slipperiness of gore on them”, and she struggles to keep

her fluttering hands and trembling legs from other' gaze; yet, she does not want to fall off the human frame constructed by Tigers and proves herself worth reverence.

The cadres, who prove their worth as venerable lives, have been selected for martyrdom. A grand ceremony is conducted in which brave cadres are taught to engulf cyanide. In this ceremony parents of cadres are also invited. In this ceremony big portraits of martyrs are erected for all to see. The process of "humanization" of the brave cadres is done throughout the year. Saraswathi remembers her school days when trucks rumble by them on their way back home from school. The loudspeakers, fixed on roof of these trucks list the virtues of the suicide attackers. The villagers are used to listening to such "death-defying" deeds of the suicide bombers who sacrificed their lives for a noble cause. The life-size billboards are posted "along the "bullet-peppered walls" (Munoveera 180) where they subject the living, breathing Tamils to the violence of occlusion. Saraswathi notices that early every morning, "the scent of jasmine trailing off the thick garland" around the portraits of martyrs sweetens the whole abutting area. These portraits are displayed to capture "that ultimate moment when they become the collective rage" of the oppressed community. The martyrs are "humanized" because they allowed themselves to be instrumentalized and fall inside the restrictive frame of humanness defined by Tigers. Their lives were worthy and their deaths are grievable by this definition.

## **5.10 Conclusion**

In accordance with anarchist perspective, the selected fiction proves that violence is not inherent in human nature; rather, it is a political tool devised by leaders and politicians, who use it to gain their vested interest. The novels prove that ordinary people prefer harmony and peace; they accommodate people different from themselves; share space and relations with each other since centuries. The animosity religious/ethnic/racial/linguistic is whipped up by power wielders. The power-lusty politicians exacerbate vulnerability, and turn lives into precariousness. The texts however, provide ample examples to show that this restrictive notion of "nationalism" is rejected by many characters, who, equipped with a sense of responsibility, show respect for other human beings and insist upon plurality and inclusion rather than unitary

conception of “nationalism” which is based upon exclusions. “Nationalism” so furtively propagated by empowered people becomes the cause of “genocidal violence” in both novels. The adherents of “nationalism” do not hesitate from practicing any atrocity against the ethnic/religious minority. The number of victims killed in Sri Lankan Civil war rises to eighty thousand, where as in Gujarat carnage, ravished Muslims who are maimed, mutilated, murdered and incinerated under the tutelage and with complicity of the state organs are in thousands; not only that, the survivors of both atrocities are dispossessed of their houses. Those who are chased into exile have to reconstruct their lives from scratch; their habitats and businesses are destroyed and their source of sustenance is demolished. Thus these violent and power lusty regimes expose thousands of lives to “precariousness”.

The monopoly of violence used by state organs and the retributory violence used by the Leftwing organization in the novels also enlighten the readers about the real character of “nationalism”. Both organizations presented in the novel have their own party programs which are protected by killing all those who pose a threat to those hegemonic goals. But the organizations depicted in the novel show through a number of ways that violence is the result of the disruptive nature of the “other” and in order to safeguard the interest of the nation, violent measures have to be adopted. The organizations vilify all inclusionary notions and deem them inconsistent with “nationalism”.

The novels also show that the founders of this conception of “nationalism” not only admire but encourage fascist versions of these ideas to be implemented in their realm thus subjecting millions of people to violence of marginalization. These admirers of nationalism popularize these ideas through very effective grassroots organization working to disseminate terror in people. In the countries presented in these novels, pluralism, toleration and peace are endangered phenomenon on account of exclusionary politics. Here “nationalism” has been reconstructed to exclude certain lives from the framework of human. Those excluded lives are not accorded fundamental human rights; falling off the culturally defined notion of nationalism, those who are not considered humans are also not considered grievable after their death. Their loss is not considered a loss hence, grievability is not allowed in the case of all vulnerable lives.

## End Notes Chapter 5

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<sup>xviii</sup> *“Nationalism”* believed and practiced in India today is considered to be the most detrimental element that threatens India’s democracy. It is borrowed by the founders of Indian nationalism from “a romantic European” conception based upon ideas of blood, soil, and purity. The founders of the Hindu right, in 1920s and 1930’s were immensely impressed by the early fascist versions of the ideas prevailing in Italy and Germany. These ideas were popularized by the founders through their diligent effort and hard work and taking hold of the young Hindu boys. For further detail please see *“The Clash within”* by Martha Nussbaum.

<sup>xix</sup> *Island of Ceylon*: Sri Lanka changed many names, including Ceylone and Serendip. Sri Lanka had its former name Island of Ceylon, under the British rule; it achieved independence on 4<sup>th</sup> February, 1948. The name Ceylone, however changed to Sri Lanka in 1972. For further detail please visit the website [britannica.com/place/Sri-Lanka/Demographic-trends](http://britannica.com/place/Sri-Lanka/Demographic-trends). Retrieved on August 7, 2022. The writer is Gerald Hubert Peiris.

<sup>xx</sup> *Discriminatory laws in Sri Lanka*: M.M. Fazil (“State Minority Contestations in Post-Colonial Sri Lanka” 157-165) discusses in his article that after its independence Sri Lankan state, it formulated policies that were implemented to safeguard the privileges of Sinhala’s, which discriminated against the Tamils. Fazil enlists some of these policies as under:

Citizenship Act

The Sinhala Only Language Act

Land Policies

University admission policies

Employment policies

<sup>xxi</sup> *Black July* refers to the tragic incidence of Sri Lankan history. In 1987, the situation got out of control and Sinhalese rioters entered Jaffna Library and burnt it. Jaffna library was an old Tamil library situated in the Northern zone of the country called Jaffna and burnt almost 95000 manuscripts. These were claimed to be irreparable and irreplaceable manuscripts containing history of Tamils. It is also referred to as *“cultural genocide”*. It was the result of Indian military operation to capture Jaffna in October

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1987. For detail please see Daya Somasundaram's article "Collective Trauma in Northern Sri Lanka", pp 1-27).

<sup>xxii</sup> The fictive ignition of a train in *TMUH* by Roy is an allusion to a tragic historic event in which a coach known as "*Sabarmati express*" caught fire and became the reason for cold-blooded slaughter of about two thousand Muslims of Gujarat. The reason for the inflammation and thereof burning of 58 Hindu passengers, have never been investigated by Indian State; the state hastily blamed Muslims of the nearby localities for the gross atrocity.

<sup>xxiii</sup> *Babri Masjid*: it is an allusion to the tragic event of demolition of a historic mosque. Hordes of young RSS activists climbed onto the domes of the mosque, hoisting a saffron flag and damaged the mosque in July 1992. In December, 1992, the fundamentalist Hindus climbed up on the mosque and pulled down the domes with the help of spades and iron rods; thus they damaged all the three domes of the mosque had been pulled down. (Martha Nussbaum, p 177-8).

<sup>xxiv</sup> BJP, it refers to Bhartiya Jannata Party, which literally means Indian People's Party. It is one of the biggest political parties of India which is founded by and still deeply chorded to the RSS. Martha Nussbaum explicates that "Bhartiya" means Indian in a sense that is soaked in strong patriotic overtones, whereas "Hindustani" would have been "Indian" in an inclusive way that would be congenial to the minorities of India. The BJP conspicuously did not select the name "Hindustani Jannata Party"

<sup>xxv</sup> Refugee camp in *TMUH* refers to the internally displaced Muslims displaced from their houses. In this regard, Roy writes in *LTTGH*, 137, "Muslim shops, Muslim businesses and Muslim shrines and mosques were systematically destroyed. One hundred and fifty thousand people were driven from their homes... even today, many of them live in ghettos- some built on garbage heaps-with no water supply, no drainage, no street lights, no health care. They live as second-class citizens, boycotted socially and economically" (Roy, *LTTGH* 136-137).

<sup>xxvi</sup> *Hindutva*: the essence, the core of being a Hindu is coded as "Hindutva". This term was made prominent by Hindu-right activist and writer V.D. Savarkar; it has come to denote the entire ideology of ethnic homogeneity and purity, often including the subordinate status of non-Hindu groups.

<sup>xxvii</sup> *Bajrang Dal*: The military wing of RSS (*LTTGH*). It is a "strong group", militant youth wing of the RSS, started in 1984, responsible for a good deal of violence against Muslims and Christians. It is famous for its vibrant anti-minority stance and practices.

<sup>xxviii</sup> *RSS's grassroots work*: RSS is heavily funded from wealthy fundamentalists from all the world over. With all this funding, RSS devotees multiplied in number; by the year



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2000, the RSS had more than sixty thousand branches and an army of more than four million volunteers preaching its doctrine across India. The team includes a number of key politicians like India's former prime minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the former home minister and current leader of the opposition L.K. Advani, and of course, the most active of its members, three times Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi. It also includes senior people in the media, the police, the army, the intelligence agencies, the judiciary and the administrative services who are informal devotees of Hindutva- the RSS ideology (Roy, LTTGH 148)

<sup>xxx</sup> *Saffron flag*: RSS with its fundamentalist ideology constructed a saffron flag as a symbol of unity of Hindu nation. It is mandatory in all meetings of RSS to raise the saffron flag and declare allegiance to this flag. It is preferred to India's tricolor national flag. "We worship the saffron flag as our guru... we bow before you, we are prepared to serve your cause" (Nussbaum 154). Nussbaum writes that "the RSS iconology downplays truth, fertility, law and the freedom of all the world's peoples in favor of a single-minded focus on courage... for all the devotees of RSS, every day concludes with the singing of chatterjee's Vande Mataram and starts with raising saffron flag" (155).

<sup>xxxi</sup> *Villages as foreign occupation*. Daya Somasundaram writes in "Collective Trauma that these villages seemed like foreign occupations with extreme security arrangements consisting of armed guards, ubiquity of check posts, weapons of all kind, inhumane search operations, detentions, abductions, skirmishes, guerrilla attacks, and counter - attacks. For further detail please see Daya Somasundaram (p 13)

<sup>xxxii</sup> *IDPs* are Refugee camps established by the state for internally displaced people. These were also called "Welfare Villages".

<sup>xxxiii</sup> *Mass Exodus*: Dillini Withanalage writes that as the war moves on, violence escalates, the civilians had to leave their abodes. The contested territory under assault could not provide them protection from bombardments and land mines spread in villages. This mass exodus apart from breaking the bonds with houses built over many decades, , the trek of over 400,000 people in the middle of the night with rain and shells charged everyone. The people left in extreme dread leaving all their possessions behind in their houses in the hope of coming back after the war concluded. The roads were clogged with so many of dispossessed and displaced people. They came slowly, step by step, the less able, the elderly falling by the roadside and finally arriving in makeshift inadequate accommodation with deplorable survival conditions. For further detail please see Female Agency by Dillini Withanalage.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> *Prevention of Terrorism Act* was introduced in Sri Lanka in 1979, when the insurgency was making trouble for the state.

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<sup>xxxv</sup> *Tiger Suspects*: the Tamils were arrested arbitrarily, threatened and tortured and prosecuted based on confessionary evidence. This confessionary evidence was drawn under torturous condition, hence putting all this sham of justice in suspicion. These men were brought to military tribunals already stigmatized as “Tiger Suspects”. They were not given access to legal assistance. This mass prosecution strategy followed a three pronged process.

a. Arbitrary arrest.

b. followed by indefinite detention.

c. murder of these suspects on the basis of confessionary evidence.

For further detail please see “Confessionary Evidence” by Vihanga Perera.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> *Conspiracy of silence*: disappearances in war zone are accompanied by conspiracy of silence. Further inquiries about these disappearances may lead to more problems for the disappeared persons as well as for the family. For further detail please see Daya Somasutharam (p8).

<sup>xxxvii</sup> *Rape* is outlawed as a criminal act under the international rules of war. It is punishable by death or imprisonment under the Article 120 of the American Uniform Code of Military Justice (Brownmiller 32).

<sup>xxxviii</sup> *Valiant mother*: the term refers to those unfortunate women of Sri Lanka who either participated directly in militancy, or sent their children to war. For further detail please see Chenoi, “ Militarization.

<sup>xxxix</sup> *Emergency in Kashmir* (Emergency was declared in 1990 and the narrator Dasgupta narrates the events in 1996. So he narrates” it was sixth straight year of emergency in the valley. The civilian government had been dismissed; it was 1996, the sixth straight year of Governor’s Rule in the State (Roy, *TMUH* 167).

<sup>xl</sup> *Autogenocide* Daya Somasundaram (12)

<sup>xlii</sup> *RSS*. It is Rashtriya Swayamasevak Singh. It was founded in 1925. By the 1930’s, its founder, Dr. K.B Hedgewar, a fan of Benito Mussolini’s, had begun to model it overtly along the lines of Italian fascism (Roy, *LTTGH*, 146).

<sup>xliii</sup> *The Home Minister* is a reference to Lal K Advani (Roy, *LTTGH* 150 )

<sup>xliv</sup> The poet prime minister is A. B. Vajpayee (Roy, *LTTGH* 150)

<sup>xlv</sup> *Gujarat ka Lalla* (GKL) refers to Narendra Modi

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<sup>xlvi</sup> Modi's march to Delhi: Roy in LTTGH, 151, "Preparations to recreate the "Gujarat blueprint" are currently in different stages in the BJP-ruled states of India.

<sup>xlvii</sup> *Shiva Nataraja* is the dancing face of death as believed in Hindu Mythology.

## **CHAPTER 6**

# **ECOLOGICAL HAPPINESS: DECIVILIZATION AND EARTH DEMOCRACY**

### **6.1 Introduction**

Following Primitivist Anarchists' stance, this chapter establishes that the selected South Asian writers subscribe to anarchist position; they propose a vision of radical social change in which the only hope for the politically dispossessed people of South Asia lies in developing an independent and self-sustaining culture outside the dominant political and capitalist structures. This vision, based upon anthropological study, provides an insight into an ecologically balanced society which is premised around an ethically guided organization of society. The dream of a violence-free and ecologically balanced society, where "happiness" prevails for all kinds of life, is possible only away from "civilization". The chapter sets to validate, in accordance with Anarchists' position, that the characters that abandon civilization and its failings establish an eco-community; this eco-community discourages objectification and avoids establishing hierarchical structures. Disparities based upon class, gender, species and nations do not afflict this community; the possessed and dispossessed live in a cordial relation with each other. This chapter further substantiates that integration with other forms of human and non-human lives becomes a source of healing of the incurable wounds. The people in eco-community do not turn antagonistic face to other forms of life; the people in this community create a more fecund garden like Eden itself.

### **6.2 Alternative Realm of Happiness**

The previous chapters have substantiated that civilization has come closer to a collapse. The genocide, ecocide and a wholesale violence, distributed through various facets of civilization, reveal clearly that civilization has failed. This chapter sets to prove that a qualitatively different paradigm or vision is possible, and even available. In the light of Primitivist Anarchists, the directions to evade this crises is clear: “a return to the normal human condition of lower complexity... toward life, health, community, a face-to-face world of robust, re-skilled individuals” (Zerzan, *Why Hope* 95). This return to “the normal human condition of lower complexity” cannot be achieved without revolution. To make the world a violence-free space, strategies of change like “symbolic, and direct action and civil disobedience” (Kinna 124) can be employed to emancipate the people. Anarchy, which is the desired state for anarchists, must be achieved in order to claim “happiness” for multiple lives inhabiting the world. The dissent of the oppressed and “unconsoled” people is in accordance with Ocalan’s blueprint of “Democratic Confederalism”. Ocalan proposes a system of organization of society which does not ground itself on the concept of a nation-state and does not attach itself with the philosophy of “nationalism”. Ocalan defines “Democratic Confederation” as a system which is “open to other political groups and factions. It is flexible, multi-cultural, anti-monopolistic, and consensus-oriented” (16). Ecology and women are central pillars of this system.

Ocalan proposes that the terms used in liberal democracy should be conceived anew as they have been tainted by the politics of hegemonic groups. The concept like “federalism or self-administration” should not be conceived as “hierarchical levels of the administration of the nation-states but rather as central tools of social expression and participation of the people. It is the “creation of an operational level where all kinds of social and political groups, religious communities, or intellectual tendencies can express themselves directly in all local decision-making processes” (20). The strength of this system relies on the strength and extent of participation of the common people. The nation states which are based on hierarchical relations is in contrast to democracy, and even denies democracy. In contrast to the so-called democratic values practiced in nation-states, the participative democracy will constitute “a continuous democratic process” (21).

