WARSCAPES:
PERSPECTIVES ON A LITERATURE OF POSTCOLONIAL VIOLENCE

by

Bhakti Shringarpure

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Comparative Literature in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2009

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Comparative Literature in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Professor Ammiel Alcalay

Sept 10th 2009

Chair of Examining Committee

Professor Vincent Crapanzano

Sept 10th 2009

Acting Executive Officer

Professor Ali Jimale Ahmed

Professor Francesca Canadé Sautman
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

WARSCAPES: PERSPECTIVES ON A LITERATURE OF POSTCOLONIAL VIOLENCE

by

Bhakti Shringarpure

My dissertation explores civil violence in the postcolony and its representation in contemporary literature. Whether in the form of civil war in Algeria, genocide in Rwanda or religious riots in India, these events are a direct result of the political, legal and intellectual foundation of colonialism. Representation of this internecine violence is widespread in novels, poetry and drama, but it remains an under-explored topic in postcolonial studies. Firstly, my dissertation offers a historical and theoretical approach to locate the origins of this phenomenon through a re-reading of the writings of thinkers and leaders of decolonization, especially Frantz Fanon, Mahatma Gandhi and Amilcar Cabral. A scrutiny of the climate and theories of this period allows for an understanding of why most former colonies failed to make successful transition into independent nation-states and have instead become settings of gruesome civil conflicts. This section becomes the theoretical context within which my chosen corpus of literature can be placed. Secondly, drawing from approximately thirty postcolonial novels about civil violence, I examine their representations of the nation, the figure of the "other," space and architecture, violence, gender and children. Lastly, I formulate a critique of the field of postcolonial studies and simultaneously expand its scope by including this hitherto under-examined literature.

Advisor: Professor Ammiel Alcalay

Acknowledgements

This is the end of an era for me. Since my department is a narrow, fretful, exclusionary and depressing place, my campus has existed elsewhere. The immensity of Ammiel's mind, spirit, generosity, kindness, engagement and friendship was literally the only reason to keep pursuing this education over the years. He gave me Algeria and Palestine and more importantly, America. I thank him for the life-changing impact he has had on me. Professor Ahmed provided me with amazing insights in our long conversations, and made the postcolonial world come alive for me, and sometimes even war. I am grateful for his delightful proverbs, intense anecdotes, astounding genius and particularly for his nuanced understanding of what I was hoping to convey in this dissertation. Professor Sautman's rigor, discipline and criticism have always spurred me on, and her engagement with the subject only legitimizes its importance. It is only because of their minds that I have some comprehension of this intense topic and its reverberations upon our society.

Now a small salute to the vibrant social mosaic that is my life and the role it has played in this PhD. I would like to thank every single inhabitant, guest and passerby in the Harlem house who has sat around the long blue table over glasses of cheap Mapucho and brought the outside world into this home. I would first like to acknowledge my profound debt to Sara whose dreams of Africa spun sweetly into mine, colonizing my imagination. Our conversations, her readings, her listenings, her opinions and our intellectual discoveries together form the backbone of this dissertation. Savita was grappling with the civil wars first and she infected me with this material but more than that, she has shared the joys and burdens of this whole period as it penetrated our lives at the very core. Nothing has been more significant than Laxmi's return to my world especially at a time when the storms were settling and I had yet to stop spinning out of control. She centered me and focused me and I can only write every single day because we share an "office." Brianna's doctor journey was an inspiration and of course, her dynamic dramatic explosive exciting friendship is limb I cannot live without. I can thank Mustapha for our many intimacies but in this context, I want to thank him for opening up the world of space and architecture to me. From our first day in grad school and forever afterwards, Susanne has given me a truly literary friendship, it has been exhilarating. Flavio and Veruska, our conferences tour, our hatred of the "profession" and our endless letters to each other made me breathe again. I am humbled beyond words. Hats off to my parents for their patience with this and for all kinds of help over the years. And thanks to Prasad, for his general curiosity, and strong understanding of marginality and subjecthood.

And of course, Michael. An epic struggle for an epic love, about as long as this PhD. He made up for all the torment when he gave me a room of my own in Andalucia, in the center of Rabat and in posh west London, and that is where this dissertation got written. In every way, it would be an impossible project without him. Most of the time, it has been worth writing only because he seemed to believe in it and in me.

And finally, thank you to New York City - what a ride!

Table of Contents

A coffin bearing the face of a boy
A book
Written on the belly of a crow
A wild beast hidden in a flower

A rock
Breathing with the lungs of a lunatic
This is it
This is the Twentieth Century.

Adonis, *A Mirror for the Twentieth Century*

Introduction

> "…the history of humankind is the story of its painful combat to transcend the contradictions arising from its own development."
>
> - Samir Amin, *Eurocentrism*

During the twentieth century, the space for war writing in literary studies has been predominantly occupied by literature produced about the European World Wars. Multiple movements such as modernism, surrealism, Dadaism or the avant-garde have drawn from the two great wars and hold a strong sway over the fields of literary studies and criticism. Samir Amin's exploration of the dominating and overarching ideology of Eurocentrism explains the stubborn imposition of an "eternal West" not only on capitalist systems of economy but in perpetuating an Eurocentric culture and society. Amin claims that it might be hard to define Eurocentrism precisely but its daily manifestations are innumerable and are expressed in the most varied areas such as "day-to-day relationships between individuals, political information and opinion, general views concerning society and culture, society and science." (Amin. 1989: 106) Literary movements, literary studies and reading practices have a dialectical relationship with this culture and they impact and counter-impact each other engendering an ongoing circle of exchange. The experience of the European World Wars for example, is represented over and over whether in the form of novels, memoirs, anthologies, literary criticism and theory, and also remains part of the current mainstream collective consciousness due to multiple films and television shows produced annually and on a grand scale about the subject.

While the latter half of the twentieth century has seen a great growth in the field of postcolonial studies, whether as a theoretical discourse or as an existing body of non-Western literature, very little attention has been paid to the experience of violence and war in postcolonial regions. Political scientists Errol Henderson and J. David Singer claim that, "Since 1945, most wars have occurred *within* rather than *between* states, and most of these civil wars have taken place in the former colonies of the imperial powers. As we begin the 21st century, the violence in these post-colonial states is among the most pressing problems in world politics, even as we experience an unprecedented period of peace among the former colonizers." (Henderson and Singer, 2000: 275) The authors specifically focus on 'civil wars' but "the broader category of domestic political conflict, which is a rather diverse amalgam of civil strife, ranging from protests, strikes, riots, plots, assassinations, coups d'état, and civil war" (Henderson and Singer, 2000: 276) are also offshoots of postcolonial violence. Henderson and Singer's study incorporates a "spatio-temporal domain" consisting of 90 states[1] where there have been 53 civil wars between the years 1946 to 1992. A more recent study from 1990-1999 claims that there were 118 armed conflicts worldwide involving 80 states and a death toll of approximately

[1] Henderson and Singer's footnote to gives an accurate list of the countries included: "Our spatial domain includes following 90 states: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bcnin, Bhutan, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameron, Cape Verde, Central, African Republic, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Djibouti, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kazahkstan, Kcnya, Kuwait, Laos, Liberia, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Malawi, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar (Burma), Nepal, Nigcr, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, People's Republic of Korea, Philippines, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Republic of Vietnam, Rwanda, Sao Tome & Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syria, Taiwan, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, Yemen Arab Republic, Yemen People's Republic. Yemen (United), Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe."

six million people.[2] The statistical data varies because studies focus on different variables but these numbers reveal not just the sheer amount of civil wars taking place but also point to the magnitude and seriousness of the problem. In the West, the discourse about these civil wars through reportage, documentaries, films and non-fiction accounts remains scanty and lacking in a penetrating and nuanced understanding of the context and origins of the phenomenon. Mahmood Mamdani notes two main trends regarding attitudes toward African civil wars and his observation can be applied to most postcolonial conflicts. The first reaction is a result of ignoring and undermining the existence of these wars. He writes,

> "War may be serious business, but you would never know it from the casual manner in which African wars tend to be reported in the Western media. Africa is usually the entry point for a novice reporter on the international desk, a learning laboratory where he or she is expected to gain experience. Reporting from Africa is a low-risk job: Not only are mistakes expected and tolerated, but often they are not even noticed…As a rule African tragedies happen in isolation and silence, under the cover of the night." (Mamdani, 2009: 19)

Mamdani claims that specificities of these wars are downplayed and it is often cast as a "contest between brutes" or an explosion of ancient "tribal" rivalries without any connections drawn to the experience and history of European colonialism and its resounding and long-lasting effects. The second trend is potentially much worse. In his latest work on the politics of the Save Darfur movement, Mamdani explains that the frenzied progress of the movement involving celebrities, enormous funding, massive

[2] Smith, Dan. Trends and Causes of Armed Conflict. 2001. Smith claims, "From the start of 1990 to the end of 1999 there were 118 armed conflicts world wide, involving 80 states and two para-state regions and resulting in the death of approximately six million people." (Smith, 2001: 2) http://www.berghof-handbook.net/

media coverage and great international attention was firstly, an American political tactic to obfuscate the toll of the parallel war in Iraq and to divert the energy and attention from student movements and activism regarding Iraq onto a hyperbolic and inappropriately coined term, "genocide" in Darfur. Secondly, Mamdani argues that the Save Darfur campaign was yet another offshoot of the Bush administration's desire to promote a militarization of the region and to gain some clout in pending deals made with the Exxon Mobil Corporation, which imports oil through the long buried pipeline stretching from Cameron to Kibri. Mamdani notes that Paul Wolfowitz was "eager to endorse US Policy in Darfur no matter what the cost" in order to accommodate these new agreements in 2006. (Mamdani, 2009: 22) He concludes that the Save Darfur movement, in fact, "becomes the humanitarian face of the War of Terror." (Mamdani, 2009: 6) Literally caught between the Eurocentrism that leads to an erroneous representation of the conflicts and all-devouring neocolonial globalization which uses the wars for a completely different political and economic gain, information about and representation of these postcolonial wars when politicized, remains more detrimental than productive.