The dissent is significant to bring a radical transformation in the current mode of existence imposed upon South Asians. The theoretical and practical aspects of Shiva's notion of earth democracy bring to the light the importance of resistance and citizen action. Although the task is daunting, yet Shiva reminds us that the conglomeration of many crises posed by industrial capitalism and divisive ideologies in the third world countries furnishes us with the convergence of equally potent opportunities, "to create living economies, living democracies, and living cultures". Shiva insists that earth democracy flourishes in the fecund soil worked by the earth, the human imagination and human action. These protests were significant because they called attention to the fact that the current international and economic world order are sources of injustice for the majority of world citizens. Shiva explicates the significance of dissent:

Far away from the glare of global media, ordinary people are making history, not by organizing arms to fight a global empire, but by self-organizing their lives their resources, their cultures, their economies\_ to defeat the empire by turning their backs to it, rejecting its tools and its logic, refusing its chains and its dictatorship. (*Earth Democracy* 182)

Shiva's notion of earth democracy is all inclusive; it is a living democracy, which is based on the democracy of all life and the democracy of everyday life. In living democracies people can influence the decisions over their basic needs. It blossoms like "a tree, from the bottom up" (10). The local communities are involved in this system of organization. The principles of "inclusion, diversity, ecological and social responsibility" are the key principles of earth democracy.

### **6.3 Dissent through Direct Action**

The key strategy of anarchist revolution is Direct Action; it is characterized by "breaking from dependency on others to run our lives" (Kinna 149). It is, action taken, not indirectly by "mediators or representatives... but directly by those effected" individuals. Secondly, Direct Action is taken with intent "to succeed, not just to gain publicity" (MacSimoin, Qtd. in Kinna 149). The status quo can be broken by "looking beyond the given state of affairs to a vision of what should be, not only what is" (Bookchin 346). Direct Action holds significance for the establishment and management of a society free of violence.

“Squatting” is one of the oft-practiced forms of Direct Action, and it is one that anarchists are keen to encourage. Arundhati Roy uses this strategy as a form of dissent in *TMUH*. It is presented as a dual strategy by many anarchists. On one hand it serves as a form of “practical anarchy”, sought out to address the problems of homelessness and secondly, it helps in creating substitute forms of “community-co-operatives” where groups of people living close to each other share basic facilities. Casting her vision in a literary form in *TMUH*, Roy presents a society constituted of a number of “falling people”: those who fall from the socially and politically defined norms of human. The minorities of India have little or no access to basic human needs and are relegated to a sub-human level in the novel. Through these characters, the novel takes us on an intimate journey on the Indian landscape; in the course of the novel these oppressed characters are introduced and their plight during their interaction with outside world is fore-grounded. The story takes us through the hampered vicinities of Old Delhi and the neighborhoods of the new city to the snow-capped mountains and marvelous valleys of Kashmir. The men and women forming the main crew are not “epic heroes” but ordinary people occluded and crushed by a hierarchical system of the world on the verge of civilization. They experience a series of vicissitudes and eventually resurrected and “patched together” by practices of love through a scheme of dissent called “Direct Action”.

The novel (Roy, *TMUH* 1-3) opens in a dreary landscape of a graveyard where Anjum lives “like a tree”; she experiences the cruelty of society “without flinching”. Anjum is unruffled by ruthlessness of small children throwing “stones at her”. In the desolate place governed by death, tree is symptomatic of defiance, organic growth and unvanquishable life. The necropolis is juxtaposed with metropolitan Delhi infested with ruthlessness, inequality, injustice and violence. Without “Direct Action” the problem of the shortage of housing in metropolitan cities like Delhi could never have been solved neither, nor the ecological damage inflicted on the populace could have been remedied. The squatters, led by Anjum, manifest the possibility of an alternative way of life by reclaiming the graveyard and adapting it according to their needs. This reclamation is not only a part of a campaign that helps to revive local community networks but it also fosters collective obligation, communality and engenders fun for the evictees of the world.

The protagonist of the novel *The Ministry*, Anjum, quite early in the novel, learns that she needs to reorganize herself to rediscover her life; she is ready to stand against civilization's myths, its nightmares; its intrusions in individual's lives; its dictation and discipline. She wants to flee far away from violence which is so deeply entrenched in all the power structures around her. She fights against incessant socialization, self-centeredness and utilitarian mindset which pits all against each other, only to create a harmonious world which is not built around manipulation and dictation. Anjum desires a life which values uniqueness and the dignity of many dispossessed, wounded, and beaten souls who cross ways with her. In accordance with Collin Ward's stance, Anjum exhibits her will to contest the dominant culture. Her desire to fight with the oppressive system and to re-attain the meaning of life is tantamount to her indomitable spirit to enjoy life responsibly with others. In effect, only by taking Direct Action is she able to free herself from the perverted suffocating existence. Anjum's capacity for self-determination that had been

Roy presents Anjum as a "doubly marginalized character" (Haq 270); her vulnerable gender identity aggravates her marginalization based upon religious identity. From her birth, she becomes representative of the social exclusion and dehumanization of transgenders. The term "transgender" is inclusive of all such individuals who have "internally felt sense of core gender identity" (Raina, "Book Review" 44) which does not "correspond to their assigned sex at birth or in which they were raised" (Raina, "Transgender marginalization and Exclusion" 824). The identities of transgenders do not conform to the stereotypical gender norms of masculinity or femininity; because of their deviance from gender norms, they are marginalized in India and systematically subjected to "social, economic as well as psychological" occlusion. The state fails to facilitate them in gaining an access to education, health facilities and social acceptability.

Roy exposes the peripheral process working against many such characters in her novel; the miserable condition of these characters is highlighted through their interaction with other people of the world. A number of transgenders try to rise and live over and above the debris of obliteration in *TMUH* (23-4). Nimmo Gorakhpuri's dejected statement regarding creation of Hijras is pertinent; Gorakhpuri comments that God wanted to create people who are "incapable of happiness... so He created Hijras"



Nimmo's comment that transgenders are like "jackals who feed off other people's happiness... they are happiness hunters", is a pungent observation on inhuman social status of this community. Roy depicts these people as trapped between two opposite worlds. Kulsoom Bi describes the agony of Hijras in a relevant passage:

Ordinary people in the Duniya-what did they know about what it take to live a life of Hijras? What did they know about the rules, the discipline and the sacrifices? ...  
... they built themselves up, bit by bit, humiliation by humiliation, from there.  
(Roy, *TMUH* 53)

Dominating the first half of the novel, Anjum questions the "patriarchal hegemony in India" (Gopinath 3) and sets to deconstruct culturally fabricated gender norms. The dismantling simultaneously grants condition of possibility to wholeness, to integrality, and to the suturing together of binaries in her person. Anjum, who from the start of her life is a combination of opposites, believes that she is a gathering "... of everybody and nobody, of everything and nothing" (Roy, *TMUH* 4). She is faced with a number of contradictory situations which subject her to excruciating experience of social marginalization.

Through the character of Anjum, Roy laments at the devaluation and degradation of transgender children who are not accorded the status of venerable human beings. Anjum, being fourth of five children, is "the Aftab" of her parents' life. Considered a male child, his birth is considered a much awaited blessing. His tiny existence illuminates his mother's life and the day he comes into world is "the happiest of Jahanara Begum's life" (Roy, *TMUH* 7-11). Later on, when his mother discovers that Anjum is a hermaphrodite, she becomes "terrified of her own baby" and initiates the process of "Othering". Uncertain of how to accept a baby that defies clear gender norms, she visits the Dargah of Hazrat Sarmad Shaheed, where she beseeches Hazrat's spirit to "teach [her] how to love him". For a mother, Aftab's normal existence is premised around his "girl-part's" healing. While Jahanara Begum waits for the girl part to bring around, she ferociously wards him off against social gaze; fear of social degradation makes Jahanara Begum preclude Aftab's free movement.

Aftab's wounds are deeper than just physical sufferings; his soul is tormented by the treatment met at his father's hands. His father, Mulaqat Ali, who prides himself over

his glorious lineage, is ashamed and exasperated at dichotomous gender identity of his child. Aftab's very presence is an indication of ignominy for his father and his well reputed family; after this discovery, his father receives his visitors "with the faded grace of a nobleman" and "a warning wrapped in mourning" (Roy, *TMUH* 14-7). Mulaqat Ali finds, to his dismay, that the family repute cannot be retrieved by poetry alone; he decides to subvert gender of his child by approaching a local "sexologist" named Ghulam Nabi. The doctor's effort to "seal the girl part" proves futile. His father's struggle to embark upon the cultural design of infusing virility in Aftab also proves equally fruitless.

Roy mourns at the exclusionary attitude of the society which refuses to provide a comfortable space to Aftab; his trans-gender identity submerges all his potentialities and limits his chances for a dignified survival in a reductive society. The music academy becomes another place of torment for him. Gifted with an extraordinary talent for music and a sweet melodious voice, Aftab can articulate complex musical compositions and command his voice to glide feasibly like "the flat rekhav in Raag Pooriya like a stone skipping over the surface of a lake" (Roy, *TMUH* 12). Known as a "Lucknow courtesan" he becomes the object of curiosity for small children; they pronounce: "he's a she. He's not a He or a She? He's a He and a She. She-He, He-She Hee! Hee! Hee! Hee!" (4). Aftab is reduced to a non-person and barricaded from his favorite music classes through humiliating remarks; his chances of excelling in academic world are curtailed by the hostile environment.

Aftab, in consonance with anarchist vision, refuses to wear a fake masculine identity imposed by the reductionist culture. Impressed by Bombay Silk and her outrageous femininity, Aftab embarks upon a journey of self-realization. His persistent chase of Bombay Silk is symptomatic of his pursuit of a feminine identity. Refusing to be dictated by the social pressure to behave like a man, he decides to forsake the real world for Khawbgah. Khawbgah provides the prospects of healing to Aftab; here the very atmosphere is friendly and accommodating. On his arrival in Khawbgah, the air makes way for him "like a school friend making room for him on a classroom bench" (Roy, *TMUH* 19-20); hosting similarly marginalized people, Khawbgah promises an inclusive world which does not devalue humans for their gender identity. This ordinary, shanty place promises a revered social status and he feels like entering "the gates of paradise"

Khawbgah facilitates Aftab's search for a feminine identity; he is renamed as "Anjum". Anjum's new persona shuts all the doors to the monolithic culture outside the boundary walls of this new abode. This new extravagant femininity displayed blatantly by Anjum is unacceptable to Mulaqat Ali, whose heart refuses to be mended; to hide his misfortune from the public gaze, he severs all links with his child. Mulaqat Ali prefers not even to exchange greetings with his child if ever they happen to cross each other's path through narrow alleys of Delhi.

Anjum's stay in Khawbgah heralds a new exploratory era of her life where she refuses to be objectified and commodified. Anjum's newly earned repute subjects her to another quandary; she is persistently pressurized to become a tool in the hands of international media and sully the repute of her family; or stay away from commodifying practices of the mainstream international media. For Anjum, film-makers, reputed NGOs and foreign correspondents fight. Her phone number is shared as a gift to one another as a "professional favor" (Roy, *TMUH* 26); her "altered story"- that of queer Muslim persecution in India provides fame, and fundraising opportunities for some organization that bank on such stories. Likewise in "the supermarket of grief", her story becomes a "priced commodity" (Ma 68) to be marketed and consumed. Although, she is taken up into processes of global marketing and business competition but she refuses to pander to their or their magazine's desire for cheap popularity based upon sensationalism. She understands that to suit "readers' appetite and expectation of a common foe", her Muslim family is constructed as "barbaric others" in foreign magazines. Her refusal to participate in such deliberate modifications, which reproduce Muslims as barbarians in contrast to the First World freedom narratives, is assertive of autonomy on her part. The civilized world's insistence on "queer oppression" in South Asian context poised against narratives of "queer emancipation" (Ma 68) does not influence Anjum.

Anjum's realization of the porosity of Khawbgah is evidenced after her Gujarat visit. "Khawbgah" in the novel is often pitched against the concept of Duniya or the World; "Duniya" represents sex/gender normativity whereas "Khawbgah" stands for sex/gender hetro-normativity housing a range of gender/sexual possibilities. Yet in the novel, Gujarat carnage foregrounds the fluid boundaries between a violent outside Duniya and a non-violent plurality represented by Khawbgah. In one of the most insular

moments, Nimmo refers to wars between neighboring countries as superficial matters that conciliate eventually in contrast to the inner riots afflicting Hijras. Nimmo educates Anjum regarding the inner conflicts of Hijras thus, “the riot is inside us...the war is inside us” (Roy, *TMUH* 23). As the novel unfolds, the effects of so-called outside things, such as the Emergency, the anti-Sikh riots of 1984, 9/11 attacks and the rise of saffron wave and its palpable result in Gujarat pogrom become irrevocably up close and personal to all the characters living in the sanctuary of Khawbgah. Just as the characters turn out to be inextricably intertwined with the social and political fault lines of the Indian subcontinent, lives seem to be more socially and politically determined. Anjum’s anxiety and trauma regarding this porosity makes her renounce Khawbgah for good.

Gujarat’s carnage proves yet another episode that spurs her to search for “happiness”; it changes her course of life altogether. The horrible massacre of nearly two thousand Muslims triggers yet another trauma in her; she wants to forget the painful memories. Trauma literature offers evidence of “defenses adopted by the characters and in turn represent their mental states (Vickroy 138). Forgetfulness by Anjum implies a kind of “defense mechanism” (Shahbaz 726) to cope with the extremely traumatic experience of her life. The subsequent event is very painful for her, as in Gujarat riots she is spared by the mob for her transgender identity; her gender status is the cause of the “butcher’s luck” (Roy, *TMUH* 66) which is not acceptable to her. Imagining herself as a benediction for slaughters further pushes her towards an incurable traumatic experience. On her return to Khawbgah, she wears an aura of impenetrable silence over her which is turned into incurable restlessness. Anjum remains highly strung and unable to focus on anything. Distanced from all others, including her adopted child Zainab, she decides to leave Khawbgah for an isolated place.

Anjum’s announcement to leave Khawbgah indicates yet another effort i.e. to seek “support for healing” (Shahbaz 727). The real world is no more worth living for Anjum; despondent, beyond the wildest imagination, she packs her finery and loads her tin trunks in a battered Tempo. A “fugitive, absconding from herself” (Roy, *TMUH* 61), Anjum enters into “an unprepossessing graveyard, rundown, not very big and used only occasionally” (Roy, *TMUH* 58). Anjum’s selection of the graveyard is premised around her feeling of utter despondency and dejection; on the verge of annihilation, the distance

between death and life seems surmountable to her. Her retort, to the municipal worker, that she “was not living in the graveyard, she was dying in it” (Roy, *TMUH* 67) explains her depressed state of mind. Anjum’s selection of this graveyard is significant as it contains the remains of her family members. She stays there because she wants to “dismiss the cortege of saffron men with saffron smiles who pursued her with infants impaled on their saffron tridents” (Roy, *TMUH* 61), but for many years, she does not succeed in absolving herself of the guilt.

Anjum’s decision to renounce the world goes in complete consonance with Ward’s vision of “Social Organization”. Turning her attention towards the misery of dispossessed people, she takes decision to construct her personal autonomy. She knows the importance and inevitability of developing direct relationship with other humans and with other forms of life. The social inequality and objectified human relations make her question the predominant mode of exploitative system. She understands that the need to develop organic relations with other humans will enable people to not only distance themselves from “the commercial exploitation of the techno-industrial” (Ward *AIA* 48) world but also “fascist nationalism” dividing people into grids of ethnicities, races and religions. Her strong urge to re-inhabit the earth initiates the first stage toward repositioning herself in the world. This step leads her towards a self-sufficient existence in which she develops a strong relation with herself.

Anjum’s selection of the necropolis for her survival is substantial from anarchist perspective. Collin Ward, an anarchist architect, questions the project of “urban development” by declaring it as “the capitalist definition of space” (Ward, *AIA* 59). Urbanization, according to Ward “ruthlessly omits all other alternatives” from the lives of people in need of dignified abodes. Ward believes that the capitalist architect and environmental planner streamline “utility”. This overemphasis on “utility” is only an attempt to dictate the people in selection of their living space by reifying their relations. Dearth of housing is supposedly met by big private architectural firms or state architects. But the kind of housing societies that claim entertainment and a dignified living place for common people do not oblige the common people at all. All these architectural arrangements are done “without them and against them”.

Anjum's decision to shift and settle in the derelict graveyard is to refuse to succumb to the close links between official planners and speculator developers. It is kicking in the face of the corruption of the former and the enrichment of the latter. In a country where the decisions regarding urban developmental projects are made by "speculative entrepreneurs" and the government, Anjum brings the courage to initiate the process of change and innovation by snatching the project of constructing her living space from bureaucracies and speculators. She refuses to surrender to the alliance between big monopolies' dictating people's lives. Having known that the fascist Indian state barricades all possibilities of democratic initiatives in the lives of citizens, she decides to populate a place of her own choice. Led by her, all other characters who mistrust the state, plan their surroundings themselves. New Delhi where the slums have been annihilated and the run-down areas are destroyed to be replaced by shopping malls, parking lots and overpriced apartments at high rents, Anjum shuns all these manipulative aspects of her surroundings. All those displaced and dispossessed who are faced with complex housing problems are given relief by Anjum.