Literary representation of this phenomenon is widespread in the actual postcolonial world and almost every region has generated several novels[3] as well as poetry, drama and non-fiction. This literature has emerged in a combination of peculiar conditions; in the form of local publications, in the shadow of exile, under duress in prison or wartime or even in the works of well-known authors living in the West. However, this particular topic is surprisingly absent in postcolonial theory and discourse. Moreover, this absence remains unchallenged due to the fact that contemporary literary culture in academia nurtures not only a repetitive discourse about the European world

[3] List is attached at the end. Not all of the works are explored in the dissertation.

wars but also propagates an entirely different body of postcolonial writing, the kind that has nothing to do with the socio-political reality and the actuality of civil violence. Before setting out to explore the actual literature about these wars, it is imperative to understand the peculiar space of postcolonial studies in academic culture and publishing, the ways in which it draws from the colonial relations of the past and the process that keeps it a largely flat and uncontroversial study of colonialism and its aftermaths.

In a recent introduction to an anthology of postcolonial studies, Neil Lazarus explored the term 'postcolonial' by questioning its meaning and origin. He states that "Before the late 1970s, there was no field of academic specialization that went by the name 'postcolonial studies." Today, by contrast, postcolonial studies occupies a position of legitimacy and even relative prestige, not only within the Euro-American academy but also in universities in many countries of the formerly colonized world." (Lazarus, 2004: 1) There are many advertisements for academic positions in the field, an outpouring of journals and anthologies, conferences and colloquia as well university centers entirely devoted to postcolonial studies. Lazarus attributes the origins of the term to political scientists, Hamza Alavi and John S. Saul, who were "using the term in a strict historically and politically delimited sense, to identify the period immediately following decolonization, when the various leaderships, parties, and governments which had gained access to the colonial state apparatuses at independence undertook to transform these apparatuses…Post-colonial (or "postcolonial" – the American variant), in these usages from the early 1970s, was a periodizing term, a historical and not an ideological concept." (Lazarus, 2004: 2) The historical and chronological basis for this term could

not be sustained and was transformed into something completely different due to the specific dynamics of the post-Cold War American culture within which it was received.

As covert actions and proxy wars funded and manipulated by the USA and the USSR destabilized decolonization movements in most countries, the realm of culture, especially in the world of arts and letters was profoundly altered. Regarding the specific role of the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency), Frances Stonor Saunders writes in *The Cultural Cold War* that, "Drawing on an extensive, highly influential network of intelligence personnel, political strategists, the corporate establishment, and the old school ties of the Ivy League universities, the incipient CIA started, from 1947, to build a 'consortium' whose double task it was to inoculate the world against the contagion of Communism, and to ease the passage of American foreign policy abroad." (Saunders, 1999: 1-2) Melani McAlister's work on American interests in the Middle East claims that foreign policy is a semiotic, meaning-making activity that frames and sustains ideas of nationalism and nationhood. She writes, "Foreign policy statements and government actions become part of a larger discourse through their relation to other kinds of representations, including news and television accounts of current events, but also novels, museum exhibits and advertising." ((McAlister, 2001: 5) Culture becomes, "an active part of constructing the narratives that help policy make sense in a given moment." (McAlister, 2001: 6) As these myriad projects unfolded in universities and institutions, the dissemination of any knowledge no matter what field it belonged to suffered massive setbacks. The subject of decolonization was erased from the American university space as neocolonial and meddlesome foreign policy ventures clamped down on any form of knowledge that was perceived as politically dangerous for the interests of the USA. For example, the field of African

Studies was a highly manipulated space. In his article titled Students, Scholars and Spies: The CIA on Campus, Robert Witanek reveals that the CIA had a strong interest in "inspiring African affairs programs," and that in fact, "In 1956, when former CIA official Max Millikan was director of MIT's Center for International Studies, he appointed Arnold Rivkin from the State Department to head MIT's (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) Africa Research Program. Together, the two supervised studies for CIA use." (Witanek, 1989) According to their study, they estimated the consistent need for about seventy people that specialized in areas of African economics, geography or political science and used the University as a training ground and as a source of steady supply of so-called "specialists." None of the other decolonizing regions at the time were exempt from Cold War interests and connivance.

The effects of these large-scale projects grounded in Universities and publishing institutions continue to impact the most academic fields to this day. The fact that the term, "postcolonial" went from being a particular periodizing term that defined the politics of the era following decolonization to an innocuous, sanitized field within which almost any discussion on marginality, nationalism or immigration can be contained can be viewed as the direct effect of Cold War manipulation of academic culture as well as publishing culture. Whether postcolonial theory is applied anachronistically for an understanding of Chaucer in the Middle Ages[4] or has began to incorporate historically and spatially diverse regions from Australia to Asia and USA to Latin Americas, it has clearly lost its position as a distinct category and critical tool to understand and analyze the long duration of European colonialism and its active repercussions today. In his article, The Politics of Literary Postcoloniality, Aijaz Ahmed refers to a notable issue of

[4] See Jeffrey Jerome Cohen's *Postcolonial Middle Ages*, Palgrave-Macmillian, 2001.

the journal, *Social Text* in 1992, which attempts to define the "postcolonial." Herein, colonialism as a term is pushed back in time to include the Incas, the Ottomans and the Chinese empires before the European empire existed and it is also pushed forward to include any kind of national oppression such as the Indonesian brutalization of East Timor. Ahmed explains, "Colonialism' thus becomes a trans-historical thing, always present and always in process of dissolution in part of the world or another, so that everyone gets the privilege, sooner or later, one time or another, of being colonizer, colonized and postcolonial…" By thus over-stretching and over-applying the term loses its specific critical, political and analytical agency. By evacuating the exact meaning of the word, "we can no longer speak of determinate histories of determinate structures such as that of the postcolonial state," and the state's relationship with imperial power and its effect upon governance or culture. (Ahmed, 1995: 9)

Ella Shohat's essay entitled, Notes on the 'Post-Colonial' is also a stern indictment of the ambiguities associated with the term and she tries to "unfold its slippery political significations." Pondering the ominous lack of the word "postcolonial" during the academic debates about the 1993 Gulf War, she writes, "When lines drawn in the sand still haunt Third World geographies, it is urgent to ask how we can chart the meaning of the postcolonial." (Afzal-Khan et al, 126) Drawing from her own experience as an academic, she recounts the following:

> "My recent experience as a member of the multicultural international studies committee at one of the CUNY branches illustrates some of these ambiguities. In response to our proposal, the generally conservative members of the college curriculum committee strongly resisted any language invoking issues such as "imperialism and Third Worldist critique," "neocolonialism and resisting cultural practices," and "the geopolitics of cultural exchange." They were visibly relieved

> however at the sight of the word *postcolonial*. Only the diplomatic gesture of relinquishing the terrorizing terms *imperialism* and *neocolonialism* in favor of the pastoral *postcolonial* guaranteed approval." (Shohat's italics, Afzal-Khan et al, 127)

Shohat's anecdote reveals how the term 'postcolonial' now connotes a depoliticized realm of culture and theory. Neocolonialism, while always dismissed as a relevant theoretical category is the actual reason that the discourse of a sterile "postcolonial" gains ground. Originally used by first Ghanian President, Kwame Nkrumah, in his book about Pan-Africanism, neocolonialism can be defined as a method to retain economic, religious and cultural control over the ex-colonies even after Independence. It is manifested through the decisive role played by Europe as well as superpowers such as United States "through international monetary bodies, through the fixing of prices on world markets, multinational corporations and cartels and a variety of educational and cultural institutions." (Ashcroft et al, 2000: 162-163) The "pastoral postcolonial" suggests an alternate territory; that colonialism is a matter of the past and the post signifies no more than the lingering of colonial language and usually includes metropolitan narratives of diasporic writers from the Third World.

While Shohat is indignant about this issue during the first Gulf War, Lazarus returns with a similar indictment after the 2003 invasion of Iraq. In a recent issue of *New Formations* aptly titled "After Iraq: Reframing Postcolonial Studies," he writes that one would imagine that "…the concept of 'imperialism' in its full historical and political senses was indispensable to the practitioners in postcolonial studies. The fact that it has not been might lead one to conclude that 'postcolonial studies' has 'lost the plot' as it

were."[5] (Lazarus, 2006: 16) Shohat believes that a crisis in the actual Third World can be attributed to the fall of communist and socialist ideologies, the vanished hope of tricontinental revolutions and the generally "dispersed and contradictory" power relations in the Third World. At this difficult juncture, the word 'postcolonial' gains popularity and begins to stand in for the more yet another politicized but failed term, "Third World," thereby connoting a higher theoretical prestige and less activist inclinations. For her the term has always carried baggage – that of being a less political cousin of other forms of anti-imperialist criticism and that of being decidedly more elite and institutionally sanctioned. Though Lazarus' essay suggests that postcolonial originates in political science, it gains weight in other fields of the humanities when critics like Edward Said with the astounding impact of *Orientalism* in the late seventies, and then Gayatri Spivak with the Subaltern studies project in the late eighties, respectively, herald the dawn for the postcolonial as an academic field and specialization.

A study of the American academy in the aftermath of the Vietnam War is a charged site to find the answers for the larger question of why postcolonialism has now turned into a fluffy academic catchword. Jim Neilson's *Warring Fictions* traces the trends within literary culture, mass media and the academy by analyzing the reception of Vietnam War literature, a phenomenon very much related to Cold War politics as well. In so doing, Neilson reveals, "not merely the vicissitudes of literary taste but the ideology of literary culture." (Neilson, 1998: 2). While he does not address postcolonial studies, he creates a framework to expose the workings of a literary culture that shapes perceptions about colonialism, globalization and foreign wars, as well the receptions of and perceptions about those non-western wars. He writes, "The Vietnam War novels and

[5] New Formations footnote

autobiographies that have been acclaimed by such liberal professionals were written in the age of revisionist literary studies, canon revision, and poststructuralism. Indeed, the war and poststructuralism grew simultaneously […] Consequently as a serious literary genre Vietnam War fiction has been defined by its endorsement of a postmodern sensibility and its adoption of the first-person psychedelia of New Journalism." (Neilson, 1998: 53) Aijaz Ahmad also adds that, "…the dominant strands within this 'theory', as it unfolded after the movements of the 1960s were essentially over." They have in fact, "been mobilized to domesticate, in institutional ways, the very forms of political dissent which those movements sought to foreground, to displace an activist culture with a textual culture, to combat the more uncompromising critiques of existing cultures of the literary profession with a new mystique of leftish professional, and to reformulate in a postmodernist direction questions which had previously been associated with a broadly Marxist politics…" (Ahmad, 1992: 1)

Possibly, the very reason that leads to the exclusion of a Vietnam War literature canon is also the reason that a certain kind of postcolonial literature and theory thrives. Neilson asks, "…how, against the best efforts of so many, did a war once perceived as a nearly genocidal slaughter to perpetuate American neocolonialism come to be viewed as an American tragedy?" (Neilson, 1998: 6) I could ask a similar question about postcolonial studies. How did the study of an inhumane history of colonialism with its multiple genocides, massacres, tortures and extreme exploitation come to be seen as not much more than an identity crisis to be discussed using terms such as 'hybridity' and 'cosmopolitanism?' Neilson's attempts to understand the way in which academic and commercial culture completely transforms and reverses an historical event can be applied

to my dilemma regarding postcolonial studies. One of the ways in which this reversal comes about is through the field's pre-occupation with itself. Lazarus observes that in addition to the books and articles that make up the field itself, "…there has recently emerged a burgeoning production of scholarly texts that take the *critical field itself* as their object." (Lazarus' italics, 2004: 1) Though he does not choose to focus on the above observation in particular, it does give us some pause. What can we make of a field that gives itself an excessive self-importance and has narcissistically made a fetish of its own existence? Many recent volumes and anthologies attest to this tendency. Aijaz Ahmad writes, "This aggrandized sense of the term, as connoting generic definitions of periods, authors and writings gathered force through a system of mutual citations and cross-referencing among a handful of influential writers and their associates." (Ahmad, 1995: 7) It also explains how over-theoretical inclination and abstruse language ends up gaining an institutional validation as opposed to the literature from the Vietnam war which belongs to a specific moment in time and contains factual elements that are hard to bypass. Thus, it is no surprise when Vietnam ends up on the margins of American literature departments, ignored by the Modern Languages Association and publishers, whereas postcolonial studies has really begun to thrive.

In an early phase of postcolonial studies, Ashcroft and Tiffin defined postcolonial literature in a categorical way stating, "What each of these literatures has in common beyond their special and distinctive regional characteristics is that they emerged in their present form out of the experience of colonization and asserted themselves as foregrounding the tension with the imperial power, and by emphasizing their differences from the assumptions of the imperial centre. It is which makes them distinctively post-

colonial." (Ashcroft et al, 1995: 2) The simplicity of the definition and the particularity of its mission belies the actual literatures privileged by postcolonial studies. Benita Parry's article about what she calls "directions" and "dead-ends" in postcolonial studies gets to the heart of this problem of literature. While there is a major emphasis on theorizing the field itself, it is not far-fetched to claim that postcolonial theory also favors a certain kind of literature, and there is a strong preoccupation with formal elements. The long quotation from Parry expresses the malaise in postcolonial studies and its neglect of literature that is devoid of extravagant innovation or a postmodern sensibility. Parry writes:

> "Whereas the postcolonial novel covers heterogeneous narrative styles from the former British, French, Portuguese, and Dutch empires in Africa, Asia and the Americas, critics display an excessive interest in the fiction of migrants, and within this subgenre, in extravagant innovation. Hence partisan and resistance literature, as if considered devoid of aesthetic qualities, remains a minority interest (Harlow 1987, San Juan 1988), 'realist' diasporic writing is marginalized, while popular fictions from the post-independence nation-states written in local languages and deemed uncongenial to metropolitan taste are untranslated and largely undiscussed within the academies. There is, for example, a whole corpus of testimonial literature from Central and South America, the Philippines, Asia, and Africa which is known by specialists who recognize its multivalencies, but is not easily available to English readers who are familiar with Marquez, Fuentes, Soyinka, Rushdie and Coetzee. (The exception is the transcribed testament *I, Rigoberta Menchu: An Indian Woman in Guatemala* which was a best seller in the West). These variations suggest that, instead of attempting to compile a canon of Postcolonial Literature, we need to think about postcolonial literatures as a web of different strands, not all of which are woven out of "postmodern" materials." (Goldberg and Quayson, 2002: 72)

It is not "extravagant innovation" per se that poses any kind of problem but the fact that promoting such fiction over others exposes the link between postcoloniality and the postmodern. Ahmed posits that in this wide, stretched term, the "post" applies not just to colonialism but an indeterminate larger thing, which presumes not just the end of colonialism but also of Marxism, nationalism and the idea of "collective historical subjects." At this particular juncture, postcolonial discourse thus aligns with a theoretical postmodernity. The death of the grand narrative in postmodernism thus precludes the burgeoning of the subject position. With postcoloniality's alignment with postmodernism, the stories of these collective historical subjects continue to remain submerged. Thus, there comes about a massive disconnect between the reality of postcoloniality in former colonies and kind of postcoloniality propagated by critics such as Homi Bhabha. Ahmed claims that, "*This* gap postcolonial theory seeks to fill by a remarkably circular logic: we live in the postcolonial *period*, hence in the postcolonial *world*, but neither all intellectuals nor all discourses of this *period* and this *world* are *postcolonial* because, in order to be a properly *postcolonial discourse,* this discourse must be *postmodern,* mainly of the deconstructive kind, so that only those intellectuals can be truly *postcolonial* who are also *postmodern*." (Ahmed, 1995: 10)

In Benita Parry's article, she claims that it is not just migrant literature that is favored but that there has been an excess of critical interest in finding the "signs of the imperial project" in canonical English literature. She cites Spivak's reading of *Jane Eyre* and Hennessy and Mohan's focus on the Indian serpent in Conan Dyle's fiction as examples of postcolonial criticism which have significantly "enlarged the established interpretative frame." Yet, Parry disavows to some degree, the critics' tendency to bring

"colonial figures and colonialist rhetorics to their dramatization of domestic oppressions." (Goldberg and Quayson, 2002: 69) By conducting a reading of colonialism by emphasizing fiction's ambiguities, metaphors and metonymic transpositions, the sites and timelines of imperial activity change dramatically. This brings about an obfuscation of historical knowledge about colonialism, introducing what Parry calls, "category errors."

Postcolonial theory's tendency to legitimize terms such as "hybridity" as a lens for the aftermaths of colonialism could also be viewed as a type of category error. The concept becomes a valid critical tool in understanding the effects of slavery on populations in the Americas and the Caribbean and the creolization of cultures without subscribing to essentialist theories. It becomes specifically linked with postcolonial theory with the publication Homi Bhabha's book entitled *The Location of Culture* and herein, it aligns itself with the onset of large-scale migration and it's effects on a collective multicultural awareness and identity. This category presumes a particularly metropolitan inclination and especially focuses on the migrant intellectual in an urban space. As fluidity and travel between spaces and ideas shrinks, hybridity comes to become a kind of privileged condition and unfortunately evokes, "the postcolonial who has access to such monumental and global pleasures is remarkably free of gender, class, identifiable political location." (Ahmed, 1995: 13) Once again, the gap between postcolonial reality and theory widens as previously colonized places in Asia and Africa experience increasing breakdown in roads, communication and education systems, terrifying levels of poverty, acute hunger as wells as wars and genocides which threaten the very possibility of human existence. Ahmed also takes issue with Bhabha's claim to

"displacement" as a general human condition and as philosophical position. He reminds us that only the privileged can be voluntarily mobile and feel free to shape their identities whereas, "Most migrants tend to be poor and experience displacement not as cultural plenitude but as torment; what they seek is not displacement but, precisely, a *place* from where they may begin anew, with some sense of the stable future. Postcoloniality is also, like most things, a matter of class." (Ahmed, 1995: 16)

Most intellectuals associated with postcolonial theory do often embody some common traits in terms of class, education, a trajectory involving a move from the Third World to the First world, and they have an almost disproportionate power in shaping the institutional reading practices in the academy as well as its dissemination into the commercial culture. An exploration of Said's final work and legacy is an ideal example for understanding the problem inherent in the way reading practices have been shaped and how they affect the study of marginalized literatures across the board. The reason I am choosing to filter this through Said's legacy is due to the fact that Said's reputation is untarnished when it comes to a discussion of the political nature of literature, of minority rights and issues as well as questions of American policies at home and abroad and he is a figure who has profoundly impacted studies of postcoloniality and neo-imperialisms. Yet, this radical and outspoken thinker displayed some troubling limitations when it came to dealing with reading practices within institutions, canon-formation and the debate on what constitutes a world literature.