In accordance with anarchist stance, Anjum, not only takes control of the locale for her abode; she rather, takes control of the whole project of construction of her house. She understands that a few wealthy people, by taking decisions and ascertaining control, limit choices for the rest, while the greater portion of population has to live with decisions imposed by authorities and so-called professionals. Nowhere is this imposition more discernible than in the domain of "housing". Housing has been a fundamental human inevitability, which has been met throughout human history by using "the readily available materials" (Ward, *AIA* 63). Prior to the invasion of architectural and bureaucratic professionals' entrance in the field, people constructed their houses with the cooperation of "their neighbors" (63). Ward highlights the wonderfully salubrious but anonymous common architecture of almost every part of the globe which is a clear testimonial of the creative and practical skill of the people; they used lumber, chaff, "clay, bone, mud and even snow" (63) to craft their own surroundings. Ward argues that this ingenious effort was done at the expense of very low material and transportation budget.

The living place, that Anjum constructs, is named “Jannat Guest House” by her. Here, she does not allow any governmental interference or professional intervention. Roy realizes that, in India, on a fast track of capitalist development, the more progress has invaded the building industry and more complicated the financial purveys are made available for housing, the more obstinate and refractory the problem has become, particularly for the “invisible citizens” (Ward, *AIA* 68). She has seen that the dispossessed people from Old Delhi have no “official urban existence” (68). After many years of input, this guesthouse becomes a highly hospitable place to live in the face of violent police opposition. The people here live free of state surveillance garbed as “protection” and do not rely on public services. The authorities try to intervene and pose a threat to the property rights of the common people over a public piece of land, but Anjum refuses to be snuffed out by them. When municipal officers tell her that the graveyard is not meant for living, Anjum retorts, “she wasn’t living in the graveyard, she was dying in it-and for this she did not need permission from the municipality” (Roy, *TMUH* 67).

The original makeshift “haven” constructed after the traumatic self-exile of Anjum from Khawbgah is rapidly transformed into brick and cement structures with incredible investment in creativity, labour and materials. Anjum, the poor, illiterate, dispossessed and displaced citizen of Shahjahanabad acts anarchically and because of her sheer will power designs her own living and breathing atmosphere. Employing her freedom to select community, she budgets her own economic and manual resources to design her space and later on, expands the housing project to accommodate similarly traumatized souls.

Anjum is not the only character equipped with desire to take control of her life and her surroundings, many other characters, tired of the civilization’s manipulations, refuse to be bogged down by inhuman nationalist and capitalist enterprises interfering with their lives. Biplab Dasgupta also chooses to “de-civilize”; he, who has always suppressed his feelings, rage, pain, passion and enthusiasm for life, is exhausted of the suppression caused by civilization. The civilized world in which he opens his eyes does not let him voice his personality. Tilo’s diary is an eye opener for him and makes him realize the debilitating and dehumanizing aspects of civilization. After going through her

diary entries, he cannot, now, repress his instincts, his impulses and his power to act. The socialization and indoctrination that rendered him deaf-mute, and manipulated him and formatted him as a “civil-object-more-civil-and-less-individual”, has been refused by him. He sees all those forces that have worked towards rendering him mute and manipulated him to turn him into a “civil object”. Resigning from his job of civil service is tantamount to his refusal to play further role in strengthening civilization. Dasgupta’s decision to resign from his job is equally “decivilizing”; that sets a process of “reinventing” him. His sojourn in his own apartment for many months opens him up to himself where he can look deep inside his soul, without being burdened by the oppressive state nationalism that corroded his true human spirit for many decades. Seeing the violent world, and his own participation in creating that world, he refuses all the baits that had lured him for all his life; he starts radically questioning his own ways of life.

#### **6.4 Consociation: the Biological Need for Care and Cooperation**

Anarchists believe that human beings coalesce with each other in times of need. We, as humans, are conditioned since our childhood to constellate around other humans because we depend upon others for love and care. Our spiritual and material needs “to associate” (Bookchin, *EOF* 343) impel us to care for others and collaborate with them; we are propelled to live in “a highly associative world” (343). In accordance with the bonds of “kinship” emphatically presented by anarchists, the primary texts substantiate that communities are not based on “blood oath” (343) which is a strictly biological basis for association; rather, worst kind of dehumanization, deprivation and barbaric dispossession faced by these people makes them coalesce.

Munoveera, subscribing to anarchist position unfolds “a slow consolidation and layering of responsibilities” (Bookchin 55) felt by many sensible female characters in *ITM*. The novel presents a case where an abandoned Tamil female child seeks refuge in Aunt Mala’s house and is provided with all care and love. Mala’s love for the tiny creature is reflected through her displaying Poornam’s photos at various stages of life in her beautiful house. The heavy pride and possession glimpses through her introduction of Poornam, “She is my daughter, you know? ... I adopted her. Put her through school. She teaches at the university now... a Professor of Mathematics. That girl always loved



numbers” (Munoveera 194). Mala’s statement throws light on compromises and sacrifices paid for nourishing the vulnerable child. Mala’s decision to adopt and provide a salubrious environment is not approved by the family members and acquaintances; her determination has to face opposition at many quarters, as she recalls the discouragement. Mala is considered mad for this decision and is threatened that the adopted Tamil girl “would murder [Mala] in [her] bed” (194). Mala, rather, refusing to be dictated by biological bonds, prefers to nurture the girl; her love shines through her effort to help Poornam achieve successful, confident and responsible membership of the society. Mala’s exuberance at the success of the girl is reflective of success of her bold step to embrace a destitute child irrespective of caste and creed. Mala’s emphasis upon plurality and multiplicity in the form of Poornam is indicative of her protest against the dominant exclusionary ideologies embedded in the family politics.

In *ITM* Munoveera depicts a post-civil war Sri Lankan scenario where many small war victims coalesce around Yasodhara and her younger sister Lanka. The sisters, after accomplishing studies in America, realize that ravaged lives at the mercy of contending forces in their native land demand assuaging hands. Their decision to join a school established by an NGO is part of that contribution; they encounter some thirty children who have lost either both or one of their limbs to land mines spread by the state and its forces. Realizing their responsibility, the sisters try to spread beautiful colors in their dreary lives by teaching them painting and coloring; their love is reciprocated by these young learners who oink in pleasure while playing with colors. This experience not only opens their eyes towards unbeatable human strength that is “heart breaking” initially but which strengthens the resolve of the sisters to assuage the pain and torment of these afflicted young souls. Yasodhara’s heart forgets beating when she sees those “beautiful unbroken children” (Munoveera 192); she is amazed by “ferociousness, unqualified, unrepentant hope” (192) reflected through their deep eyes. Some of these children who are on crutches show, through brilliant group discussions, that they can never be destroyed; they seem the only healthy people in the midst of a diabolic show orchestrated by exclusionary politics. They embrace Yasodhara and Lanka every morning to acknowledge their sacrifices for them.

Munoveera's novel radiates optimism in the face of darkness prevalent in Sri Lanka. The dedicated teachers provide emotional suture by teaching the war ravaged children basic skills like art, drawing, reading, writing and sums; for all these effort, the teachers are "rewarded with enormous gap toothed smiles" (Munoveera 195). As the school is established on the basis of self-help and no governmental support is provided, "the rag-tag team of teachers armed with dedication" (195) have to collect and reuse "the old, tattered books, donated papers and cast off clothing" (195) to facilitate the learning process. The threat of the running out of the already scarce financial resources is countered by many "rich benefactors" who generously shower funds for the needy learners; they arrange not only the everyday needs of the children, but also order prosthetics for children for war-maimed children.

One of the dissenting voices in *TMUH* is Saddam Hussain's. Saddam Hussain, another wounded person in need of sanative joins Anjum. Saddam's narrative is replete with the intersection of the binary of individual purity and filth as reproduced by the mob-lynching of his father. Roy exposes the violent behavior of upper caste Hindus who construct narratives of "purity/ filth" to subject Dalits to inhumane treatment. His desire to get care and respect draws him to Anjum; he confides in her the tragedy of his family and tells Anjum "the story he had not told anybody before- a story about saffron parakeets and the dead cow" (Roy, *TMUH* 85).

Saddam's family background as well as his job in the government hospital in mortuary establishes Chen's notion of toxicity as "redistribution of ...the toxic work to deprived or already "toxic subjects". Saddam's family is subjected to extinction by virtue of being "toxic subjects" (Chen 218). His father's murder, supposedly out of "moral repugnance" to "cow-slaughter" against the background of good/evil conflict, works in a mutually exclusive dichotomy and displays nexus between caste and ethnic prejudices. Caste purity and biophysical toxins, being mutually exclusive, become the prime force behind the notions of untouchability used as a pretext to dispose off the lives of Dalits who are deemed lesser than human. Saddam's narrative is a discourse of caste purity and filth pronounced vibrantly in "the Hindu nationalist meta-narrative in this instance of communal violence" (Carrisma 61).

Saddam's wound is far deeper than it visibly appears; he is afflicted by the guilt consciousness on being a spectator in public lynching of his father. The narrative of his father's murder draws in Anjum; the traumatic experience of Anjum in Gujarat makes her readily identify with Saddam's adversity. The "shared precarity" of Anjum and Saddam can be seen in the following expression:

Anjum's desolate fort with its humming walls and secret dungeons threatened to rise around her again. Saddam and she could almost hear each other's heartbeats. She couldn't bring herself to say anything, not even to utter a word of sympathy. But Saddam knew she was listening. (89)

Saddam's trauma is complicated by his own complicity in the act of murder. He remembers his father's blood spill on Delhi's streets and spread slowly across the road outside the Dulina police post. The long queue of valuable cars and the insects that darted in the shafts of their headlights are still fresh in his memory; he recalls the callousness of people who participated vehemently in the diabolic frenzy, instead of rescuing the vulnerable trio. Many years after the tragedy, he contemplates and realizes that his meeting with Anjum is "neither plan, nor coincidence that brought him to the Place of Falling People" (85); the "shared precarity" rather, brought them close to each other. In accordance with anarchist principle of "consociation" Anjum offers him a place to live. Anjum's desire to support to other afflicted souls is evident from the following statement:

Once you have fallen off the edge like all of us have, including our Biroo, you will never stop falling. And as you fall you will hold on to other falling people. The sooner you understand that the better. This place where we live, where we have made our home, is the place of falling people. (Roy, *TMUH* 84)

Soaked in unconditional love and care, Saddam reciprocates Anjum's affections. He loves her more than he ever loved any other human being. He likes her way of speech; her "red, paan-stained lips... and her rotten teeth" (Roy, *TMUH* 85) do not dispel Saddam. Particularly, he is impressed by her collection and command over Urdu poetry; although, he cannot understand most of them but he likes her for reciting poetry often. Anjum becomes his confidant and he decides to unburden all his worries by sharing with her his never ending journey of humiliations and dehumanization.

Roy's rich fiction opens another vista of marginalization and resistance based upon caste; S. Tilottama, who is the daughter of a Hindu untouchable man and a Syrian

Christian woman, is a bristled yet irresistible “architect- turned- activist” who shares precarity with Kashmiri freedom fighter Musa. Their pain of shared marginality “fits them together like pieces of an unsolved puzzle” (Roy, *TMUH* 362). She is a student of architecture who combines the threads of many chaotic experiences. She also faces institutionalized caste oppression complemented by her religion and color. A clamant unconventionality is inscribed over her person; being a highly unfeminine woman, she defies all cultural norms of femininity and does the opposite of stereotypical praxis demanded of an Indian woman. Tilo’s dark complexion, terse nature, alert comportment and every breath she takes are saddled with strata of resilience; particularly, her dubious family history makes her a pariah in Delhi University. Although the wounds inflicted on the couple’s souls by the manipulative civilized world are too profound to be healed, they realize that sharing the pain for some time can at least lessen the extremity of their suffering. They own each other’s worries and injustices “without naming the injuries or asking which one was whose” (Roy, *TMUH* 362) and survive the callous world.

Through Tilo’s character, Roy castigates Indian state for eroding freedom of Kashmiris. Usurpation of people’s civil rights opens her eyes regarding the role of Indian state in annihilating the chances of their survival. Tilo’s own firsthand experience and observation, complemented by the stories from other Kashmiris during her rambling visits, draws her vehemently into the violent vortex of Kashmir. Her defiance against Indian state comes through her attempt to compile a diary registering many oppressive acts of the state. Tilo finds that although “there’s too much blood for good literature” in Kashmir, yet she embarks upon a journey of composing “sophisticated stories in which even though nothing much happens there’s lots to write about” (Roy, *TMUH* 283).

Tilo’s wounds are further aggravated by the murder of Gul-Kak. Gul-Kak’s dismembered body overwhelms her and draws her further in Kashmir’s struggle for “Azadi”; it becomes the most grievable event of Tilo’s life. Tilo visits Kashmir to assuage her turbulent self; she returns time and again “to still her troubled heart ... and put fresh flowers on Commander Gulrez’s grave” (Roy, *TMUH* 270). Her obsessive journeys between Delhi and Kashmir “month after month, year after year, as though she was searching for something she had left behind” (270) indicate an incurable traumatic firsthand experience. During these trips she collects pictures of the wounded, battered,

murdered people and writes commentaries about them. Her itinerary explorations and the “scraps of stories and inexplicable memorabilia” (270) are meant to pay reverence to the “unconsoled” victims of the state oppression. Her diary records the annihilated lives of Kashmiris whose houses are turned to rubble. Strengthened by her own grief, she becomes “a tree unsettled in wind” (253) to provide strength to those in need of support.

The narratives of “purity and impurity” are echoed by the very air of Naga’s house. Tilo’s marriage with Naga exposes her to another episode of marginalization and dehumanization; her married life is tattered by an overemphasis upon “purity” of caste, color and lineage. Considered a girl “without a caste or past” Tilo feels utterly out of place in “Diplomatic Enclave”; within the confinement of this affluent and “pure place”, purity of language is employed to guard against contamination by the outsiders represented by Tilo. Naga’s mother, who presents herself as a wealthy, educated and pure “Indian Maharani” having a skin “the color of alabaster” finds Tilo’s dark complexion “shocking” (Roy, *TMUH* 184). Naga’s parents’ aristocratic demeanour and their big European style Art Décor house both conform to an archetype of refinement and good taste, which is predicated on fantasies of “social purity”; whereas Tilo’s ramblings through an impoverished urban periphery is demonstrative of her “aversion” to an overemphasized conception of “purity”. Her desire to flee this oppressively “pure” environment sends her to Jannat Guest House.

Apart from spiritual wounds of the people, basic human needs also bring destitute people together. In accordance with the bonds of “kinship” emphatically presented by Primitivist anarchists, JGH emerges as a community which is not based on “blood oath” (Bookchin, *EOF* 343) which is a strictly biological basis for association. The degraded souls in search of a noble life are glued through the principle of “irreducible minimum, the right to food, shelter, clothing and love” (Radin 106). Irrespective of the amount of work contributed towards the community, the basic human needs and their fulfilment is considered everybody’s “inalienable right” (Radin 106). In JGH this “irreducible minimum” is not denied to anyone; denying that means that people cease to exist as humans. As this community is not afflicted by factious political grids or “contractual and bourgeoisie attitude of the civilized world” (Bookchin 316), the people in JGH share everything with others.

Roy appreciates anarchists' disregard of money in bringing "happiness" and fulfilment to communities, as is presented in *TMUH*. Roy displays, through a number of characters, that money is not "indispensable to happiness" (Manicardi 227). The archaeological data provides enough evidence that for millions of years' existence of human beings coursed with "mirthfulness and mutual help" (227). Money and its penetration in our lives only deprived us of "family, affection, love, manifestations of human dignity, respect, esteem, and aid" (227). Money is made indispensable in the civilized world today because it has been made into a pivot in the system in which we live. In a non-monetary system "the regime of rivalry, opposition, speculation, blackmail and sanctions would cease to exist" (228). Roy jolts our imagination which is frozen to an alternative system of existence in which food can be shared rather than buying from the market; likewise, the civilized existence's reliance upon pay-cheques through excruciating life of drudgery has been divulged by her. Primitivist Anarchists believe that the desire to extract "happiness", does not mean that it is a saleable commodity; a happy life blooms "above and beyond money" (228).

The people, who chose JGH as their abode, have refused to accept the calculation of every facet of their existence. In consonance with Manicardi's proposition, the inmates of JGH have "dethroned money" and do not let it rule their lives. Their lives are not dictated by economic values; hence, they spend healthier lives than most of the people occupying Delhi's expensive bungalows. Apart from the basic needs, the eco-community of JGH provides amenities such as entertainment, and aesthetic pleasures; the economically poor yet healthy and robust eco-community of JGH enjoys more luxuries that even the richest Indians can afford.