Said's posthumously published *Humanism and Democratic Criticism* reveals a peculiar, problematic tension between the noble and ambitious mode of practice that Said is advocating and the rather slim and restricted framework within which that grand

scheme operates. In this collection of essays, Said seeks to evoke the principles and practice of humanism within a particular American context. More than aware of the long history of the term – the perturbing disconnect between the practice and its practitioners, its reductive potential due to the attached "experience of Eurocentrism and Empire" and the elitism that might mar its scope as an essentially liberal, democratic concept – Said still asks, "How then can we view humanism as an activity in light of its past and of its probable future?" (Said, 2003: 7) For him, the answer lies in the Vichian principle that "there is always something radically incomplete, insufficient, provisional, disputable and arguable about humanistic knowledge," which then "gives the whole idea of humanism a tragic flaw that is constitutive to it and cannot be removed." (Said, 2003: 12) Said wishes to acknowledge this subjective element in humanism and somehow weave it into the fabric of the rapidly changing nature of knowledge, thus making humanism a self-reflective, self-critical notion not liable to become a didactic, reductive or elitist doctrine. Overall however, Said's discussion of the term itself is not comprehensive, but in fact, more of a preamble for what is much more urgent to him – humanistic "practice" and the ways in which it could be incorporated into learning as a whole. Words such as "useable," "workable" and "serviceable" appear frequently with relation to humanism as a practice of reading. And it is herein that some crucial limitations can be detected within this call for humanism.

Said unabashedly claims Columbia University as a site from which to view American humanism from its beginnings until the present. He emphasizes the "central quality" of an introductory Western humanities course, which prescribes the canonical works ranging from Homer to Dostoyevsky as a requirement for all students. To lend a

humanistic scope to such a course would entail, according to Said, a rethinking of the texts being read with regards to their historical, political and literary contexts keeping at hand a critical suspicion of what makes these books "great" and thus abandoning "easy equations" between tradition, humanities and the great works. He states that the canonical humanities "will always remain open to changing combinations of sense and signification; every reading and canonical work reanimates it in the present, furnishes an occasion for rereading, allows the modern and the new to be situated together in a broad historical field whose usefulness is that it shows us history as an agonistic process still being made, rather than finished and settled once and for all." (Said, 2003: 25) Thus, to reshape and reconfigure the humanities would mean to expand and broaden the scope of the canonical work itself, as Said himself has proven repeatedly by books such as *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism* which question the colonial, racist, imperialist and orientalist threads that run through many such major canonical works. Though such a reading practice is inarguably important, the problem lies in Said's unquestioning stance on the canon itself. As much as he calls for a revised reading of the canonical works, it seems odd that he takes no issue with reading the same old books. Regarding the demographic and culture fiber of the United States, Said writes, "Everyone belongs to some identifiable non-American (that is, either immigrant or pre-U.S.) native tradition, and at the same time – and this is the peculiar richness of America – everyone is an outsider to some other identity or tradition adjacent to one's own." (Said, 2003: 48) When such an eclectic and diverse atmosphere is clearly acknowledged, the haunting question is one of whether the humanities core course should revise its canonical syllabus, or if non-Western, non-canonical works be relegated to the realm of Area studies. Is it possible to

ask that Homer's *Iliad* be taught along with the Vyasa's *Mahabharata,* or Boccaccio's *Decameron* along with *A Thousand and One Arabian Nights,* or Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* be studied with Sei Shonagon's *Pillow Book*?

As World Literature surveys, Postcolonial Studies, Anglophone, Francophone, Lusophone and other such courses spring up in institutions across the United States, they bring with them, once again, the question of how these might be taught, the quarrels over inclusion and exclusion, the politics of translation and the sheer difficulty of incorporating multiple historical and political contexts and their subsequent and varied interweavings. Said states, "In my understanding of its relevance today, humanism is not a way of consolidating and affirming what "we" have always known and felt, but rather a means of questioning, upsetting and reformulating so much of what is presented to us as a commodified, packaged, uncontroversial, and uncritically codified certainties, including those contained in the masterpieces herded under the rubric of 'the classics'." (Said; 2003: 28) For a timely and insightful observation such as the above, it seems shortsighted to have overlooked the discourse about why the canon exists in the first place and also the issue of resisting its reformulation. What is contained within the classic is packaged in reductive ways but should not the larger package of the classic canon come under deeper scrutiny? It would be highly unlikely that Said would have disapproved of a dismantling of the canon or rather, at broadening it at a foundational level but in a large project, which aims to revise the practice of reading itself, the even larger question of what should be read unfortunately (and surprisingly) remains unquestioned and unresolved. Said's rather traditional vision on the canon becomes an indicator of the deep-rooted nature of the problem and exposes the spell cast by the western Eurocentric tradition in the

academy on even its most progressive members.

While the monolithic western canon and the long shadow it casts makes it harder to break the hierarchical and paradigmatic imperious structures, a more complicated and alternate realm of Third World publishing also exists. There has been significant effort to introduce works from postcolonial places into the Western canon at different times whether as a product of the multiculturalism debates in the USA and UK or due to the phenomenal success of particular Third World books. Specific publishing houses have played a major, often activistic role in the deliberate process of canon-formation and in changing reading practices through the creation of postcolonial cultural spheres. In his study of the African Writers Series initiated by Heinemann Editorial Books, Clive Barnett emphasizes the relationship between colonial projects of culture and the continuation of their patronage in the post-independence era in the African contexts. Any cultural and literary projects in post-independence African societies aimed at introducing writing by Africans to a newly evolved, mostly elite public sphere. The new tradition of Anglophone African literature and the reading culture and reading public it gave rise to was the product of the marriage of Western public capital and state-funded educational reform in Africa. He claims that "this effort at inscribing an African presence also necessarily involved a re-inscription of difference." (Barnett, 2005: 79) This means that publishing industries nurtured writers who primarily wrote in English or French, often creating a disadvantage for expression in native languages. In addition, the very European genre of the novel gained an inorganic status with the Anglophone (and Francophone) publishing culture.

In the Western book market, it is not far-fetched to say that the space for Third

World and postcolonial writing has been dominated by South Asian literature and an undue amount of attention is devoted to Indian authors whether in the form of commercial publishing deals, Booker and Pulitzer prizes or academic approval. The Indian novelist writing in English has entered literary culture through the UK market where the Booker prize originates and where its most honored awardees such as Salman Rushdie, V.S Naipul or Anita Desai find fame and fortune. While there is nothing wrong with the pioneers of this Indo-English form and indeed, those novels have been groundbreaking in terms of thematic content as well as stylistic innovation, their success has led to the branding of the Indian writer in English as a best-selling commodity. Packaged in "exotic" reds and gold with titles that include a range of special fruits or flowers or abundant references to monsoons, the publishers are also keen on authors who would look attractive on the backs of the book cover. The stupefying success of Pulitzer-winner Jhumpa Lahiri is a great illustration of this phenomenon in the USA. Her gorgeous portrait photo at the back of the book and the ornate colorful Indian pattern on the cover masks Lahiri's mediocre writing and the surprising lack of complexity with which she treats the Indian experience in India and abroad. Her work is resplendent with the clichés of garrulous samosa-frying, curry-stirring aunts, youth ashamed of their accent-laden Indian parents and lovers unable to get past cultural differences. While its commercial success is not surprising, it has also become a favorite in academic circles appearing in course syllabi and on papers presented at major conferences. It is not Lahiri's success that's really the problem in itself but the way in which it eclipses the space for other non-western works. The space of American or British publishing is finite to begin with and the room given to these authors has always been particularly small. But

even within that, the focus on Indian writing leads to a marginalization of other countries and histories. While Nigerian authors like Chinua Achebe and recently Chimomanda Ngoza Adichie have been placed alongside their Indian postcolonial counterparts, the total number is still shockingly small. The above illustrates that the field of postcolonial studies and literature is indeed lopsided and excludes the African continent whether in terms of literature, film or theory.

This leads to another deep-seated problem in postcolonial studies, that of a privileging of one place's literary representation over the other. The focus on Asian countries like India and China in the fields of political science and economics spill over onto literature and arts. More than ever, the western world is embracing the popular wisdom that these Asian countries are technologically superior, rapidly globalizing giants, creating an adverse, opposite discourse for the African continent, which is viewed as lagging behind in development and considered a place of tribal rivalries, rural settings and an inherent violence. In a discussion of metropolitan postcolonial cities, Bombay, Bangkok, Hong Kong or Shanghai dominate, while Dakar, Nairobi, Accra or even Marrakech are never given the same kind of attention. The point here is that this Asian-ism over African-ism has come to dictate postcolonial literature and theory, thus further disadvantaging an already marginalized discussion.