The non-economic ways of life makes the characters more humane. By forestalling an existence governed by "stock values; price lists; and market fluctuations" (Manicardi 228), Anjum recoups the essential vitality which is a fundamental means of symmetrical existence. She puts into praxis an alternative to a mercenary life style by introducing "gift giving". In this regard, Manicardi writes:

Gift giving is a powerful model for human interaction. To make an offering without asking anything in exchange means more than just "giving"; it is a manner of understanding our relation with others regardless of compensation...

The act of gift giving is not only a gesture of absolute selflessness; it is founded on a healthy stance toward life, generosity, candour, loyalty and sincerity. It is based on an openness to give pleasure. (217)

The centrality of “gift-giving” in Primitive mode of existence to distribute “happiness” is proved by anthropological record. Primitivist Anarchists believe that presenting a gift means privileging one’s community, and the relations constituting that community. It consolidates “relations of fellowship, sustains concord, strengthens bonds and advocates harmony” (Manicardi 217). For the primitives money was the only thing that was considered worthless to be offered as a gift to someone. Sharing enhances solidarity and eliminates all divisions between possessed and dispossessed. In an eco-community, based upon sharing gifts, everyone works according to one’s capacity, as life extends bonds based upon brotherhood-sisterhood, mutual care and support. Individual ambitions are not separated from communal endeavors. In line with Anarchists’ stance, JHG provides strong evidence that “scarcity” is not a natural state; rather, it is artificially constructed by refusing people’s access to communal land and natural resources, while opening opportunities for empowered people to accumulate private property.

Nimmo Gorakhpuri readily translates Anarchist principle, “if friends make gifts, gifts make friends” (Sahlin 18) into a realization. Nimmo Gorakhpuri, a transgender and Anjum’s bosom friend, is immersed in the ideology of sharing. Subscribing to the notion of “irreducible minimum” she supports others in whatever capacity she can; she flouts mercenary relations, as relations based upon love and care are more important to her than accumulating money. Nimmo, by virtue of intelligence and sheer hard work, becomes a goat magnate over the passage of time; she is cognizant of the need of denizens of the cemetery. As she has nothing else to offer to the poor people, she gives a “young black ram’ to Anjum at Bakr Eid as “a gift”. After Eid, Anjum takes pain to make little parcels of mutton to be distributed according to her religious belief: “a third for the family, a third for nears and dears, a third for the poor” (Roy, *TMUH* 72); thus taking care of all her acquaintances. Roshan Lal, who frequently visits Anjum, in search of support, is also included in Eid festivity; Anjum reserves for him a substantial portion of the meat from the sacrifice. The addicts who are considered “highly unattractive” features of the cemetery and reduced to “only shadows just a deeper shade of the night” are also

included in the festivity. Anjum understands the destitution of these highly abhorred characters; she draws them in celebration by inviting them to dinner. During these celebrations, they are offered various mutton dishes but also accorded reverence which is their due right.

The inclusion of Miss Tilottama in Anjum's life satisfies Anjum's need to give motherly love to those around her who are destitute for care and honor. Tilottama's arrival in the guest house unleashes another floodgate of "happiness" for all its members. Apart from her own circle of close friends, the freaks, and junkies from the outskirts of the graveyard are invited by Anjum to partake of the merriment celebrated in honor of Miss Tilottama. The municipal workers, who are dreaded by almost all the characters, become important for Anjum; she reserves "kebabs" and some other traditional dishes for them. Acknowledging their due share in all available resources, Anjum comments that the municipal workers are "just like us Hijras... Somehow they smell a celebration and arrive to demand their share" (Roy, *TMUH* 306).

Tilo, who is ravished and wounded beyond the possibility of recovery, is recouped through these lovely gestures of Anjum and her disciples. The moment Tilo is invited to stay in the guest house she readily accepts the opportunity of re-inclusion in a self-less community. Anjum welcomes Tilo by arranging a "Welcome Home Party"; Tilo's entrance brightens up the dreary landscape of graveyard. Anjum's happiness is reflected through the choice of her flamboyant dress; her best sequined dress, her exuberant make up, her dyed hair, extension of long black plait with extravagant ribbons, all speak of her jubilation at the extension of the community by adopting new kins. Enwrapping both Tilo and the adopted baby in a "bear-hug, kissing both of them several times" (Roy, *TMUH* 303), she proclaims interdependence of all upon others for "happiness".

The inmates of JGH are skeptical of developed world's erroneous equation of "happiness" with "conspicuous consumption" (Veblen 198). Kicking consumerism in the face, they refuse to fuel the mega machine of neo-liberalized India for happiness; rather, they prefer to use recycled objects to distribute life facilities to others. They take pains to bring a hair dressing-saloon type of décor-a dressing table from a second-hand furniture



market fitted out with a large mirror; her room sparkles with various shades of nail paints, lipsticks, hairbrushes, hair curlers, hair rollers, a hair dryer and shampoo bottles. Nimmo Gorakhpuri tries to enhance the utility of her precious collection of fashion magazines and coiffures by sharing and arranging them in tall towers on a second hand coffee table. Tilo's "happiness" at finding a true "home" glimpses through her confessional statement that in JGH her "body had enough room to accommodate all its organs" (Roy, *TMUH* 305) and that she "finally has found a home for the rest of her life" (305).

Anarchists' vision that "happiness" is premised around "participatory rather than manipulatory functions to humans" (Bookchin, *EOF* 46) is conspicuously presented in the guest house. The addicts who had been discarded for being a liability on the society are involved in "reconstructing a creative, liberatory, ecological society" (Bookchin, *EOF* 11). Although, they are frail and feeble and cannot render heavy manual services, yet their role becomes substantial in decision making. They are engaged to work with vegetables. Their participation, not only develops their inner potential; rather, it helps to rejuvenate the graveyard and turns it into a "garden". Their cooperation is "more than just a cement between members of the group; it becomes an "organic welding" of identities and fosters the "unity of consociation" (Bookchin 51).

Roy indicates through unmercenary ways of her characters that the anti-economic way of interacting with all other characters is not motivated by the naiveté of the inmates of the guest house; rather, it is a free-willed and witting attempt to preserve equipoise of the world and its other inhabitants. Likewise, their immunity to accumulate material possessions is an indication of their deliberation based on a profound consciousness that desire for accumulation is the root cause of social and natural disintegration. They refuse to be trapped into the labyrinth of "progress", which takes humans away from "an autonomous, self-sufficient and mutually supportive" (Manicardi 220) mode of existence. The inmates of JGH reminds of Herbert Read's statement:

What are the needs of each one of us? Sufficient food and clothing, adequate housing---a certain minimum of these necessities should be the inalienable right of every member of the community. Until it can provide these minimum necessities, a society must be branded as inhuman and inefficient. (Read 19)

Judged against this criterion of a functional and efficient society, JGH turns out to be fully “human” and “efficient” society, as it takes care of the “inalienable rights” of all its inmates.

## **6.5 Spontaneous Order in Jannat Guest House**

Jannat Guest House, like all organic establishments, is developed by people randomly. Initially, Anjum is the only inmate who unfolds her old rug between two graves of her parents; gradually and over a period of time the man-forsaken necropolis thrives with life and the initial chaos is replaced by “a spontaneous order”. Collin Ward throws light on the Anarchist perspective of “spontaneous order” thus:

The theory that, given a common need, a collection of people will, by trial and error, by improvisation and experiment, evolve order out of the situation- this order being more durable and more closely related to their needs than any kind of externally imposed authority could provide. (Ward, *AIA* 31)

The inmates of the JGH organize a number of communal services to transpose a bleak necropolis into a house and provide almost all communal services to the people who are drawn to it. Communal cooking, washing and nursery school facilities are made available to all. Initially, when Anjum starts living in JGH she inhabits the ravaged graveyard like a feral apparition, “out-haunting every resident djinn and spirit, ambushing bereaved families who came to bury their dead with a grief so wild, so untethered, that it clean outstripped theirs” (Roy, *TMUH* 63). Ab initio, Anjum undergoing a trauma stops carrying her appearance; she ceases coloring her hair. Her dreadful facial hair, that once terrified her, are no longer her concern; her teeth, maculated from chewing paan, turn loose in her gums but she pays no attention to her physical deterioration. Anjum’s grief at Gujarat massacre is so ferine and beyond her control that she stops participating in any activity that was once her chief interest; she ceases going to celebratory parties.

The people, who are close to her, understand Anjum’s need for care and consolation and refuse to let her stay isolated. The first person who comes to help is a blind “Imam Ziaudeen” who comes at dawn and leaves at dusk to request her to read him newspaper. His daily visits, accompanied by petty quarrels, engage Anjum with “Duniya” (Roy, *TMUH* 66). Then Mr. D.D. Gupta, an old client of Anjum, retraces her

whereabouts and visits her abode; he realizes Anjum's need of a roof. Gupta, being a building contractor from Karol Bagh supplies construction material i.e. steel, cement, stone, and bricks for Anjum's abode. He disports a small freight of building material from the construction locale of a wealthy customer and helps Anjum construct a little, temporary hovel. Initially, far from being elaborate, this shack serves only as a store room in which Anjum can store her things to be used later. Although Gupta is occupied by many business opportunities in Iraq; yet, his concern for Anjum can be discerned from his frequently calling her from Iraq to make sure that she does not suffer the dearth of anything; he dreads the possibility of Anjum inflicting self-violence.

Anjum's confidant, her soul mate and a person bestowed with curative powers happens to be Ustad Hameed. Ustad Hameed, her music teacher from her childhood, proves not only Anjum's music guru; rather, he becomes her mentor. He becomes the most regular visitor of all her acquaintances. Knowing the significance of music in Anjum's life, he perches on a grave with Anjum's harmonium and begins his persistent musical compositions. He studiously ignores the insulting audience requests. From dawn to dusk, Ustad Hameed's assuaging voice arrays over cemetery's "ruined landscape and its ruined inhabitants" (Roy, *TMUH* 65). Although, Anjum tries to evade Ustad's face; yet, Ustad Hameed does not mind this insolence on the part of a traumatized person. He knows, from the stillness of her shoulders, that the profundity of her injuries is deep enough and can be taken care of by music alone. Ustad Hameed's acquaintance with Anjum makes him believe that "if not he, then certainly music would see her through this too" (65).

The inhabitants of Khawbgah also realize that Anjum needs their support in this most lean time of her life; they visit the graveyard frequently only to alleviate her pain. Saeeda, Anjum's competitor, comes accompanied by Anjum's adopted daughter Zainab. Ustad Kalsoom Bi herself, accompanied by her friend Haji Mian and sometimes Bismillah, visits the graveyard. Ustad Kalsoom Bi extends her further support to Anjum by allocating some amount as "pension" for Anjum's basic needs; she manages to send a handsome amount enveloped properly on the first of every month. The regular and frequent visits of these lovers of Anjum help "the fort of desolation scaled down" (Roy, *TMUH* 66) gradually; they turn graveyard into; "a place of predictable, reassuring

sorrow- awful, but reliable” (66). As the time passes, the derelict necropolis becomes a friendly place to her; the memory of saffron men fades after some time. Overpowering her guilt, Anjum begins to groom herself again; she dyes her hair and gets her facial hair offed; gets her front loose tooth extracted and goes for a tooth implant. She starts wearing new dresses tailored in gentler colors and matches these dresses with her old jeweled and printed duppatas. Anjum pays attention to her diet as well and consequently gains a little weight that makes her appearance attractive; now her new attires fit her well. As the fort of bleakness slims, her small tin hovel rescales; it becomes a small hut that lodges a bed, and a small kitchen. She paints and daubs the inside walls a rare shade of purplish-red. A solid material roof corroborated by iron girders furnishes her with a terrace which is used for a number of purposes.

In consonance with Ward’s vision, Anjum defies “Top-Down” authority; the municipal authority’s notices regarding squatting do not bother her. The authority sticks notices frequently on her house’s front door warning her about the demolition of unauthorized construction in the graveyard. The officials, afraid of Anjum’s “legendary ability”, prefer “the path of appeasement and petty extortion” (Roy, *TMUH* 67) rather than an open confrontation. She persuades them not to bother her in response to “a non-vegetarian meal” on all festive occasions. Their agreement also includes expansion of sum in consonance with expansion of the property; she, after some time, starts enclosing the adjacent graves and builds abodes around them. Anjum scoops up resources to construct a separate bathroom and a toilet with its own water tank; the public hand pump is used to take water for all purposes. This expanded guest house provides enough space to be rented to “down-and-out travelers” (68).

As time passes order emerges spontaneously in the squatter community. The people adopted by Anjum have nothing in common beyond their dispossession, displacement and marginalization. The inmates of JGH comprise people from various nationalities, religions, castes and gender groups. Notwithstanding these divergences, JGH is ruled by an atmosphere of pacification and felicity. The inhabitants of this guest house work as participants in relaxed and friendly environment where everyone is willing to share. The people who live here are without resources and when left to themselves, without interference of state authority, express them spontaneously and come up with

their own salvation. Harmony is achieved over the period of time. Divested of the superimposed leadership, these people live without expressed orders; they know of their own accord what contribution can they bring to the community. The situation in JGH reminds one of Orwell's revolutionary Barcelona when, "a feeling of having suddenly emerged into an era of equality and freedom when human beings were trying to behave like human beings and not as cogs in the capitalist machine" (Orwell 98). It is the society which is sewn tightly by the mortar of human sharing, without being compressed by power and authority. In this regard Ward writes:

There is an order imposed by terror... bureaucracy (with the policeman in the corridor) and there is an order which evolves spontaneously from the fact that we are gregarious animals capable of shaping our own destiny. When the first two are absent, the third, as infinitely more human and humane form of order has an opportunity to emerge. (Ward, *AIA* 39)

As the order emerges in the guest house, Tilo understands the demand for education of all, so she establishes her school in JGH. Targeting the predominant mode of education in a state controlled educational system, Collin ward comments, "the social purpose of education is to perpetuate society: it serves the socializing function" (Ward, *AIA* 79). Society ensures its future by fostering its children in its own paradigm. Frank MacKinnon contends that "the educational arrangement in the modern states inseminate the social roles of people through their children" (Qtd. in Ward 79). Contemporaneous criticism of the alignment between national government and education agrees that it establishes coercive and hierarchical institutions which would set upon upholding social disparity by brainwashing the posterity into accepting their specific role in the engineered system. Right in contrast with this system, Tilo establishes a school which functions as "peopled school". Here "the principle of authority" (Ward, *AIA* 82) is decimated altogether; it is a school which works more like academy in which neither pupils nor teachers are controlled by external authority. Here the pupils come freely to achieve free instructions as per their demand. The students, enriched by the profundity of their own diverse experiences impart knowledge and expertise to their instructors which the instructors want.

The "anarchist school" established by Tilo is founded upon deference for the learner rather than a disdain for learning process. The establishment of a spontaneous

school by an intelligent woman ignites desire for learning in the hearts of many who cannot send their children to a national school. So, poor people from the neighboring areas, constellate Tilo. This delicious learning experience comes from eliminating the academic hierarchy. “Ustaniji” teaches the students a number of every day subjects like mathematics, art and painting, computer graphics, a bit of basic science and English; but the students teach her Urdu and “and something of the art of happiness” (Roy, *TMUH* 397). Her school is a microcosm of anarchy which works on the principles of spontaneity and self-directed activity to replace the power structure.

In accordance with Ward’s stance, Tilo emerges as a visionary pedagogue who discourages competition amongst students; she rather, encourages cooperation. Severely critical of the morning anthem reverberated in almost all Indian nationalist schools, the chant “We Shall Overcome” (397) is not allowed to penetrate this “peopled school” which works for the uplift of the Poor. Tilo’s anarchic school becomes a success and encourages other members of the community to disseminate their skills to desiring learners; Ustad Hameed also begins his music academy to give music lessons to students. In addition to the young learners, the music academy revives Anjum’s interest in music; she attends the music lessons religiously as if these classes are “a call to prayer”. Tilo is lavished with affection and care to such an extent that she successfully decimates her tormenting past in her rented apartment.

Founded upon anarchist principles, the community gains order after some time and succeeds in establishing a non-coercive system of organization. In accordance with anarchist perspective, the community is based on fraternity; the people know of each other’s needs and interests; aggression and conflict are non-existent here. The people cling close to those they prefer to be with. Zainab’s headlong affair with Saddam does not excite rumors about it; rather, they are given free space to express themselves. Being pliant and benevolent, the social structure of the JGH allows the inmates to evolve distinct identities irrespective of their names, provenance, social emplacement or condition. Generation-gaps and bullying are off the gates of the guest house.

## 6.6 Relationship with Children

Based upon archaeological evidence, the anarchists believe that pre-literate people were indiscriminate in according respect and value to all individuals, including children. Primitive cultures usually did not exercise authority on them; the relationship between un-civilized people and their children was usually lenient and indulgent. The primitives paid heed to the needs of the youngest; children were given freedom to express themselves. In the Primitivist mode of living, a child was considered “a marvelous gift of joy, an extension of love, of joining into pleasure of one’s own and others’ presence” (Manicardi 42) in the world. They were not considered valuable treasure, “some precious goods, an economic value, or an investment” (Manicardi 42) in a pre-civilized world. With the advent of civilization, life changed its course and everybody around was considered an aspect of economic production; since then, people’s attitude towards babies changed too. The children became future workforce, future asset and potential investment to multiply the wealth of the family.

Munoveera’s novel *ITM* depicts the dreary landscape of Sri Lanka where the civil war puts children’s existence at stake; thousands of children from both the contesting groups are crushed mentally and physically. Conscienceless leaders involved in the war, used children for their nefarious designs. But a few sensitive people try to protect children from horrible effects of war. The children are treated as “gift” by Yasodhara. Shiva and Yasodhara find solace in their daughter Samundhra who is the “most miraculous and unforeseen” source of pleasure and fulfillment for the couple; her laugh fills her parents “with a sharp joy” (Munoveera 215). Her weight in her parents’ arms is the most distinct of pleasures, “the scent of her skin delectable” (216). The little girl has “transformed [them] in unexpected, unimaginable ways” (216).

Samundhra is only six years old, yet her parents respect her choices and treat her like an adult in accordance with Anarchist vision; her “love of colors, the dexterity of her brush” (Munoveera 216) is seen as a commendable and worth encouragement; her desire to learn dancing is respected by her parents. Protecting her from even the thought of violence, her parents try to shield her from the Sri Lankan community living in America. Living in exile, the couple does not “seek brown faces” and pick their friends who share

the condition of “forced exile” with them and “build a fortress” (Munoveera 215) around their daughter. Yasodhara’s concern for the mental well-being of their daughter is reflected through her question, “what is the world becoming for us? What will it be for our child who is both American and Sri Lankan, but beyond this, also Tamil and Sinhala” (221). Yasodhara expresses her desire to show her daughter the beauty of Sri Lanka when the war is over.

Roy’s lament over disregard of children is depicted through the emergence of a tiny newborn baby on the pavement of Jantar Mantar; the emergence of the baby close to the trash can, is symptomatic of a pathological society that can easily discard its children. The morbid world, in which the baby is born, does not pay heed to her, as “no angels sang, and no wise men brought gifts” (Roy, *TMUH* 96). The disregard of a newly born baby is metaphorically presented through a crib of litter soaking the baby from head to toe. The group of people, sitting close to the baby, discovers that a message is inscribed on a piece of paper tied around baby’s tiny waist proclaims loudly that the mother cannot keep the baby and leaves her for adoption. The people on Jantar Mantar consent to hand over the baby to the police.

However, baby’s appearance brings hope for inmates of JGH. Led by Anjum, her friends discover the baby close to the group of Kashmiri mothers whose sons have disappeared. Anjum, who had a tormented childhood, understands the worth of a child. Her maternal love brightens up her existence and fills her with unhesitating courage. Anjum, who had harbored the desire to be a mother, sees this as an excellent opportunity; no fear can bottle up Anjum’s unleashed energy and absolute certainty towards the object of her love. For her, the baby is a “gift from God”; she pleads with the committee to hand over the baby to her and is certain that “the police will just throw her in a government orphanage” (Roy, *TMUH* 119) where chances for baby’s survival will be further curtailed. People on the pavement try to persuade Anjum to report the matter to the Police on which she retorts, “This is a child, not some illegal encroachment on your father’s property. You apply to the Police, Sahib. The rest of us will take the shorter route and apply straight to the Almighty” (121). Anjum’s determination to save the child from ruin reflects through her decision to stand up to the occasion.



Anjum's maternal affection for the baby is equally shared by Tilo whose "intimate familial experience" (Bookchin 53) is aroused by her disdain for the civilized world sullied by children's murder. Determined to rescue the child from impending gallows she abducts the baby. The sleeping baby's "tiny heartbeats and a black velvet cheek" (Roy, *TMUH* 136) against Tilo's bony shoulders transform her altogether. The baby heralds a new phase of "happiness" for Tilo's life; she cannot remember "when last she had been this happy" (136) and mutters:

Would her body remember the feel of dry leaves on the forest floor, or the hot-metal touch of the barrel of her mother's gun that had been held to her forehead with the safety catch off?" or had it been erased forever. (Roy, *TMUH* 137)

Tilo who had been depressed after the brutal murder of her Kashmiri friend Gul-kak and Miss Jebeen the first, who frequently commuted between Delhi and Kashmir only "to still her troubled heart, and to atone for a crime she hadn't committed" (Roy, *TMUH* 270) becomes "a tree unsettled in wind" (Roy, *TMUH* 253), determines to save this little girl from the atrocity of the civilized world. She takes the baby to her apartment and celebrates her birth; she arranges a magnificent birthday party by making cake with bright strawberry icing and sugar flowers. In alignment with Anarchist perspective, Tilo showers love on the baby. She makes all arrangements for a comfortable life of this tiny creature and indulges wholeheartedly in nurturing the baby; she prepares sumptuous baby meals for her and enjoys the time spent with her. Her brightened home speaks of the celebration of the "second coming" of the baby whose birthday and baptism occur simultaneously. The baby becomes for her "the beginning of something" (Roy, *TMUH* 215). Tilo believes that this girl is Miss Jebeen given back by Nature; she "would settle accounts and square the books... Miss Jebeen would turn the tide (215). Her naming the baby "Miss Jebeen the Second" indicates her refusal to recover from the loss of a Kashmiri baby.

The baby's worth is acknowledged by the inmates of the guest house; she is awaited for. A grand party is arranged in her honor; the guest house is decorated with balloons and streamers. The guests invited to the party are as varied as Dalits, Muslims, men, women, third sex, addicts, waiters in the local hotels, the blind Imam, and human rights activists, all splendidly dressed. All the invitees welcome the baby in their own

peculiar style; Imam Ziauddin tickles her with his beard thus showing intimacy towards her. He blesses her and offers benedictions. Ustad Hameed plays his favorite musical compositions in baby's honor. The baby who is a product of rape is introduced to a community that is ready to give all care and bring a sense of interdependence to her in consonance with Anarchist's perspective.

The real "weaning process" of the baby starts in the guest house; this inevitable process "is not merely a transition from milk to solid food; it is rather a gradual march of achieving interdependence" (Bookchin, *EOF* 216). The abandoned baby gets an opportunity to gain and transfer affections to other persons, and of finding satisfaction within oneself and in the outside world. All the arms of the community give her comfort, all faces smile at her; from the early days of her life, she is provided with food manducated by all loving members of her adopted family. Miss Jebeen the second is "passed from arm to arm, hugged, kissed and overfed" (Roy, *TMUH* 306). From the JGH she is jettisoned on her new glorious life "in a place similar to, yet a world apart from where, over eighteen years ago, her young ancestress Miss Jebeen the First had ended hers" (306). In a world of contradictions Roy's introduction of Miss Jebeen the Second, who is accorded love, care, and reverence, "reminds one of the Second Coming of Christ" (Maria et al. 256) who will hopefully turn the tide of events for the dispossessed and dishonored people.

Roy's emphasis upon "interdependence" in contrast to "independence" is in alignment with Primitivist Anarchist perspective; the group solidarity demands fulfillment in group activities and cooperation rather than competition and individualistic praxis. So, for Miss Jebeen the Second, the outside world providing satisfaction, is never far away; the weaning process of this little baby commences group solidarity and interdependence between the individuals and the group. This strong attitude of solidarity fostered in her childhood would continue through her life and it will work in stark contrast with the surrounding civilized culture which emphasizes "independence". The letter informing them of Miss Jebeen the Second's illegitimate origin does not flounder their determination to nurture her; instead of abandoning her away, they "close ranks around" her like "an impenetrable fortress" (Roy, *TMUH* 426) which would protect her against the ruthless world. Despite the knowledge of illegitimate parentage of the baby,

the members of the guest house show reverence to Revathy and declare that the baby must be told about her dead mother when she grows up.

## **6.7 Earth Democracy Gives Birth to Ecological Happiness**

Anarchists blame civilization for lethal disintegration of humans from nature; they contend that “anthropocentric” belief has not been a universal feature of human nature (Bookchin, *EOF* 315); rather, it has its roots in civilization and its birth. The history of civilization is marked by a regular march of alienation from nature which developed steadily into “outright antagonism” (Bookchin, *EOF* 315). Bookchin’s statement is illustrative:

The breakdown of primordial equality into hierarchical systems of inequality, the disintegration of early kinship groups into social classes, the dissolution of tribal communities into cities, and finally the usurpation of social administration by the state- all profoundly altered not only social life but also attitude of people toward each other, humanity’s vision of itself, and ultimately its attitude towards the natural world. (43)

The preliterate societies practiced values different qualitatively from the values of civilized people; they envisioned lives: human as well as non-humans for their unicity rather than gradations and utility. The world was viewed by them as a harmonious and balanced collection of many parts, each inevitable and indispensable to its harmony. Nature, in all its hues of plants; animals; rocks; colors; sex differences; “the dead and the living”, (Bookchin, *EOF* 47) cooperated in their own unique way in maintaining a balanced universe. This huge whole planet is constructed by the effort of each individual; hence, the balance of the earth is affected by the presence or absence of every individual element. With the full participation of every individual life, the planet is invigorated. For the pre-civilized culture, nature “acquired citizenship” (*EOF* 47); it was considered “a kin, a blooded all-important estate that words like citizens can never attain” (*EOF* 47). This “consociation” between human and non-human lives embraced all forms of life in a healthy union. The Primitivist Anarchist believe that pre-literate societies did not love nature, they “lived in a kinship relation with nature” (Bookchin 49), a relation more basic and reliable than anyone based on love.

In accordance with Primitivist Anarchists' vision, the characters in *Trespassing* protest against the objectifying world by re-entering the natural order and retrieving "the sense of connectedness" (Glendinning 40). Salaamat's alienation from the natural world and his subsequent free-fall in the world of crime and violence is symptomatic of the disintegration between nature and him. Salaamat's re-entrance into the ecologically balanced wholeness is achieved through "the most spontaneous desire to be natural –that is, to be fecund, creative, and intrinsically human" (Bookchin, *EOF* 316). Salaamat's dissolution from the sea and its creatures introduces him to a morbid existence; forced by circumstances, he falls into stringently separatist group harbored by the outskirts of Karachi. His training as a violent militant is to fight for "a separate Sindhi homeland" (Khan 356). Immersed completely into a violent culture, his Commander wants him to be transformed into "a tiny steel nugget" (Khan 355). Salaamat, like other members of his group, is taught to assemble and disassemble "Kalashnikovs more deftly than lacing boots ... firing pistols at the mark in the center of a slab of sandstone" (Khan 356). Being a good learner, he learns to shoot "with expert precision" and becomes better than most of other trainees. His "addiction" to Tokarev 22 is explicit through his being with it; he "slept with it, ate with it, never leaving it in the tent even when others appeared to be resting" (Khan 356).

Salaamat's trap has been done by avid Commander who makes Sindhis believe that their land has been "bent and beaten and the blood's been shut off... it has to stand erect, it has to break free" (Khan 359). However, Salaamat's decisive moment comes when he has to attend the training session close to the sea; he is mesmerized by the beauty of the sea. Although, the sea has lost its marine and coastal habitats, thanks to the intervention of civilization, its dying coral reefs and growing dead zones are alarming to him, still its "lure, persuasion, and gravity" (Zerzan, *Why Hope* 124) draws him towards it. Taking a deep breath of the pour of fragrant air drifting around him, he is reminded of the day when his bus was burnt by rioters and he pledged to use retributory violence against his countrymen. The sea arouses consternation in him; he wishes that:

The camp weren't in such a beautiful place. It should have been in a filthy burning city street. In the charred backseat of an overturned bus. The stinking hole of the city. Instead it was here, in an isolated patch in the far north of the

province. These capacious rocks spoke to him. He'd joined the camp thinking it would be his way to at last shrivel up and die, but if anything, the opposite had happened. Salaamat was beginning to like the world again. (Khan 358)

Salaamat's trance in close proximity of the sea reminds of Loten Eiseley's view, "If there is magic on this planet, it is contained in water" (Qtd. in Zerzan, *Why Hope* 124). The water revives old memories, memories of his origin and his profound relation with his people in Salaamat's consciousness. The thought of his grandmother and her tea stall rejuvenate him. He remembers that every evening after closing her teashop, she used to "stare at the sea till she was in a trance" (Kahn 353); she used to "toss her worries out, letting the waves carry them away" (353). Salaamat wants the waves to "take the worst of [him] with it" (353). His hypnotized state is unbelievable to his separatist comrade Fatah, who laughs at him and rules out his stance as "nonsense"; he precludes him from expressing such "meaningless" thoughts in front of the Commander for whom "crime was discipline" (Khan 354).

Dorothy Lee's position of a harmonious and participatory role of nature in an ecologically balanced society is evident from her comments:

Every aspect of nature, plants and rocks and animals, colors and cardinal directions and members and sex distinctions, the dead and the living, all have cooperative share in the maintenance of the universal order. Eventually, the effort of each individual, human or not, goes into this huge whole. And here, too, it is every aspect of a person which counts. (42)

*Trespassing* shows that sea's embrace of Salaamat is a healing espousal of nature. Sea-born, Salaamat inhales its air since his birth, knows every single dune and had climbed them often in his childhood. The sandstones towering around him have been his lovely friends. He remembers the "fish eagle [that] fed her nest" (Khan 355). The sand beneath his toes, the scent of the water streams, the glorious sky "free of dust and haze", lush green grass and "the feathery leaves--all refreshed him" (358). Salaamat who tries to assimilate to the culture of violence a little while ago, who was on the verge of becoming "a strong fighter and accurate shot" (Khan 358), loses all interest in the duties assigned by the Commander. Unable to stop his wandering spirit, he follows it. In spite of his distance from the place of his origin, he is vehemently drawn into it. The ideology of vindictory violence, offered as the only viable solution, loses its convincing power to

Salaamat. He begins realizing that the land “the others wanted to split [is] showing him how to glue back his splintered pieces” (Khan 358). The sea’s curative power over Salaamat substantiates Zerzan’s stance that “the water, even a fountain or an aquarium, soothes or even heals” (Zerzan, *Why Hope* 124).

The sea sustains Salaamat by healing the morbid elements of his personality. It not only shapes the climate, weather, and temperature of his land, its music and beauty and its sweeping surge gives him matchless strength and tireless spirit of freedom. “Ocean-hearted”, Salaamat refuses to be harnessed to the machinegun. His body and spirit both are cleansed of the morbidity. The fragmenting, assaultive life of the city exposes the injuries done to his interiority. He realizes that a life tethered to violence is incapable of producing “joy, or health or happiness” (Zerzan, *Why Hope* 129).

The reintegration of nature and man is clearly visible in younger generation depicted in *Trespassing*. The finale of the novel takes the readers back to Salaamat’s native village; Salaamat and his nephew are seen in close proximity of the sea. The nephew is amazed to see the tiny heaps erupting close by. All of a sudden the coastal area is transformed into “a flurry of lumbering saucers the size of his palm, bursting out from under him, all heading for the sea” (Khan 445). The turtle hatchlings grab the child’s attention. The infant turtles’ furtive movement to the sea amuses the boy, whereas one small hatchling makes for the “huts” constructed by the foreigner investors along the beach, hastens the child’s movement; he picks up the turtle and puts it on the current of water. The boy’s intimate excitement at the birth of non-human creatures and his instinctive help to protect the sea creatures from impending danger embodied in “huts” infuses the narrative with an optimistic note. The boy re-enters the natural order that was once disrupted a few years ago by the foreigners, when they battered Salaamat and destroyed turtle eggs. The boy’s love for the natural order and his reverence for the non-human life, symbolized by turtles, is symptomatic of the coming generation’s consciousness of the inevitability of inclusion of multiplicities for a peaceful and happy coexistence.

The anarchists’ conceptualization of an eco-community commences with the realization that “society and nature do not live in an antagonistic relation” (Bookchin,

*EOF* 315); they believe that to overcome the crisis brought by civilization's hierarchical division between humans and non-humans' life, humans have to assume a responsible position. The journey from Primitivism to Civilization has been a foolish but dangerous division between humans and non-humans into the notion of superiority and inferiority. The humans' assumption that social development occurs at the expense of natural development was an ill-judged supposition. The humans intrigued by the wrong notion of "progress" did not consider development "as wholeness involving society and nature conjointly" (Bookchin, *EOF* 315).