With all of the above issues as a discursive backdrop, my dissertation develops three main arguments:

1) It claims an emergence of a literature of violent, internecine conflicts within the postcolonial nations formed during the latter half of the twentieth century. It is my intention to view these newly emerging literatures as a corpus of writings coming out of

the varied spaces of Africa, Asia and the Middle East in the aftermaths of English, French, Italian, Belgian and Portuguese colonialisms and to posit that they have dynamically interlinked literary and artistic concerns. For example, in her 1995 memoir, *Algerian White*, Assia Djebar recreates the murders of several writers and intellectuals sacrificed to the long and bloody Algerian civil violence that ironically turned inward following the country's independence from France in 1962. She makes a melancholy observation: "Blood brings blood in its wake. We're rediscovering that logic, but what do you say when those who set themselves up as guardians of the law apply the law of retaliation?" (Djebar 2001: 33) Or further east, in the South Asian subcontinent, the Sri Lankan civil war finds voice in poetry. In describing the Black July of 1983[6], Devika Brendon evokes the image of an abandoned battleground as she writes,

> "Where there were memories
> now ruins--a charred body,
> and scavengers come to kill
> each other for the pieces of
> a dying nation. (Goonetilleke, 1993)

The first phase of postcolonial literature is essentially preoccupied with the act of rewriting and representing the violence inflicted by the colonizer upon the colonized. Canonical texts such as Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (Nigeria), Ferdinand Oyono's *Une Vie de Boy* (Cameroon), Ngugi wa thiongo's *Weep Not, Child* (Kenya), Mulk Raj Anand's *The Untouchable* (India), Mohammed Dib's *La Grande Maison* (Algeria) and several others are primary examples of the above. But what happens when the colonizer has left the colony and the binary of the colonizer and colonized has come

[6] Black July is a colloquially used term to describe the pogroms that were started in Sri Lanka where an estimated 1000 Tamils will killed and their communities destroyed. Information is taken from www.lankalibrary.com/pol/1983.htm

apart? The physical absence of the colonizer does not prevent the violence from becoming embedded in the postcolonial imaginary and, in fact, turns inward. It becomes colonialism's most potent legacy, and Frantz Fanon's dire observation on decolonization holds truer than ever to describe the current state of the postcolony: "Between colonial violence and the insidious violence in which the modern world is steeped, there is a kind of complicit correlation, a homogeneity. The colonized have adapted to the atmosphere." (Fanon, 2004: 36) Etel Adnan's 1978 novel, *Sitt Marie Rose* captures this very atmosphere during the Lebanese civil war. In her layered rendition of the abduction and execution of a young schoolteacher, Adnan describes the city: "The power of terror is totalitarian. Bullets crack and resonate in the amphitheatre that is Beirut." Nature itself participates in this carnage as the sound of guns is echoes off the great stretched surface of the sea. Thunder mixes with the rhythmic sounds of war which purge Beirut." (Adnan, 1982: 12-13) The omnipresence of violence in all aspects of colonialism casts a very long shadow on all realms of postcolonial discourse.

I argue that such a literature has become more commonplace in the aftermaths of twentieth century colonialisms. By analyzing this literature, I will expose a common thread between the different postcolonial expressions of violence with regards to themes, aesthetics and issues of representation of the self, politics, violence and the "other." Such a literature serves multiple functions – as a method of resistance, as an expression of traumatic injuries or as a palimpsest of postcolonial history. By viewing these texts as a 'corpus' and creating a comparative framework, my goal is to allow these literatures to allow for a better comprehension about and representation of internecine violence in the postcolony.

2) It sets out to explore and critique the intellectual climate during the time of anti-colonial resistance and decolonization. In the current context of unceasing postcolonial wars, it becomes imperative to engage in a comparative re-reading of the works of seminal thinkers like Frantz Fanon, Mahatma Gandhi and Amilcar Cabral. All of these leaders were also prolific writers who had the advantage of witnessing a moment that was a mixture of colonial rule, anti-colonial resistance, early decolonization, nationalist consciousness and postcoloniality. This particular climate, which generates an enormous amount of writing about colonialism and the postcolonialism, becomes the parameter within which the newly, emerging literatures can be situated and contextualized. This part of the thesis forms the theoretical vessel and context within which a study of the above emerging literatures can be placed.

3) Lastly, this dissertation also becomes an intervention into the current state of postcolonial studies. As I research the newly emerging literatures of postcolonial civil war and violence, it becomes apparent that contemporary postcolonial theory lacks the impetus and theoretical frame to address the socio-political reality of the postcolony. What was coined as a periodizing term by political scientists to understand a specific historical moment has now become an academic specialization and gone on to lose its political and historical position. (Lazarus, 2004: 1) By re-using the term "postcolonial" as a historical category and as a theoretical frame, I hope to revive its original, more subversive significance and connote that violence, which is persistent during colonialism, does not cease after decolonization and becomes a very dominant factor in the ensuing conflicts. The literatures emerging from these civil wars in the aftermath of colonialism are in the process of exploring these very identities - their formations and their failures –

and the disconnect between postcolonial theory and the postcolonial experience expressed in this literature is wider than ever. Part of the goal of this dissertation is to devise a historical and theoretical approach within the frame of a postcolonial discourse to attend to the urgent and tangible issues being ignored by the field. I am also attempting to align the South Asian literature with the African to illustrate the parallel postcolonial experience in the aftermath of European colonialism and violent decolonization.

This is an interdisciplinary project that combines the fields of literature, anthropology and political science. For its theoretical framework, I will include literature from the realm of political theory for historically and politically contextualizing postcolonial civil conflicts. These include political scientists such as Errol Henderson, J. David Singer, Samir Amin and political historians of colonialism such as Frederick Cooper. The anthropological model is also key for this project since interdisciplinary thinkers such as Mahmood Mamdani, Valentine Daniel and Partha Chatterjee theorize current postcolonial contexts through studies of specific regions that become emblematic of a larger picture. The main postcolonial theoretical frame will draw from the works of Robert C. Young, Homi Bhabha, Neil Lazarus and Barbara Harlow. In terms of its geographical expanse, the literatures being compared and analyzed are, for the most part, from previously French, English, Belgian, Italian and Portuguese colonies, and the connections, chronologies and contexts common to these postcolonies will become clearer as the chapters unfold. Though much research has been done on the intersections of literature and violence, my contribution will formulate a cohesive framework for the phenomenon of postcolonial violence. The chapters will not be organized by region clusters, but will be a fluid comparative dialogue between works from different contexts

and these various modes of expression. This work privileges the viewing of these texts as a "corpus" and creates a comparative framework for that corpus.

Anthropologist Carolyn Nordstrom originally coined the term "war-scapes" with a hyphenation, and she derives it from Arjun Appudurai's neologism, "ethnoscape," which calls for a new, transnational anthropology. However, Nordstorm uses war-scapes to connote the highly charged nexus of local and international actors such as "foreign strategists, arms, supplies, soldiers, mercenaries, power brokers, and development and interest groups" that bring a specific history, which in turn informs the actions of and interacts with the histories of those with whom they interact. (Nordstorm, 1997: 37) For my dissertation, the term merely connotes a vista of war. The vantage point of the term is visual, alluding to a landscape of war with a malaise that traverses several continents and leaves us with an image of devoured and devastated postcolonial Third World.

1

Envisioning Disaster: Revolutionary Theories in an Era of Decolonization

---

> "A blade of fire stands poised over this century; it is stained with the blood of men; that of the fighters and the victims. In the end, it will form a bloody line of retribution across a useless page."
>
> - Mouloud Feraoun, *Journal 1955-1962; Reflections on the French-Algerian War*

> "I ask: Is there a new prophet for this new time?"
>
> - Mahmoud Darwish, "I See My Ghost Coming from a Distance."

> "…I know that people are tired of hearing of these hot, muddy faraway places filled with people yelling for freedom. But this is the human race speaking…"
>
> - Richard Wright on wanting to report from Bandung, *The Color Curtain*

I Nationalist Thought and the 'Postcolonial' at Bandung

In his unique work of reportage on the Bandung Conference held in Indonesia in 1955, African-American writer Richard Wright captured the specter of an impending, inevitable violence upon newly independent countries. Unprecedented in terms of scale and agenda, twenty-nine previously colonized nations attended this event to discuss race, religion and more importantly, colonialism along with its new avatar, neo-colonialism. This conference marked the beginning of a discourse of postcolonialism but it also contained and delimited the discourse in ways that eventually proved detrimental to newly formed countries. The 'colonial' embedded in the term 'postcolonial' was unfortunate yet not

entirely surprising since existing dependant relations with the former colonies had acquired a renewed vigor with an imperial USA, an iron-fisted, equally ambitious USSR and Asia's biggest bully, Red China coming into prominence and power. The postcolonial world was indeed in the grip of a profound political conundrum perpetrated by the onset of the Cold War. According to Wright, the climate of fear was tangible – "fear of the vast and restless populations in their native lands; fear of the future; fear of their neighbors…" (Wright, 1956: 170) He asks:

> "Bandung was not concerned with how to take power. ALL THE MEN THERE REPRESENTED GOVERNMENTS THAT HAD ALREADY SEIZED POWER AND THEY DID NOT KNOW WHAT TO DO WITH IT. Bandung was a decisive moment in the consciousness of 65 percent of the human race, and that moment meant: HOW SHALL THE HUMAN RACE BE ORGANIZED? The decisions or the lack of them flowing from Bandung will condition the totality of human life on this earth." (Wright's caps, 1956: 208)

Wright's reportage captured not just the ambience, speeches and the interactions between the leaders but he was also particularly intuitive about the enormity of the postcolonial predicament. He detected quite early on that there were many elements amiss at Bandung and that perhaps a crisis of leadership was looming large. The questions Wright posed have come to haunt those nations half a century later, plagued as they are by the relentless ethno-religious conflicts, brutal dictatorships and civil wars. Wright's version personalizes the experience of Bandung by noting its significance as the beginning of an alliance within the postcolonial world and its importance as a display of newly acquired independence and sovereignty while pointing out its inherent weaknesses. The question of what to do with this recently gained power was key as was the question of utilizing the politically awakened Asian-African masses who had gained what could be termed as an

ideological consciousness having been thrown into very recent and often violent anti-colonial revolts.

Using Bandung as a point of entry into this discussion serves multiple functions. Not only was it a symbol of the collective consciousness of anti-colonial and decolonization movements, it was an actual place of convergence for the leaders of decolonization. It created a space for the Asian, Middle Eastern and African postcolonial experience to come into a very real dialogical and tactical engagement. Secondly, it can be viewed as starting point of a "postcolonial" politics and theory since the primary issue at hand was of life in the aftermath of colonialism further illustrating the inextricable link between the "post" and the "colonial." Robert J C. Young says of Bandung:

> "As a formation of a potential new power bloc, of a new Third World perspective on global priorities, political, economic, and cultural, the Bandung conference of 1955 could be said to represent a foundational moment for postcolonialism. Bandung in many ways marked the beginning of the production of 'the postcolonial' as an ideological and political position, beyond its historical descriptive reference. Indeed 'Bandung' and ' post-colonial' sometimes function as almost synonymous terms – even to the extent of its restriction to Asia and Africa and its exclusion of Latin America." (Young, 2001:191)

Thirdly, Bandung also exemplified a mode - a way of being, thinking and communicating as citizens of a postcolonial universe. Frantz Fanon declared it to be a "carnal and spiritual union" between colonized peoples adding that it is, "…the historic commitment of the oppressed to help one another and to impose a definitive setback upon the forces of exploitation." (Fanon and Chevalier, 1964: 145) Lastly, it is paradigmatic; the issues, problems and methods that were discussed or not discussed here are again emblematic of the successes and failings of postcolonialism as a whole. The later part of this essay

focuses on pioneering leaders and intellectuals such as Frantz Fanon, Amilcar Cabral and Mahatma Gandhi whose writings reveal the same broad dilemmas of which Bandung remains a significant symbol. Even though someone like Gandhi is influential before the conference and Fanon and Cabral gain importance only after, Bandung still offers a lens and a vantage point through which the intellectual, political and cultural climate of decolonization and anti-colonialism can be viewed and analyzed.

Accounts of the Bandung conference reveal some key shortcomings and these remain a crucial factor in postcolonial politics even today and perhaps even facilitate the civil conflicts that have become so commonplace in these places today. The first problem lies the unquestioned and uncontested ideology of nationalism and nation-formation which brought with it ill-suited blueprints for constitutions, justice systems, problematic discourses on civil society and badly fitting models of governance. The second problem was the delicate question of identities such as race, religion, ethnicity, tribe, community or caste that colonial governance had politicized and manipulated - the role of these identity issues in all the newly formed states remained an under-explored discussion at Bandung. For example, Wright's work captures the profoundly religious beliefs and lifestyles of the people he meets in the postcolonial world yet ironically, religion is never acknowledged by the leaders at Bandung. The conference does not grasp that there was an urgent need to understand identity and difference and that it was imperative to devise political systems and policies that allowed for a harmonious existence of the incredibly diverse populations of Asia and Africa.

In *The Color Curtain*, the importance given to the concept of 'nation' is brought into sharp focus due to the peculiar position occupied by Richard Wright himself.

Wright's curiosity and interest in Bandung stemmed from his self-identification as a black man from the American south who understood the struggles of the Asians and Africans against oppression, racism and colonialism. Though he was excited and optimistic about the emergence of African nations, his own identity could not be represented since his position was far too complex to fit the criteria of nationhood that was a prerequisite for Bandung. He was American, thus western and excluded from the Asian-African meeting. But then again, as an 'American Negro' he belonged to a marginalized class of a western society, which had gone through a similar ordeal of oppression. In addition, he had chosen to exile himself in Europe exemplifying a displacement from the even the geographic territory of his national identity. Reading *The Color Curtain* by keeping Wright's position in mind problematizes the basis upon which this conference found its legitimacy and voice. Why was it that such a conference was organized along 'national' lines and what were the problems inherent in such a decision? In *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse,* Partha Chatterjee looks closely at existing literature on nationalism to prove that it is a form of politics that is born of the need to impose cultural homogeneity upon a rapidly industrializing society, to eradicate an uneven development and to reveal that it is not connected to any liberal-rationalist logic. He is particularly concerned with disproving the ways in which any failed nationalism in the East is viewed as lacking the foundation of the liberal-rational mindset; an archaic yet another version of the civilized-uncivilized binary always at play in any East-West discussion. Accurately framing the fundamental trap for the colonized world attempting to gain independence and autonomy, Chatterjee asks, "…why is it that non-European colonial countries have no historical alternative but

to try to approximate the given attributes of modernity when that very process of approximation means their continued subjection under a world order which only sets their tasks for them and over which they have no control?" (Chatterjee, 1993: 10) Aside from the creation of an industrial society with a strong military, a universalized version of modernity has to be embraced by nationalist thought. Therefore, he writes: "From such a perspective, the problem of nationalist thought becomes the particular manifestation of a much more general problem, namely, the problem of the bourgeois-rationalist conception of knowledge, established in the post-Enlightenment period of European intellectual history, as a moral and epistemic foundation for a supposedly universal framework of thought which perpetuates, in a real and not merely a metaphorical sense, a colonial domination." (Chatterjee, 1993: 11) In addition to this irony, the tension between formulating an autonomous cultural identity and adhering to the European criteria of modernity poses an almost impossible challenge for the colonized world.

In *The Colonizer and Colonized*, Albert Memmi writes that the colonized peoples undergo a social, political and linguistic mutilation at the hands of the colonizer. While the native language and history are crushed, what remains is a cultural and psychical duality where two languages, two histories and two memories – one of the colonizer and one of the colonized – are always in conflict with each other. Cultural identity is thus an overwrought and fragmented site for the colonized person. The second criteria, that of modernity, is also difficult to fulfill since a colonized society is often deliberately economically and technologically underdeveloped and industry is only cultivated in pockets for the profit of the empire. Memmi writes, "Non-industrialization and the absence of technical development in the country lead to the slow economic collapse of

the colonized." (Memmi, 1995: 115) How then can a somewhat homogenous national culture and a modern industrialized nation begin to emerge out of such conditions? While the above conditions prove the lack of a fertile material base of economics and language upon which nationalism can be conducted, nationalism as a discourse still holds a very strong sway over the colonized world. Chatterjee claims that nationalist thought in the colonized world is, "…selective about what it takes from Western rational thought." In fact, it takes a form of opposition to the colonial system and thus when it adopts modes of rationalist discourse, "it cannot adopt them in its entirety." (Chatterjee, 1993: 41-42) The point Chatterjee is making here is that as nationalist thought remains essentially polemical and steeped in negation, it brings with it the most important question: "Can nationalist thought produce a discourse of order while daring to negate the very foundations of a system of knowledge that has conquered the world? How far can it succeed in maintaining its difference from a discourse that seeks to dominate it?" (Chatterjee, 1993: 42)

On the surface, the gathering at Bandung along national lines might have been an assertion of autonomy, opposition and a deeply anti-imperialist stance but its inability to create a self-critical, self-reflective discourse regarding these supposed nationalist leanings was perhaps its most fundamental fault. As per Chatterjee's theory, nationalism at Bandung was in the guise of something polemical and anti-European. For example, the Philippine delegation made a plea for regional unity in a revealing statement about the nation-state:

> "Let us face squarely up to the fact that within the nation we can regain our self-respect and grapple with our local problems, but that for the primary goals of economic transformation and well-being and peace, the nation no longer suffices.

> Western European man today is paying the terrible price for preserving too long the narrow and inadequate instrument of the nation-state. We of Asia and Africa are emerging into this world as new nation-states in an epoch when nationalism, as such, can only solve the least of our problems and leaves us powerless to meet the more serious ones. We have to try and avoiding repeating all of Europe's historic errors. We have to have the imagination and courage to put ourselves in the forefront of the attempt to create a 20th century world based on the true interdependence of peoples." (Romulo, 1956: 156)

In this powerful passage, the inherently paradoxical role of nationalism is clarified. On the one hand, there is an acknowledgement of the inevitability of nationalism and on the other hand, there is a critique of nationalism as a highly destructive force as proven by European World Wars. Instead of mulling over this paradox, the delegations hoped to avoid narrow nationalist conflicts by forming an interdependent regional bloc consisting of multiple other nation-states aiding each other and agreeing to a peaceful co-existence. In fact, in the early stages of planning the meeting, the five main Asian powers –Burma, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) – had met in Colombo and hoped to invite only those African and Asian countries that were members of the United Nations. It was only later that the leaders agreed to broaden their lists. (Kahin, 1956: 2) This becomes very telling of the narrow, nationalist interests of many of the delegations and exposes to some degree the lack of any radical, critical and discursive elements present there from its very inception. While a dynamic critique of Europe's errors in nationalist experiments existed, they were never given any real importance nor was the issue given consideration as constituting a grave problem. Oddly enough, the problem being raised by the Philippine delegation was not of nationhood itself but of national isolations and it's many pitfalls. The conference continued with its multiple delegations

referring to nationalism as a powerful, important ideology and model – something that rose naturally from *within* the peoples. Indonesian President Sukarno's opening speech spoke jubilantly of having thrown off the colonial yoke. He declared, "Hurricanes of national awakening and reawakening have swept over the land, shaking it, changing it, changing it for the better." (Kahin, 1956: 42) Attempting to inspire solidarity amongst the people gathered there, he stated, "Great chasms yawn between nations and groups of nations. Our unhappy world is torn and tortured, and the peoples of all countries walk in fear lest, through no fault of theirs, the dogs of war are unchained once again." (Kahin, 1956: 40) While Sukarno mentioned these chasms between nations, the question that remained unaddressed was in fact, that of those chasms within the nations – those of religious, racial, ethnic, tribal or clan differences. The Indonesian President did speak of these diversities but not as something to ponder upon but more as an example of the principles of 'Live and let live' and 'Unity in Diversity,' as something that thrived triumphantly within nations. While the ongoing Cold War brought with it a fear of wars and atomic bombs, the conference was unable to foresee the ferocity of differences inside its own nations that would soon be "unchained" and end up in internecine wars across the postcolonial world.