The "reintegration of nature and humanity" is nowhere more evident than Munoveera's novel *ITM*. Sea has been employed by Munoveera to illustrate characters' attachment to their native land. Sri Lankan Civil war strangulates people's connectedness and association with sea; Shiva and Yasodhara's exile distances them away from their native land and their harmonious relation with sea. Yasodhara elucidates, that to find peace, they "ran as far as west as America would allow" (Munoveera 215). Despite their effort to find solace with friends and work, they cannot "put down crude roots" (215); the sea submerges their consciousness completely. Yasodhara's attachment with the sea "compels her to name her daughter Samundhra" (Kachhap 167); the birth of a baby girl reconnects them with the lost sea; her vibrant and free spirit reminds them of it. Like the sea itself, "Samundhra" becomes a composite of many parts of the lost histories and memories; being a biracial, she also inherits her dead aunt Lanka's personality. Saraswathi's dancing skill is inborn to her, but above all this, she is the physical incarnation of the sea and its freedom. She has many "blue-green moods" like the ocean. Yasodhara pledges to make her visit Sri Lanka only to make her identify with the sea creatures: "the many-armed octopus with its all seeing eye, the schools of silver fish that wait for the turning of the tides, the sinuous, sharp toothed sharks" (Munoveera 225). At the pull of the sea, Yasodhara prays for peace to prevail in her native land, so that they reunite with their land. She expresses her desire for reintegration with nature and re-harmonization with the sea thus:

At peace in the bosom of an ocean skimming boat, the sea spray sparkling across her features. [She] wanted her to know the bare-chested fishermen with their scarlet smiles and dawn returning catamarans. They will teach her their songs and

[she] will teach her to dive deep. To become one with the water until she feels its fluid pulse as her own. To claim this submerged world as her own. (Munoveera 225)

Samundhra reminds them of their loss as she becomes indistinguishable from the sea. In Yasodhara's imagination, she blends with it, "her skin shinning dark, polished by sun and salt" becomes an irresistible temptation. Through Samundhra, Yasodhara wants the waves to "lick away her footsteps", so that the remaining sand retain "no record of what came before her" (Munoveera 225). The metaphoric wiping of the memories is indicative of forgetting hard times and moving forward towards a world ruled by multiplicities and pluralities.

Vandana Shiva's vision of an alternative world propounded in *Earth Democracy* foregrounds interdependence between all inhabitants of the world, the "earth family", what Shiva expresses as "the community of all beings supported by the earth". Her vision offers an inclusive system of organization. She posits that earth democracy shows "the concern for human and non-human species comes together in a coherent, non-conflicting whole that provides an alternative to the worldview of corporate globalization" (24). This vision does not see the beings of the third world as "exploitable and disposable raw material". Anarchists' stance that only an "eco-centric approach" (Bookchin 315) can help humans to "re-enter the natural evolution as conscious social beings" is in accordance with Shiva's position of earth democracy. Roy's fiction *TMUH* exhibits all the aspects of *Earth Democracy*. Roy's fiction achieves "reconciliation of nature and human society" by establishing an eco-community in *TMUH*. The constructors of this harmony develop an outlook which is non-hierarchical. They acknowledge that the endurance of the earth relies intemperately on "a more diversified, varied, and fecund biosphere" (Manicardi 342) and that "happiness" is contradictory to reducing nature to a mere object for human manipulation and usage. The ecological degradation is discouraged in JGH; the conception that non-human life exists for the benefit of humans is not tolerated here.

That primeval sense of strong union with nature finds its expression in the character of Gulrez; he is Roy's model of a primitive human who presents an arrant affiliation with all creatures of the Earth. When Tilo visits Kashmir for the first time, she



is surprised to see his intimacy with the kittens harbored inside his own worn gown. His “sparkling smile over his shoulders” (Roy, *TMUH* 349) at meeting Tilo indicates his “inclusive embrace” of not only kittens but an Indian woman “excluded” by the pervading religious and caste ideologies. Tilo detects “happiness” at his “jewel, adept eyes shining (Roy, *TMUH* 349) with love at the kittens. In the case of Gulrez, the ostensibly strict hierarchies do not exist between human and non-human species which is symptomatic of his reverence for all forms of life. Gulrez’s respect for animals is not merely an external demonstration; rather, his feeling of “kinship” with them is reflected through all his gestures.

In contrast to the degrading practices of a civilized world, Roy introduces a new way of life where animals are also considered “people” in Kashmir. Flouting the values that sustain civilization and are maintained by civilization, Gulrez lives in tune with nature; he refuses to crimp nature overbearingly to his needs. Rather, he coexists with nature without inflicting harm to it. Entirely interlaced with nature, he does not conceive of himself as a distinct and superior entity. Tilo notices him talking intimately to “his purple brinjals and big-leaved haakh in his vegetable garden” (Roy, *TMUH* 349). Although, his love for all animals is his distinctive characteristic; yet, his love for animals is nowhere as pronounced as in the case of Sultan. Sultan, an orphan rooster raised by Gulrez, is devoted to him and follows him wherever he goes. The pair is “inseparable” who enjoys long “conversations” with each other. “Sultan” becomes famous in the village because of his royal demeanour; his beautiful multi-colored feathers and proud strut makes him like a real “Sultan”. In Sultan’s character, Gulrez conceives of “multiple, heterogeneous non-human personalities” in contrast to the “homogenized, monolithic construction of the animal” (Ma 64). He does not eclipse the specificities of diverse animals close to him. His “relative” animals are not “faceless, generic animal traditionally opposed to the human” (Ma 64). A wide range of plural-animalities and their constitutive histories make these non-human lives “irreducible living multiplicity of mortals” (Ma 65). Apart from Gulrez, Anjum and Saddam too recognize “shared precarity” of these multiple mortals as many non-humans’ lives are subjected to a number of political, scientific and economic practices like their human companions.

In her book *When the Species Meet* Donna Harraway critiques the anthropocentric attitude of humans towards animals who are used as “worked subjects” rather than “working subjects” (80). She contends that anthropocentric narratives construct animals as violable. Roy laments at the instrumentalization of animals in science laboratories for experiments; to her this is the result of humans’ failure to see animals as “response-able”. This power relation between humans and non-human lives makes them see these lives simply as dead objects, or “machines whose reactions are of interest but who have no presence and no face, that demands recognition, caring, and shared pain” (Harraway 80). By giving her animal characters face, Roy attributes them reactions as well. They are delineated as “subjects” who are “recognizable as actors, if not agents in their own right” (Ma 70). This instrumental relation is depicted in *TMUH* when Sultan has been assaulted by a captain of Indian army and barbequed for dinner. His murder brings devastation for Gulrez who mourns for many days “like people cry for their relatives who have been killed. Gulrez’s grief at Sultan’s death betokens a “kinship” relation with Sultan, who “was a relative... nothing less” (Roy, *TMUH* 366).

Roy’s novel is “polyphonic” (Haq 269); an amalgam of stories of “everyone and everything, glorifying their rights and voices to be heard” (Haq 274). Roy foregrounds the precarity of animals by positioning them with humans, thus highlighting the trivialization of animal lives in a world dominated by violence. Anjum’s sensibility towards the dying vultures, at the outset of the novel, shows that animals are intrinsically important to her. She responds vehemently to their agonies instead of obscuring it. Paying attention to asymmetries and differences between humans and non-humans is crucial to ensure that animals become less “killable”. To Anjum, the crucifixion of animals, in a fast technologized world, does not excite human agony. She notices “the ghosts of vultures” (Roy, *TMUH* 1) that died of diclofenac poisoning on her first visit to the necropolis. Her cognition of the wretched vultures’ and their agony attests her ethical position about embroiled subjectivities opening to shared pain and mortality which I call “shared precarity”.

The “shared precarity” is conspicuous in the characters of Anjum and Biroo, a stray dog who has barely survived the ordeal of vivisections performed over his body in a pharmaceutical testing lab. The dog is adopted by Anjum when it is brought by Saddam

in a highly traumatized condition; he is “wild-eyed and disoriented” with a batch of gauzy tubes swinging out of his body. He is disquieted by frequent epileptic bursts, huffing, and enervating sneezes. The traumatizing experiences of Biroo leaves him permanently transformed and mangled like his companion Anjum who, after going through many sexual reassignment surgeries, becomes mangled and a “patched-together body” (Roy, *TMUH* 29). The medicinal science’s “coercive incisions” over Anjum and Biroo’s bodies make them both “unreasonable and unpredictable”. Biroo’s traumatic history and its peculiar personality, his conspicuous “smoky grayish patina that covers his coat” (Roy, *TMUH* 83) makes Saddam and Anjum treat him as an individual with a name and a distinguishing appearance. Biroo stands only as an experimental subject for the pharmaceutical lab, but for Anjum, he is her “wounded companion” that needs healing. Saddam takes care of the physical bruises by applying various potions and administering medicine; he succeeds in curing Biroo’s “epileptic fits” and “Reverse sneezes” (Roy, *TMUH* 83). Anjum assuages Biroo’s emotional injuries by sharing space and meals with him which “might not be good for his physical health, but it’s good for his soul” (Roy, *TMUH* 83).

Housing “heterogeneous multiplicity” (Ma 70) of mortals, JGH presents a situation in which humans and non-humans are placed in a web of “interspecies dependencies” (Ma 70). It is a place where the borders between human agonies and animal distresses abut. Saddam who is just driven out of his work by Sangeeta Madam is a “sight- impaired Dalit” who enjoys his “business partnership” (Roy, *TMUH* 77) with a “gaunt and battered white mare” (Roy, *TMUH* 135) named Payal. Saddam and Payal work in collaboration with each other, as Payal partakes in a kind of “companion-species” relationship built on mutual agreement. Payal is accorded a distinct personality; she can feel and sense the Old Delhi and its elite citizenry when she is on a business tour with Saddam. The nature, which was “muffled and muted by civilization” (Bookchin, *EOF* 48) gains “voice” in Roy’s fiction through the characters of Biroo and Payal.

Her friendship with Gulrez is consolidated by “a postcard-sized print of a photograph of himself holding the kittens in the palms of his hands” (Roy, *TMUH* 350). He gives this photograph to Tilo ceremoniously, “holding it out with both hands as though it were a certificate of merit being awarded to her. Tilo accepts it with a bow;

their barter, of care and “shared precarity”, is complete. The “shared vulnerability” is conspicuous in the characters of Gulrez and Sultan. Gulrez is described as a “mout” who cannot be conditioned into social and cultural norms. Sultan shares, not only precarity with Gulrez, but also his defying nature; he struts around the place like a real sultan. Consecrated with “a beautiful soul” (Roy, *TMUH* 355), Gulrez lives with his own rules and does not know how to follow rules of Indian army. In line with Primitivist Anarchist vision, Gulrez is, loved and venerated by the villagers. Cognizant of the vulnerability of such “blessed people”, Musa comes forward to provide protection and shelter to him; he knows that many such people have been murdered for not following Indian army’s orders (Roy, *TMUH* 355). Musa’s premonition comes true when Gulrez and Sultan, both, are subjected to the violence of “killibility”. Sultan is subjected to a brutal murder by Indian army, as Gulrez is dismembered by the same military for political as well as lucrative value.

Roy foregrounds animals and their vulnerability by describing Tilo’s sensitivity towards animals and their sufferings; she is highly sensitive and “respons-able” to the animals since her school days. She had an acquaintance with two dogs that arrived early in the morning in front of her gate where she fed them, and the tramps she drank tea with at the tea stall near the Nizamuddin Dargah (359). Tilo meditates at the shared agony of Kashmiri mothers and farm animals. The plight of Kashmiri mothers, whose sons have disappeared; who are undergoing traumas are described as “inefficient, unproductive units, living on a mandatory diet of hopeless hope”, are equated with unproductive poultry industry that is trying to mitigate the mothering instinct in chickens. This comparison commits both Kashmiri mothers and farm chickens to the category of experimental subjects as well as “the category of killable” (Ma 69). Roy highlights the political distress suffered by humans and non-humans alike by acknowledging that animal lives and their instincts of motherhood are not different from the instincts of humans; the traumatized experiences of both can be intersecting and shared. Tilo, by merging the apparently insurmountable differences between the species, tries to humanize the non-human lives.

Cognizant of vulnerability and veneration of non-human lives, the inmates of JGH subscribe to “eco-centric” vision; they acknowledge that “Nature isn’t capital...or

product... or a resource to exploit” (Manicardi 178). They are not urged by saving money or making an economic investment at the expense of animals; animals do not mean for them rising stock shares. They believe that extolling nature to “objectify” it should not be confused with loving nature; it is worth respect not for reasons of convenience” (Manicardi 312) but because the integrality of nature and humans cannot be overruled. Particularly, the characters like Zainab and Saddam love nature and its components and resist assuming the role of “world emperor” (Manicardi 312); they do not pretend as if they possess the world and its creatures. Their love for animals makes them establish “a zoo” in the cemetery; committed to broadening the community, they turn the guest house into “a Noah’s Ark of injured animals” (Roy, *TMUH* 399). A young peacock, which cannot fly because of its chopped wings, is also an inmate of this world. The zoo also accommodates three old and ailing cows that are inert and sleep all day. Zainab rescues almost three dozen grass parakeets from the materialistic grip of a bird seller. Saddam, cognizant of their frail constitution, builds them high, splendid space in the cemetery. An abandoned tortoise, with a sprig of clover in the nostril, is found by Saddam in a children’s park; he provides for him a mud pit to wallow freely. A lame donkey, named Mahesh, is also a victim of overwork; he is rescued by Saddam and rejuvenated by a kindred soul “Payal”. Biroo’s need of companionship is fulfilled by Comrade Laali. Comrade Laali insists upon being adopted by greeting Saddam on street landing “as though she was being reunited with a lost lover” (Roy, *TMUH* 302). Laali is intelligent enough to detect love element in Saddam’s character and consistently wags her body from side to side at Saddam’s entrance. Forced by her flattened ears and her coquettishly slanting eyes, Saddam decides to take her along her five puppies as they “have a lot of place” in JGH. Comrade Laali trails behind “her new found love with unashamed devotion” (Roy, *TMUH* 302). Laali’s entrance in the guest house is welcomed by Biroo, the dog; they, together, replicate their progeny. JGH becomes a house for many cats who visit and stay in it temporarily and then go their way from time to time. There is a profound internal solidarity between humans as well as with nature.

Aligned with anarchist vision, the inmates of JGH agree that “nature should be revered”; rather than “feared”. They reject the crushing consequences of the chronic gyrate of objectification. They try to preserve the free and egalitarian lifestyle amidst

nature that humanity enjoyed for millions of years. In accordance with anarchists vision, “the soil is no less a cemetery for the innocent dead, than it is a source of life” (Bookchin, *EOF* 316). The importance of graveyard cannot be overestimated as it attains the center stage and presents potential for rebirth and for restoring the balance that human divisions are constantly putting at stake. The graveyard emerges as a city of hope, a utopia out of which “the unconsolated” to whom Roy dedicates the novel, may start anew from the debris of human driven disaster. Hence, apart from the new born baby, the cemetery is rich in vegetable garden growing well behind the guest house. Responding to “nature, its law of return” (Bookchin, *EOF* 316) the soil of the cemetery becomes “a compost pit of ancient provenance” (Roy, *TMUH* 399); it provides a plenteous environment for brinjals, beans, chilies, tomatoes and a variety of gourds. Although, the necropolis is close to the metropolitan Delhi and inevitably absorbs smoke and fumes from the heavy traffic of a fast technologized world, yet it attracts “several varieties of butterflies” (399); hence deeply incorporating in an inalienable relation between all forms of life, JGH becomes a “garden of Eden” (Bookchin, *EOF* 317) bringing its inmates long desired “happiness” and fulfilment over the passage of time.

## **6.8 An Equitable Distribution of Grievebility**

In accordance with Anarchist vision, the primary texts establish that the civilized world does not accord the same cultural definition of humans. Those who fall outside the cultural frame of humans are not accorded a human status not only during their lives; rather, their deaths do not matter to the civilized world. Judith Butler discusses differential allocation of grief and “mournability” and its political implications in *Frames of War*. According to her, war essentially divides populations into those who are grievable and those who are not. An “ungreivable” death is one that cannot be mourned because “it has never lived, that is, it has never counted as a life at all” (Butler, *Frames of War*, 38). The differential distribution of grievebility, in the selected fiction, indicates that only a few influential people are accorded the right to be mourned after death; these powerful people enjoy a privileged life and their death is considered worth grief. The civilized world does not accord reverence to the dead bodies of the people considered outside “the cultural definition of human” (Butler, *Precarious Life* 6). In *ITM*, this

division is rendered blatant in many references to the tragedy of Sri Lankan population sandwiched between two contesting factions. Munoveera's narrator, Yasodhara is dismayed at exclusion of many people from a decent ceremony grieving their loss; Yasodhara's celebration at the death of secessionist Tamil leader is mingled with grief over the death of "eighty thousand who did not live into this moment" (Munoveera 224). Yasodhara laments at the unnoticed, un-grieved death of all those:

Who were left behind in the lagoons and paddy fields, in the cement jail cells, in the white vans, beneath the rolling waves of ocean? Those who were broken, dismantled, those who were shattered in bomb blast, those who were bludgeoned, burnt in tires, thrown from helicopters into the sea... those who were taken from their beds in the night, those who were lamp-posted, those who were taken as children, those who were pierced by shrapnel, those who lost limbs to the landmines... those were called to strap bombs on and detonate themselves." (224)

Yasodhara's agony at the murder of her sister reminds her of her sister's assassin who shares the death with her sister, questions the concept of "peace" celebrated in the streets of Sri Lanka; to her peace is incomplete till the forces responsible for a massive bloodshed are not brought to accountability. The shared death of "the unloved assassin" of her "loved sister" makes her sensitive to the pain of all those people who lost their dear ones in the three decades' old civil war, and those who are not allowed to grieve the loss of their kins. For Yasodhara eighty thousand is a "number beyond comprehension" (224), which makes her to "mourn for them ...cry and shake and tremble for them" (224). She abhors the beastly "masks of lion and tiger" (224) that traps the people in hostile camps and make them oblivious of the loss of people different from them.