In his ontological portrait of the oppressed, Albert Memmi explains the colonized's eventual turn towards his own religion after his own culture and language have been crushed. This is not surprising given that assimilation with the colonizer fails him and revolt becomes the only way to reject and oppose the values, objects and ideas of colonialism. Memmi writes, "Now, the young intellectual who had broken with religions, internally at least, and ate during Ramadan begins to fast with ostentation." (Memmi,

1995: 132) The declaration of one's autonomy was manifested through a turn towards religion and by extension; the more traditional aspects of the culture and society were invoked and idealized. During Richard Wright's visit to Indonesia, he had many interactions with members of the delegation and was struck by the all-pervasive, deep religiosity that was part of the cultural fabric in this part of the world. He writes:

> "This smacked of something new, something beyond Left and Right…It was the kind of meeting that no anthropologist, no sociologist would ever have dreamed of staging; it was too simple, too elementary, cutting through the outer layers of disparate social and political and cultural facts down to the bare brute residues of human existence: races and religions and continents. Only brown, black and yellow men who had long been made agonizingly self-conscious, under the rigors of colonial rule, of their race and their religion could have felt the need for such a meeting." (Wright, 1956: 13-14)

Wright was very aware of the fact that these nations represented an identity that surpassed political affiliations and nationalist lines. To him, this was a world that identified itself based on religion, skin color and geographical location. Yet, there was something naïve taking place at Bandung since religious and other diverse identities were not brought up even once as a challenge to the nation-state and there was no discussion about how the Asian and African millions become cohesive units in light of such differences. Among the many fears and concerns these leaders had in common, this one was completely forgotten and glossed over. Even someone like Nehru who had witnessed the brutality of violence between Hindus and Muslims during the India-Pakistan partition seemed to not have the far-sightedness to approach the topic of these challenges to national unity with any seriousness. While the assertion of identity for the colonized

might be a way of revolting against colonial exploitation, it remained "inconsistent with conditions of historical progress." (Wright. 1956: 18)

The linguistic and cultural schizophrenia theorized by Memmi is found amongst the very leaders playing prominent roles at Bandung. For example, Richard Wright interviews Sutan Sjahrir, one of the best-known Indonesian politicians while at Bandung. Though he is a committed anti-colonial revolutionary and has spent years in jail, Wright left the conversation feeling like Sjahrir was a Western socialist, educated in Holland and filled with the fervor for freedom and independence. Wright asks, "But was he the man to tame the Indonesian tiger? Could he unite eighty million half-tribalized human beings, 70 per cent of whom were illiterate, most of whom were sunk either in a theistic Moslem religion that had yet to bear the acid test of modern industrialization or in an animistic grasp of life that riveted the attention more upon the poetic than the practical aspects of existence? […] I could not imagine Sjahrir instilling in these millions a sense of their historic destiny…" (Wright, 1956: 111-112) These were valid questions for newly independent spaces in dire need of a strong leadership that could sustain and appease the many cultural strands within the society.

Carlos Romulo of the Philippine delegation makes a similar observation about Nehru. While claiming that Nehru's stance was one of cultural superiority stemming from a "conscious identification with an ancient civilization, he was still not anti-British, "despite his many years of imprisonment when India was under British rule. In fact, because of his British education, he has a secret admiration for everything British." (Romulo, 1956: 12) It can be said that this legacy of colonialism – the dual, antagonistic

forces – seemed inherent in many of the leaders at Bandung, thus casting doubt on the very legitimacy of this process of national awakening and decolonization.

Though Bandung was a symbol and gesture of a formation of a Third World bloc, the Cold War remained a strong concern for all the delegations and to some degree, overshadowed what could have been a significant discussion on nation formation and it's many challenges. Another perturbing aspect of this conference was an emergence of a tide of Asian-ism over African-ism. By this I mean that due to the self-styled supremacy of India, China, Philippines and others as well as its location in Indonesia, the African nations took a backseat. This particular dynamic becomes crucial to this project, which, attempts to reveal the commonalities of experience between Asian and African postcolonialism, and to some degree, even link them to colonized countries in the Middle East. Certainly, the relationships with colonial powers, repression, oppression, revolutionary struggles and later civil violence illustrates the shared nature of their past histories and parallel futures. At a time when the hydra-headed framework of globalization threatens to usurp every other paradigm, history and nuance, Asian countries seem to be moving ahead while Africa is projected as lagging behind in a discourse shaped by the triple domination of economy-technology-modernity. What gets ignored is the deeper internal politics of the Asian postcoloniality - the spate of civil wars, internecine conflicts, dictatorships, religious hatreds, astounding poverty and human rights abuses – events that are more easily projected upon the African continent. For this reason, I in fact attempt to scope out their parallel universes through a comparative analysis of revolutionary theories and the emerging contemporary literatures.

II Aftermaths of Decolonization

As national flags were unfurled in the newly independent countries across Africa and Asia, the mood could have been characterized as triumphant, optimistic and pregnant with expectation. However, the earliest phase of the literature being produced in these same places did not necessarily mirror this triumphant post-revolutionary spirit. The period of decolonization unfolded over an incredibly challenging set of conditions. Historian Frederick Cooper writes: "…the post-colonial gatekeeper state, lacking the external coercive capacity of its predecessor, was a vulnerable state, not a strong one." (Cooper, 2002: 5) Political turmoil and setbacks characterized this phase and the ideology of nationalism and statehood was imposed upon the new nations that were deeply divided by now along the lines of religion, tribe, clan, ethnicity or race. The crisis of leadership was apparent from the very start. While anti-colonial movements had temporarily united and strengthened the vast colonized populations of the two continents, it appeared that independence had brought the exact opposite: "fragmentation, weakness, and social violence," observed Neil Lazarus in his book about African fiction in the wake of freedom. (Lazarus, 1990: 30) Evoking Fanon's work on the perils of nationalism and national consciousness, Lazarus states, "In colony after colony, often with the connivance of the very colonial regimes they had claimed to be campaigning against, African nationalist parties assumed government at independence, and, as Fanon had predicted, proceeded to consolidate their positions and enrich themselves at the expense of their communities at large." (Lazarus, 1990: 10) On the one hand, Fanon's theory about the elite, urban leaders permeating a new colonialism was coming to life and on the other hand, the more militarized anti-colonial movements were giving birth to totalitarian

regimes having found it impossible to extricate themselves from the political and psychological paradigms of war and military hierarchy. This troubled transition into postcolonial nationhood was experienced by African and Asian postcolonial states alike. While some countries succumbed to a cult of personality syndrome and plunged into oppressive dictatorships, others entered a phase of acute civil violence and subsequent economic and political underdevelopment.

The phase of decolonization was profoundly entwined with the onset of the Cold War. Discussions at Bandung about a postcolonial unity could not ward off the two blocs formed by the imperial superpowers and the most significant outcome of the above were the violent methods used to ensure that the new postcolonial nations belonged to one side or the other. It also ensured an endless spate of violence across the global postcolonial world – artificially manipulated coups d'état, favoring and funding one local group over another, flooding the countries with weapons, devastating socialist as well as capitalist reforms and essentially putting into place a foundational structure for neocolonial ventures. Henderson and Singer describe it accurately: "Moreover, as was so often the case, the superpowers and their major and minor power allies, who were motivated by imperial reminiscences and/or Cold War exigencies, often threw gasoline into the smoldering conflicts in post-colonial states. One result was that as the major powers enjoyed a 'Long Peace,' the post-colonial states were plagued by a 'Long Trauma.' (Henderson and Singer, 2000: 295) The deep-seated problems in the economic and trade structures further intensified the vulnerability of the postcolonial nation-state. Europe retained its economic empire while letting it go territorially. Cooper states: "But what they (European colonial powers) did was to forge specific, focused linkages from inside

Africa to economies outside of Africa, not to develop a diverse and dense regional economy…Colonial regimes based much of their power on their ability to control key nodal points, such as deep water ports, in a relatively narrow system of transportation and communication. ” (Cooper, 2002: 14) Thus this export-oriented infrastructure was hard to dismantle, making it impossible to create a self-sufficient local economy.

The justice system was plagued by the same problem. In Susan Slymovics groundbreaking research on human rights and the regime violence in postcolonial Morocco, she traces the body of fundamental laws that protect basic rights of the defendants to the way in which French law has organized and sustained itself in the Moroccan legal system. For example, “A literal translation of the older French term unites *garde* meaning ‘to detain’ with the component *à vue* to mean ‘closely observed’ or ‘kept in sight’.” The *garde à vue* thus refers to the period spent by the suspect in detention while the police inquiry takes place before he or she is charged with a crime. However, in the reign of Hassan II, “*garde à vue* effectively reversed from a person ‘kept in sight’ to one ‘out of sight’ as monarchy within a newly created post-independence political context maintained colonial mechanisms that were repressive, arbitrary and undemocratic.” Slymovics futher argues that, “An understanding of *garde à vue* based on its procedures is central to torture, disappearance, and political imprisonment in Morocco.” (Slymovics, 2005: 14)

Political scientist and anthropologist Mahmood Mamdani observes that, “Every movement of resistance was shaped by the very structure of power against which it rebelled.” (Mamdani, 1996: 24) The way in which colonialism organized itself politically and culturally determined the kind of anti-colonial struggle that took place and by

extension, this determined the nature of the postcolonial framework that emerged after independence. More importantly, it is the difference between settler and non-settler colonies that determines the type of violence each postcolony generates. In his research on post-independence Africa and the causes for its failed statehoods, Mamdani lays out the overarching structure of colonial politics. He explains that settler colonies were controlled through a system of "direct rule." Thus when an European moved to the colony and developed the settlement, it always, "involved a comprehensive sway of market institutions: the appropriation of land, the destructions of communal autonomy, and the defeat and dispersal of tribal populations." (Mamdani, 1996: 17) Non-settler colonies, on the other hand, consisted of a free peasantry and land remained a "customary" possession defining a kind of "indirect rule." While seemingly straddling different concepts – civil power versus customary power, direct rule versus indirect rule - Mamdani's main argument exposes the way in which these two systems spilled into each other signifying the two faces of a bifurcated state. "Reformulated, direct and indirect rules are better understood as variants of despotism: the former centralized, the latter decentralized." (Mamdani, 1996: 18) Whatever the form of despotism, the African colonial experience used a system of controlling communities as opposed to individuals, leading to all local power being organized on an ethnic or religious basis. Compounded by the racism that permeated through every pore of colonial society, such a highly fragmented system of governance ensured deep divides between almost all sectors of society – familial, ethnic, tribal, religious, racial, urban/rural, as well as the larger one between colonizer/colonized. The western imports of law and the hypocritical discourse about civil society only exacerbated sectarian or racial divides that colonialism had put in

place through a system of exclusive citizenships and identity cards. In effect, these deliberate divides left their imprint upon the post-independence states, and Mamdani goes as far as to say that, "…it emerged as a specifically African form of the state." (Mamdani, 1996: 18)