This "differential grievability" is extended to peace time in *TMUH*, where war is waged symbolically against target communities by the Indian state or nationalist hegemonic groups. Roy commemorates the death of many "unloved" and "unconsoled" people by drawing them all in the cemetery selected as a setting for Jannat Guest House. Roy's comments about differential distribution of grievability sets the pace for necropolis and the equality accorded by JGH to all people irrespective of class, caste, race, nationality and gender. Roy writes in *LTTG* that a decent burial is the birth right of all human beings. The hegemonic Hindus, led by Gujarat Ka Lalla, display the burned bodies of Hindu pilgrims to excite the rage of Hindu majoritarian population. This public

grieving, following the train burning event, constructs Hindu's dead bodies as "trope of nation"; in stark contrast to these publically grieved bodies, there are Muslim bodies burnt beyond recognition by Hindu extremists. The face-less and nameless "corpses that no longer resembles corpses" (Roy, *TMUH* 45) are insufficient palpable evidence of violence done to a Muslim minority in Gujarat. Hence, the lack of any material evidence to prove the heinous crime makes it possible for the perpetrators to go unchallenged and unaccountable. This "impossibility of mourning", Butler suggests, means that such lives of minorities are considered unreal: "If violence is done against those who are unreal, then, from the perspective of violence, it fails to injure or negate those lives since those lives are already negated" (Butler, *Precarious Life* 33).

Roy's fiction pays tribute to many ordinary men and women who undergo a series of vicissitudes; the people who are excluded and broken by the world in which they are inextricably embroiled are woven together in the cemetery. The choice of necropolis for the setting of the novel is also significant from another perspective too. Roy constructs her fiction "like a sedimentary rock" which "gathers its layers to disperse simultaneously" (Raina 44) in multiple dimensions. One of these dimensions is Roy's remembrance of the "de-realized" deaths of many characters; Roy gives voice to the oppressed, mutilated, maimed bodies and souls of the people who have lost their lives to various oppressive structures. She cannot ignore their presence; hence, all the dead in the novel are also given a commendable history. JGH constitutes a world that does not distribute a differential grieveability to the "unconsoled"; it pays reverence to the unrealizable deaths of the people considered below the cultural definition of human.

Roy's stance of demolishing hierarchies between not only the living people, but also dead, gets materialized in Jannat Guest House. The house provides space not only to the living but also accommodates dead bodies of poor people. Since the burial of Rubina, a worker in a local brothel (who is a socially marginalized character by virtue of her work in sex industry) JGH starts providing funeral services for poor and relegated people. Anjum with the help of Saddam Hussain constructs a proper bathhouse with a roof and an exalted cement platform for dead bodies to be arrayed on. The Funeral Services are commended with a habitué supply of tombstones, shrouds, and aromatized Multani clay. Imam Ziauddin serves as a resident Imam available all time. The rules for burying the



dead are “cryptic”; Anjum welcomes the dead bodies of those people, “who have been rejected by the imams of Duniya” (Roy, *TMUH* 80). She smiles with satisfaction when they bury the dead body of the poor and neglected whereas, the Jannat Guest House Funeral Services refuse to accommodate the bodies of the rich.

A minor character who undergoes the “violence of de-realization” is a Dalit S. Murugesan; he hails from Tamil Nadu and is employed as an Indian soldier. During his deployment in Kashmir, he is attacked by Kashmiri freedom fighters and is blown along with two other Indian soldiers who all bleed to death while performing their national duty. His death is considered a “Nobel death” both from religious and national perspective. However, the hegemonic group of his village does not consider Murugesan’s martyrdom of any significance. His death, like his life is wrapped in “de-realization” of untouchability. Hence, the dominant group does not allow “the body of S Murugesan to be carried past their houses to the cremation ground” (Roy, *TMUH* 317). The “touchables” of the village stand in protest against the army’s plan to build “a cement statue of Sepoy S. Murugesan, in his soldier’s uniform, with his rifle on his shoulder, at the entrance of the village” (Roy, *TMUH* 318). This commemoration of an “untouchable” villager threatens the exalted status of the dominant group; therefore, three weeks after the installation of his statue, “the rifle on its shoulder went missing... a month later the statue’s hands were cut off... two weeks after amputation of its hands, the statue of S. Murugesan was beheaded” (Roy, *TMUH* 318). Hence, the already violated body of an occluded soldier is subjected to “the violence of de-realization” even after a nationally proclaimed “Nobel death”.

Roy brings to light the putrefaction of the hierarchical structures constructed in the name of castes in India through the character of Murugesan; neither the police nor the local court wants to pay serious attention to this devaluation of the sacrifice of a person who belongs to a lower caste. Despite the disfiguration of the statue, Murugesan’s baby, unaware of many-fold violence against the untouchability, keeps waving at the statue. Entirely disfigured, “the headless statue” albeit “faceless” sculpture remains erected at the entrance of the village; though it bears no resemblance with the man it was supposed to commemorate. The silence and inaction of both the police and the local court authenticates that the distortion of the statue of an untouchable soldier is not an

illegitimate act. This incidence also exposes disregard and denigration of the lower caste people by upper caste hegemonic Brahmanical ideologies. Hence, by the callousness of the legal system and the attitude of the infallibility of the “touchables”, the “untouchables” get the clear message that the upper caste will never acknowledge their sacrifices and they will be treated as sub-humans in the so-called “Democracy” of India.

Revathy, a tribal of India, represents millions of Adivasis who have been subjected to the state violence for protesting against their exclusion from the forests they had occupied since thousands of years. Through her character, Roy uses deadly events as “exploratory” ones to investigate the hypocrisies and injustices responsible for Tribals’ massacre done through “Operation Green Hunt” (Roy, *TMUH* 421). Revathy’s account takes the readers in Bastar Forest where the infiltration of the police and the armed forces has changed the whole forest into a war zone; Lalla’s government’s decision to construct “Steel Town” in the forest’s land is facilitated by the state organs. The state provides thousands of police personals, armed forces and paramilitary troupes to attack and occupy the homes of people constructed over communal land. Revathy’s account informs that people of the forest join the People’s Liberation Guerrilla Army to resist state oppression and violence against its own people.

Revathy’s death account raises consternation in the guest house; Anjum is dismayed by the disparaging treatment meted to Revathy and asks “What kind of people leaves their dead without prayers”? (Roy, *TMUH* 427). Acknowledging the resistance struggle of Maoist Adivasis, the politburo of the guest house decides that Revathy should be given “full honors”; since, her dead body cannot be procured, it is decided that her letter would be buried instead in the cemetery. Ill-informed of the exact rituals accorded to a Maoist, the committee decides to wrap the letter in “a red flag” as a remembrance of her Maoist affiliation. While the letter is interred in the grave, Dr. Azad sings the Hindu version of “the Internationale” and gives her a “clenched-fist Red Salute”. Thus, an honorable “second funeral” of Revathy is conducted by Jannat Guest House Funeral Services. The inmates of the guest house pay tribute to Revathy’s courage by naming her daughter after her; Miss Udaya Jebeen becomes a remembrance of her “unconsoled” but “beloved mother”. The committee decides to prepare a beautiful epitaph by inscribing “Comrade Masse Revathy... Beloved mother of Miss Udaya Jebeen”; thus an annihilated

life and unrealized death is turned into a “mournable loss” through the prayers and person of her daughter by Roy.

Roy accords “mournability” to various unknown and unremembered people of Shahajahanabad in the cemetery; the cemetery hosts dead body of Ahlam Baji, a mid-wife who is considered nothing less than a luminary by Anjum. Apart from her, Begum Renata Mumtaz Madam, a belly-dancer from Romania is also considered worth remembrance. Begum Renata’s love of an Indian musician, who abused her and discarded her, makes her a fit person to be honored; her grave’s grace is not only augmented by a beautiful inscription on its epitaph, but also decorated with “a small bunch of marigolds” (Roy, *TMUH* 393) on every Friday. The dead people buried in the graveyard are inextricable part of Anjum’s life; her inalienable relation with the dead and her remarkable ability of suturing profound connections with them is conspicuous in her desire to introduce Tilo to them. She recounts their accomplishments and achievements to immortalize them. Over the graves of these poor souls, Anjum speaks to Tilo as though it is “a world that everybody ought to be familiar with; in fact, the only world worth being familiar with” (Roy, *TMUH* 305).

JGH funeral Services do not forget the “untouchables” killed in riots by the “narratives of purity and filth”. Saddam’s father, a Dalit, who had been killed for carrying the carcass of a cow, is included in grievability distributed equitably in the cemetery. Saddam’s mournful statement that his father’s spirit “must be wandering here, trapped inside this place” (Roy, *TMUH* 412) rends Anjum’s heart and she immediately steps forward to lay the spirit of Saddam’s father to rest. After the wedding ceremony of Saddam and Zainab, Anjum demands Saddam to bring “a nice photograph” (Roy, *TMUH* 407) of his father to be hung in the house. Anjum’s desire to pay tribute to Saddam’s father is illustrative of her acknowledgment of the grievability of an otherwise devalued human being. This gesture of allocating a grave for Saddam’s father serves another purpose; it will keep him as a permanent resident of the guest house and will establish unbreakable connection with posterity of Saddam and Zainab with their oppressed grandfather.

The unforgettable traumatic experience of Anjum in Gujarat never fades the memories of Zakir Mian; he also becomes a permanent resident of the graveyard. The portrait of Zakir Mian who lost his life to the fascist nationalism, “garlanded with crisp cash birds” (Roy, *TMUH* 407) graces the central room of JGH. Roy’s critique of a society that builds walls between races and sects becomes pungent in the case of Maryam’ Ipe’s death and refusal of the local church to allocate “mournability” to her. Her painful life and a more painful death is a grieving moment for Tilo who has seen her mother relegated to the violence of exclusion for developing a relation with a Dalit. Roy complements her agonized life with her agonized death when her burial is denied by the local church for transgressing the religious norms; consequently her cremation is done in a local crematorium. In JGH, Tilo finds a rightful place to give an honorable burial to a woman of courage who had been tormented by the social/cultural norms. A fresh grave is dug by Saddam for Tilo’s mother’ pot of ashes. Roy, by introducing “unorthodox proceedings” (Roy, *TMUH* 413) flouts all established socio-cultural norms that devalue humans. Tilo’s reserved agony is unleashed at the second funeral ceremony of her mother and closing her eyes she recites her mother’s favorite passage from Shakespeare (Roy, *TMUH* 413); thus disregarding the Christian church and its formal religious ceremonies practiced during funeral.

The vigorous and thriving graveyard of JGH is juxtaposed with an equally fast expanding Kashmiri graveyard, “Mazar-e- Shohada” which is fast filling with mutilated and dismembered bodies of Kashmiri youth. Synonymous with resilience, “Mazar-e- Shohada” becomes the most noticeable piece of land in Kashmir. Kashmiris, acknowledging the worsening oppression of Indian state and realizing the significance of solidarity of Kashmiris, they plan to bury martyrs’ bodies in “collective burial grounds and not leave them scattered like birdfeed, up in the mountains, or in the forests around the army camps and torture centers that had mushroomed across the Valley” (Roy, *TMUH* 312). With aggravating state violence, “the consolidation of their dead became... an act of defiance” (Roy, *TMUH* 312) for common Kashmiris and it fuels their insurrection movement. The first to be entered in this graveyard is a “gunnaam shaheed” (Roy, *TMUH* 311), an anonymous martyr, who changes the fate of a common graveyard; overnight, it achieves the honored status. From then on, candles are lit and fresh flowers

are spread over fresh graves. The graveyard Committee begins enclosing a large piece of land for its expansion; the young Kashmiris wear their rage against the Indian occupation “like armour” and are not afraid of embracing death.

To pay tribute to the martyrs of Kashmir freedom struggle, the “city of Funerals” is enlivened and vibrant at the murder of Tilo’s friend. Tilo’s friend’ Gulrez’s body is also interred in “Mazarr-e-Shohada” (Roy, *TMUH* 310). Tilo has already been a witness of the ruthless murder, and wants to pay tribute to his courage at his funeral ceremony; Gulrez’s funeral is attended by thousands of people. Militants from several groups come to give Commander Gulrez a farewell gun salute. It was safe for even the freedom fighters to come in public and move around because there would be tens of thousands of people out on the streets. The Indian army is commanded to pull back to avoid “an all-out massacre” (Roy, *TMUH* 312). The flood of people coming from small streets, converge at “Mazar-e- Shohadda”. People’s defiance against Indian military is illustrated through their desire to give honor to their freedom fighters. The lines are indicative of Kashmiri’s involvement with Freedom Movement:

Little contingents, large contingents, people from the old city, the new city, from villages and from other cities were converging quickly. Even in the narrowest by-lanes, groups of women and men and even the smallest children chanted Azadi! Azaadi! Along the way young men had set up water points and community kitchens to feed those who had come from far away. As they distributed water, as they filled the plates, as people ate and drank, as they breathed and walked, to a drumbeat that only they could hear, they shouted: Azadi! Azadi!” (Roy, *TMUH* 391)

The fast-filling graveyard of Kashmir is an open acknowledgement of the fearless struggle of Kashmiris.

## **6.9 Conclusion**

The selected literary texts validate, in the light of anarchist theory, that the characters successfully construct a new culture which is free from objectification and hence free from coercion. People are not treated as superior or inferior, but unique with unique capabilities. Interaction is inspired by the friendly and charitable principles rather than authority’s cold power. In accordance with primitive’s way of living, the inmates of

Jannat Guest House do not become part of any structured organization. The strength of this community lays in mutual cooperation, social involvement and sharing. Juxtaposed with social inequalities, suffocating power structures, ruthless domination, the new culture establishes a new community based upon cooperation, freedom and receptive boundaries. Here there are no prescriptions on one side and no abysmal stooping on the other side. The society here is not oppressed by bosses, patriarchs, and religious leaders; a spectacular personal freedom is accorded to all its members, including the children. There are no strict schedules. The inmates are free from the oppression of bosses, bills, traffic, taxes, laws, news and money. The time spent in JGH alters people's perception of the world; they become calmer, more tuned to the moment, more self-sufficient, braver, and free from a constant rush prevalent in the fast-neo-liberalizing India.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

To conclude my research, it is significant to reappraise the significance of my research questions with reference to the primary texts under discussion. This review asserts the substantiality of the tri-pronged theoretical approach that I adopted to study the South Asian literary texts. The theoretical framework, that I used, consisted of the lens of anarchism with respect to capitalism's assault against human and non-human life; nationalism's violent practices against ethnic/religious minorities; and an alternative, based upon autonomy and eventually "utmost happiness" of the dispossessed and displaced multiplicities, depicted in the texts. Since this expository study is qualitative in nature, therefore, the research methods of textual analysis overlapping with historiography have been used to analyze the primary texts. With the help of my analysis chapters, I have managed to show that the investigative lens of anarchism is the most suited mode of inquiry.

#### **7.2 Research Findings**

Using textual analysis as a mode of inquiry, my primary texts seem to be in line with anarchist perspective.

My first question was to inquire about the modes of violence, factors responsible for it, and consequences of violence done by civilization. From the perspective of the anarchist approaches the noteworthy characteristic of the primary texts is the assertion that some features of civilization are violent and are suffused with "increasingly shallow

and instrumental relationships” (Manicardi vi); the selected fiction highlight that some characteristics of civilization are anti-life and imperil the future of the planet along with the life, health, relations and freedom of heterogeneous forms of life. The similarities found in both the literary texts show that civilization’s controlling and domesticating forces proceed forward in the name of “development”. By using the illusionary garb of “progress” it divides the people into classes; the mantra of “development” smacks of its blindness towards a heavy bulk of life preyed upon by capitalism through its profit oriented tentacles spread across the world. The research asserts that the “happiness” based upon economic prosperity brought by an industrialized civilization bears fruits only for a few people who accumulate capital.

Finding out the symbiotic relationship between Western industrial civilization, violence and capitalism, fourth chapter of my dissertation focused upon *Trespassing* and *the Ministry of Utmost Happiness*. The texts also substantiate that the developmental projects, enforced on the weaker countries at the back of unfettered capitalism, subject people to enforced evictions and deprive them of the nature’s support system; the displacement of the poor people further aggravates class disparity. *Trespassing* is a comment upon the evicted fishing tribes from the coastal areas of Karachi by “the newly built complex on the coastlines” (Khan 123); the novel depicts a “mass exodus” imposed upon the native tribes by “foreign investors” who are “empowered” by modern technology. Some of the “stubborn fishermen” resist the assault of foreign investors and reclaim their “stolen sea space”, but their resistance meets further violence; the oppressed fishing tribes realize eventually that “there is little left in the village... as the fish are gone” (Khan 123) and foreigners’ “ships are here to stay” (123). The plight of the whole village is depicted through the foreign trawlers which had been “issued legal licenses” (Khan 236) and consequently “almost everybody from [the] village had left” (236).

The research denudes the disintegration of communal ties as well as commodification of the exiled communities. The sovereignty of the family and independent life style is jeopardized by the evictions; Salaamat’s whole family is forced to adopt degrading labour in the city; the “synthetic environment” (Bookchin, “Ecological Technology” 26) of the city poses further “alienation” for these evictees as they have to appropriate themselves in accordance with the city and its norms. The city is



already facing an upsurge of immigrants from other parts of Pakistan; eventually the pressure from outpouring immigrants reaches a point where people are “mashed against the wall like mosquitoes” (Khan 134). A weak state like Pakistan, unable to protect the basic rights of its citizens, ignores that many people are not only “falling off” the “frame of human” but also disintegrated from the natural environment they are born in. The evictions deprive them of the socio-cultural values and religious beliefs ingrained in nature; nature that used to be an integral and inextricable part of these people is eroded for the fishing tribes as depicted in *Trespassing*.

The research further validates that the wedge between the city-inmates and inhabitants of the rural space is further deepened by burgeoning capitalism. Thrown out of the communal territory, these indigenous people are rejected out-rightly by the city and its inmates as “uncivilized”. Salaamat named “ajnabi-a foreigner” has to swallow humiliation at the hands of the city dwellers; his language, eating habits, and dresses are detested by his co-workers. The fishing people’s sojourn in the city frustrates all their effort as they realize that the foreign investors took not only their “land and sea”... rather, “they want the air [they] breathe” (Khan 376). Salaamat’s work in a bus-making company as a “laid-off” worker further throws light on laborer’s exploitation by the capitalists; his labour of uncountable days and sleepless nights bears no economic fruit for Salaamat as shown in the novel.

Likewise, the research illustrates the horrific impact of India’s deepening neo-liberalism on common citizens through a number of characters in *TMUH*. The epidemic dispossession sweeping across the country depicts that the country is made hostage by the profit lust of a handful of big companies; on the other hand, the local “kleptocratic elite” utilizes country’s resources and assets to facilitate the multinational companies in order to augment their political as well as economic power. The differential allocation of economic and political power is depicted through the juxtaposed characters of Indians sleeping on the pavements of Jantar Mantar, whereas American dogs residing in “a five-star hotel” and enjoying all facilities accorded to first worldians. American dogs’ status of “the officers of American army” (Roy, *TMUH* 128) is a scathing commentary on the grip of American market and its political power over the Indian state.

The current research exposes the parasitic relations between privatized public resources and offshore companies. The multinational companies' disregard of the human and environmental cost of their profit is highlighted through the maimed and mutilated representatives from Bhopal. The "low-income zones" like Bhopal satiate profit hunt of western companies; the Indian state bids lower to sell its citizens and thereby compromise their health, lives, future, posterity and pollute the whole natural environment. "Union Carbide" industry operating under the management of Warren Anderson endangers the local community's life and after disrupting it, it folds up its structure from this particular territory and drifts to another location using a new name i.e. Dow Company.

The research further illustrates dubious exchange relations taking place between those in control of the whole process of profit accumulation and those whose labour is exploited for the said purposes. In the capitalist venture, "the broad set of agreement concerning what is desirable, what a reasonable exchange of sacrifices, compromises and who is permitted to exercise what kind of effective demand in what circumstances" (Apadurai 56) is done by the economic elite. The creator of the steel tree dictates the whole process of "profit generation"; whereas Saddam's job as a security guard becomes "a painful necessity of survival ... and the means of self-preservation" (Perlman 40) for destitute evictees.

The current research corroborates the anarchist stance that the capitalists' policies on South Asian's lives and environment, are exploitative and lethal. Using the illusionary garb of "progress", third world countries are drawn into the web of industrialization and are made only "dumping ground and a pool of cheap labour" for the civilized countries and their big businesses. The industrialization project is "paid for by the pillage of nature and human beings in the countryside" (Bradford 48). The civilized world devastates the whole ecosystem effecting climate change and continuous environmental interferences causing irreversible effects. The research also brings to light the ruination of a delicate natural texture upholding all forms of life in a salubrious environment; the world encroached by "development" is drenched with chemical poisons and operates as a "betrayed garden" (Buell, *Writing for an Endangered World* 37). The threat posed by

chemicals, atomic weapons and biological hazards are exacerbated by mass pollution, water contamination, and noise pollution as depicted in the primary texts.

The research validates Manicardi's position that the "wilderness" caused by civilization in *TMUH* is an evidence of a world where non-human life undergoes a "shared precarity". The "sparrows... have gone missing", and "the old white-backed vultures- the custodians of the dead for more than a hundred million years... have been wiped out" (Roy, *TMUH* 1). The vultures died of "diclofenac poisoning" injected to turn cows into milk factories because consumerist trend of civilized people is on the rise. This pressure for more production and profitability is faced by the "friendly old birds" (Roy, *TMUH* 2) whereas the sensibilities of the civilized people of New Delhi are closed to the ecological "apocalypse" (Buell, *TFEC* 27).

The research establishes that the novelists have introduced the South Asian environmental sensibilities in such a way that the readers feel their own association with nature, its disruption and creation of an artificial environment. When Delhi is being transformed into "the super capital of the world's favorite super power" (Roy, *TMUH* 97) fast-emerging Kmart, Starbucks and Walmarts are being constructed for "India's favorite citizens" (97); "hot winds" whip through the city and coerce "driving sheets of grit, soda bottle caps and beedi stubs" (Roy, *TMUH* 95) followed by an equally aggressive sun that "burned through the haze". Fast-progressing India's interference with nature turns it against its citizens depicted through the "fiery sun" burning people who long for rains which refuse to soothe them. In the fast-emerging shanty towns at the fringes of civilized cities, cement factories refuse to provide a safe working environment to the workers; the workers in these cement industries are shown routinely covered with asbestos dust. The inevitable result being proliferation of liver cancers in a landscape which is turned into "cancer atlas" (Bradford 51) causing "a slow, gradual leakage" (Bradford 51) of death. Obsolete technology and expired chemicals shipped to India in the name of "agricultural revolution" and scarce safety standards for the workers force the local communities to bear the heavy costs of "development".

My second question was to inquire about the divisive politics of civilization and its consequences. Chapter five of my dissertation addresses this question by examining

*ITM* by Nayomi Munoveera and *TMUH* by Arundhati Roy and validates Manicardi's position that violence is inextricable element of civilization. The selected novels substantiate that civilization has created a torn social fabric, economic deprivation, and a preponderant environment of violence soaked fully in hatred; it disrupts the unity of the people and divides them along religious and ethnic categories by using the trope of "nationalism" (Rocker). The widespread ideology of "nationalism" does not favor an inclusive and pluralistic type of citizenship; rather it prefers ethno-religious homogeneity; the "exclusionary nationalism" is founded upon the purity of blood, land and language, and becomes the frame to define valuable and worthless lives. The research proves Rocker's stance that division of people into exploitative categories slaughters "the qualities of sympathy, imagination and respectful acceptance" that have been much valued in pre-civilized existence. The majoritarian governments, in both novels, fail to reflect upon multicultural and multiethnic population in their respective countries; the resultant struggle over the political representation is charted through an ever widening chasm between the contesting groups through their respective flags and emblematic significance associated with national symbols. Misusing the power, the ruling party subjects the minority to excruciating torment; thousands of marginalized people are dispossessed of their houses and chased into exile where they have to construct their lives from scratch. Their living spaces and businesses are destroyed and their sources of sustenance are demolished. The ethno-religious minorities, who refuse to conform to the hegemonic religion, are subjected to carnage by the exclusionary politics.

The loss, fear, terror and trauma have been experienced by Tamils in its entirety as depicted in *ITM*. The violence that erupts in Colombo, spills through its porous boundaries to other parts of the country and envelops the marginalized Tamils in its genocidal embrace. The research affirms that the state, left in the hands of irresponsible and ruthless politicians, turns against its own minority population and incinerate them to appease the majoritarian Sinhala population to gain electoral benefit. The government, in order to consolidate its grip over power apparatuses, makes discriminatory laws that fuel the anger of the minorities which results in civil war. During the three decades of civil war, judiciary emerges as an organ compliant of the sitting government; the emergency regulations and counter terrorism laws over-reach the ordinary laws for three decades and

the Tamil population is crushed systematically through extra-judicial means. Many detention centers are established to take into custody all those dissidents who fall off the definition of “human” given by “nationalism”.

The research confirms Rocker’s stance that hatred and fear fed to people blinds them to the human cost of this spree as depicted in *TMUH*. Gujarat episode exposes the most chilling aspect of the violence done by people turned into mob by the effort of right-wing organizations and politicians pursuing empowered position. Protected by the Police of Gujarat, incineration and killing continues unfettered for many weeks. The research also validates anarchists’ position that law and justice are “oxymoronic”; introducing many new laws to facilitate pre-emptive violence against the target community, the state helps in murder of justice. Tilo’s observations and experiences expose the violence inscribed over the collective body of Kashmir. The state moves under legal impunity which results in moral impunity; Indian soldiers become petty sovereigns who enter any village in the dead of the night and administer crack down to silence the dissenting voices of Kashmiris.

The research also illustrates that violence is fed to minors who are targeted as “perfect weapon” (Munoveera 101) used against unarmed civilians by freedom fighters. The research substantiates anarchist perspective that civilization “brutalizes” society by taking hold of the children. The psychological manipulation of these children is done by promising them heroship. The children are completely dehumanized in training camps established by Tamil separatists. In Tiger’s camp, Saraswathi learns the ways “in which Tamil blood has been spilled by the Sinhala for centuries” (Munoveera 139); she is taught “the myriad ways in which Tamils have been excluded, humiliated, and destroyed” (Munoveera 173). Impervious to the ethical aspect of the preponderant violence, the consciousness of children is immersed in “an imaginary piece of land”. Children thus soaked with hatred, turn into ferocious being for whom sanctity of their fellow human’s life does not matter.

My third question was to inquire about an alternative system of social organization which can lead all kinds of life from violence towards “happiness”. Sixth chapter, addressing this question, validates that aligned with anarchist vision, the

characters in the selected texts recover “utmost happiness” by reclaiming their lives, their land, education system, food production and distribution systems. The research manifests that the characters in the novel realize the need to critically judge the violent aspects of civilization and reject its divisive and manipulating logic and turn towards a pluralistic, heterogeneous existence evidenced by our primitive ancestors. The community established in Jannat Guest House rejects objectification of all forms of life and avoids establishing hierarchical structures. Disparities between people based upon class, gender, nations, religion and species do not afflict this community; the possessed and dispossessed live in cordial relation with each other. The wounded lives are healed here; the people in eco-community do not turn antagonistic face to non-human life.

The characters driven by “consociation- the biological need for care and cooperation” are drawn towards the guest house. Displaced and dispossessed minorities, Dalits, Adivasis, transgenders, and derelict people who survive on the outskirts of Old Delhi, are drawn to the guest house. As “the spontaneous order” emerges, the guest house establishes its own school based upon anarchist pedagogical principles. The school defies the alignment between national government and national education based upon hierarchical and coercive foundations. The “peopled school” does not further the ideology of competition and overcoming others, rather it emphasizes cooperation. In line with Manicardi’s stance of “de-civilized” life money is dethroned. The people refuse to consider “monetary means into an existential end” (Manicardi 228); and live healthier lives than most of the inmates of Delhi.

The research also highlights that civilization’s encroachment upon children is also undermined in the novel. The children who have been turned into “the future work force, future asset, and potential investment for factories and fields” (Manicardi 42) by considering them as “marvelous gift of joy, an extension of love, of joining into pleasure of one’s own and other’s presence” (Manicardi 42). A tiny new-born abandoned baby is considered “the beginning of something” (215); the inmates of the house welcome the baby in their peculiar way. All arms of the community give her comfort and all faces smile at her; she is passed from arm to arm, hugged, kissed and overfed.

In the eco-community, non-human life too is reintegrated. Nature, here, “acquires citizenship” (Bookchin 47) and is considered “a kin”. The journey from civilization to primitivism is achieved by dismantling the dangerous division between humans and nonhumans into the notions of superiority and inferiority. By adopting “eco-centric” approach the humans enter the natural evolution as “conscious social beings” (Bookchin 317). Anjum, precarious herself, realizes the precariousness of non-human life. Their agony attests her ethical position about the embroiled subjectivities opening to shared pain. The inmates of JGH do not consider Nature as “capital... or product... or a resource to exploit” (Manicardi) and turn the guest house into “Noak’s Ark of injured animals” (Roy, *TMUH* 399) where dispossessed and battered animals too are accommodated. The cemetery becomes rich in vegetable garden growing well behind the guest house. The soil of cemetery “a composite pit of ancient provenance” (Bookchin, *EOF* 343) provides a rich environment for a number of vegetables. Jannat Guest House becomes “a Garden of Eden” (Bookchin, *EOF* 343) which accommodates multiple forms of life coexisting with each other and explore “happiness”.

### **7.3 Recommendations for the Future Researchers**

The present research has commented upon a variety of thematic and theoretical concerns by applying an anarchist perspective on South Asian Anglophone fiction. One of the delimitations of this research is that it has excluded other novels written by the selected writers in order to make the study look more focused and compact. Similarly, other literary genres- South Asian Anglophone plays, poetry and shorter fiction are also excluded from the selection chosen for analysis. Research can be conducted on these novels and other texts to show other writers’ engagement with very serious issues such as violence eruption in South Asian context. This thesis can, particularly, inspire researchers to attempt similar studies on South Asian Anglophone poetry. The contemporary South Asian poets, Toufiq Raffat, Makki Kureshi, Sujata Bhatt are renowned and acknowledged all the world over; their literary oeuvres reflect denunciation of civilization and an urge to return to a violence-free pre-civilized existence.

One concern that my thesis engaged with is eco-environmental exploration in the selected fiction. Future researchers can take start from this thesis as a clue to undertake a

profound and an in-depth analysis of the writers selected for this thesis and their position in eco-environmental studies and eco-literature. It will also encourage the researchers to use the lens of primitivist anarchism for analyzing texts of various writers who have consciously or unconsciously shown a preoccupation with the prevalent misery of humans and non-human lives in South Asian context. The current problems of human exploitation verging on dehumanization and a brutal treatment of nature verging on apocalypse and its veritable solution can be found in American Indian literature. American Indian writers like Sherman Alexie, Luci Tapahonso, N. Scott Momaday, Gerald Vizenor reflect similar trends of denunciation of the dehumanization, objectification and subsequent violence in their literary productions. These works can yield substantial results to analysts commencing their research on anarchist perspective.

The current study has identified and discussed the possibility of the alternative modes of existence and appropriate behaviors the selected fiction has suggested for the restoration of symmetrical power relations, elimination of hierarchical modes of relationships and eco-environmental balance. Separate research is needed on other genres adopted and employed by South Asian writers to search for more such suggestions for the salvation of man and nature in the modern chaotic world. This research has endeavored to judge and evaluate the relevance of the selected writers' anarchist position to contemporary concerns.

Another limitation of this research is that, out of a rich variety of the ideas and concepts of anarchist theoretical perspective, my research covers only a limited perspective-Bookchin's theory of social ecology as mentioned in the theoretical framework of my research for the analysis of South Asian fiction. Views of other anarchists such as Kropotkin, Bakunin, and Tolstoy and other anarchist concerns can also be relevant to South Asian imaginary endeavors. This and other such limitations not covered in this research can be areas of investigation for future researchers.

South Asian fiction is an emerging literary field with many renowned as well as fresh but committed writers contributing to its wealth. My research through anarchist lens explored some unexplored areas of the South Asian fiction; still there are many domains of this literature in need of scrutiny. Other critical theories can also be applied to these



works to explore various social and political concerns; feminist theory can be applied to South Asian novels to examine the plight of women in South Asian patriarchal cultures.

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