This problem is best illustrated by the way in which the Rwandan ethnic cleansing unfolded. After years of intermarriage and co-existence, the physical difference between the Hutu and Tutsi were often difficult to discern. The militias often demanded people produce their identification card, which listed their ethnicity and then killed people labeled Tutsi, essentially proving how state-enforced this division really was. (Cooper, 2002: 6) Mamdani argues that the difference between Hutus and Tutsis was *ethnicized* as opposed to racialized. "To understand how 'tribe' and 'race' and 'caste' got animated as political identities, we need to look at how the law breathed political life into them." (Mamdani, 2002: 20) In this respect, the South Asian Subcontinent was no different from Africa. The British enforced a 'Divide and Rule' policy ruthlessly. The Partition of Bengal in 1905 between Hindu and Muslim areas being one of most glaring examples of this. In Sri Lanka, apart from creating a powerful and wealthy class of people that embraced the Anglican church, the British demanded a mandatory declaration of race (Sinhala and Tamil) on all official documents. Thus the linguistic groups of Sinhala and Tamil were eventually divided among racial lines. In post-independence society, even the literal realm of space had been colonized, and when new leaders and elites took over offices and villas abandoned by colonizers, it only reinforced previous structures of spatial apartheid. The colonial imaginary remained intact, only the actors had changed. This was the bedrock upon which the new independent state was to be founded.

Though types of resistances to colonialism were varied – large or small, local or national, sporadic or organized – it cannot be denied that violence, while differing in scale, played a potent and an all-pervasive role in all aspects of these mass movements. This was hardly surprising given that violence played a significant role in all aspects of colonialism itself and was bound to come to the fore during anti-colonial resistance. Achille Mbembe categorizes violence in the colony quite accurately, claiming that, "*Commandement*, in a colony, rested on a very specific *imaginary* of state sovereignty…Colonial sovereignty rested on three sorts of violence." The first kind was the founding violence, which presupposed its own existence, thus allowing the right of conquests and the prerogatives attached to that right. The second kind was a legitimizing violence and helped produce, "…an imaginary capacity converting the founding violence into authorizing authority." And the final form of violence existed to maintain, spread and make this authority permanent. Mbembe concludes, "Falling well short of what is properly called "war," it then recurred again and again in the most banal and ordinary situation. It then crystallized, through a gradual accumulation of numerous acts and rituals – in short, played so important a role in everyday life that it ended up constituting the central cultural imaginary that the state shared with society, and thus had an authenticating and reiterating function." (Mbembe, 2001: 25) Mbembe's book, *On the Postcolony* focuses on a broad African spectrum, yet his observations on violence could be applied to any colonized space. Given that it was so deeply rooted in colonial society, one of the first issues that intellectuals and leaders of anti-colonial movements had to contend with was that of violence: What role should violence play in the resistance? How

should colonial violence be resisted? What does this violence mean and where does it stem from? Should it be channeled or should it be discouraged?

No two leaders had more differing views on the subject than Frantz Fanon and Mahatma Gandhi. One is remembered as a prophet of violence while the other is celebrated as the saint of non-violence. In a somewhat different category is Amilcar Cabral; he lacked the messianic quality of the Fanon and Gandhi but he was perhaps the most shrewd, pragmatic and erudite of all anti-colonial leaders - his study of the peasant masses and ability to include them in the revolution, his meticulously planned revolts based on the actual conditions in the colony, his carefully drafted speeches to the UN, his study of law, socialism and agriculture made the PAIGC's (Partido Africano da Independencia da Guiné e Cabo Verde) struggle against the Portuguese a textbook example of a revolution. But the brutally violent Algerian civil war, the bloody partition riots between Hindus and Muslims and Guinea-Bissau's enduring ruthless dictatorship, multiple coups and 1998 civil war force us to look at these highly influential revolutionary ideas differently. What were the blind spots in the theoretical formulations of these leaders with regards to nationalism, leadership, neocolonialism and violence? I chose Fanon, Gandhi and Cabral for emblematic purposes; each one represents a specific theory of resistance and revolution, and at the same time, the places touched by these ideas have ended up experiencing very particular kinds of violent setbacks.

III Mahatma Gandhi

The national liberation struggle envisioned and executed by Mahatma Gandhi in British India is often regarded as an extremely unique and somewhat legendary example of an anti-colonial struggle that practiced a largely non-violent form of resistance. More than sixty years later, the irony inherent in India and Pakistan's cleaving histories reveals itself clearly. While the era of decolonization brought with it the shocking violence of partition, postcolonial India continues to be afflicted with a virulent form of civil violence leading to ethnic cleansings and ongoing communal strife primarily rooted in religion. Always blamed on mobocracy and thug-isms and, often discounted as a spontaneous eruption of "riots," it is in reality a highly deliberate, politically motivated and usually state-sanctioned form of violence. Next door, postcolonial Pakistan suffers under military regimes and the constant dose of civil strife that such oppressive leadership generates is showing no sign of receding. The existing literature on the decolonization era in India-Pakistan is certainly vast and thus, my contribution, while cursory, focuses on three basic discursive threads derived from the writings and speeches of Gandhi - the question of violence, the question of nation and the issue of Hindu-Muslim unity. It is through these categories that I am hoping to locate some of the primary ruptures in Gandhi's theoretical formulations.

Tracing the origins of Gandhi's overall intellectual formation by placing it "entirely outside the thematic of post-Enlightenment thought," (Chatterjee, 1993: 100) Chatterjee writes:

> "Gandhi claimed that it was a moral failure on the part of Indians that led to the conquest of India…It is not the backwardness and or lack of modernity of India's culture that keeps it in continued subjection. And the task of achieving freedom

> would not be accomplished by creating a new modern culture for the nation. For Gandhi, it was precisely because Indians were seduced by the glitter of modern civilization that they became subject people. And what keeps them in subjection is the acceptance that by leading sections of Indians of the supposed benefits of civilization…Even if they succeed physically in driving out the English, they would still have 'English rule without the Englishman', because it is not the physical presence of the English which makes India a subject nation: it is the civilization which subjects." (Chatterjee, 1993: 86)

In attacking the Indian attraction for civilization, Gandhi formulates a fundamental moral critique of the national elite who are the primary adherents to such an ideology and participants in the double-layered suppression of the peasant masses – the suppression by the English rule and the more localized suppression at the hands of the Indian bourgeoisie who are engaged in a mimicry of the colonizers and are seduced by industrial technology and western economics. Gandhi wants to abolish industrialization itself since, "It is in the limitless desire for ever-increased production and ever-greater consumption, and the spirit of ruthless competitiveness which keeps the entire system going…" (Chatterjee, 1993: 87) Thus, a moral judgment of "desire" lies at the heart of this critique. Repulsed by an urge for excess and competition, Gandhi invents an anti-colonial philosophy that progresses through five stages - moral, economic, psychological, social and eventually political. By first cleansing oneself from the greedy and immoral allure of western goods and technology, the individual begins weaving his own cloth (*khadi*) thus achieving a liberation at an economic level and consequently, on a psychological level. If self-sufficient communities of *khadi*-making people were established, then the social and communal bonds are strengthened leading eventually to the formation of a revolutionary polity. It is also via the *khadi* program that he attacks the foundations of the discourse on

civil society. Chatterjee discusses this at length, stating that Gandhi objects to the entire notion of representative democracy wherein parties and alliances based on individual interests interact and manipulate each other in the guise of serving the needs of the society. Gandhi claims that such a party-driven form of representation alienates the leaders from the population they appear to represent. "His argument is, in fact, that the dissociation of political values, based on self-interest, from social morality, based on certain universal ethical values shared by the whole community, leads to a structure and process of politics in which the wealthy and the powerful enjoy disproportionate opportunities to manipulate the machinery of the government to their own sectional interests." (Chatterjee, 1993:91)

Gandhi's ideal for politics and society was essentially based on the concept of a moral utopia (which he referred to as *Ram Rajya*) wherein every member of the society and the patriarchal ruler are moral and truthful thus liberating themselves from practices that are self-serving and self-fulfilling. Chatterjee insists that none of this is in any way connected to a Gandhian version of nationalism, but, in fact, cuts through the development of the elite-nationalist discourse in India, and was a product of that specific national movement. Herein, the ideology shaping the Gandhian political movement comes into play where he attempts to reconcile many contradictory ideas, "…at one and the same time, its integral parts: a nationalism which stood upon a critique of the very idea of civil society, a movement supported by the bourgeoisie which rejected the idea of progress, the ideology of a political organization fighting for the creation of a modern national state which accepted at the same time the ideal of an 'enlightened anarchy.' Clearly there are many ambiguities in Gandhism." (Chatterjee, 1993:101) While

ambiguous, it was certainly a startling example of theorizing outside the box of post-Enlightenment thinking and also shaping a very original discourse of anti-nationalist ideas within an anti-colonial movement. On a practical level of post-independence governance, what exactly was Gandhi proposing? To form a nation free of violence, greed, immorality and industrialization, Gandhi was in essence proposing a stateless state that would relinquish all control of national economy, would not have a national army and would be based on a moral duty towards its people. Chatterjee writes that while Gandhism remained firm in its ideals, it was not able to "specify concretely the modalities of implementing this as a viable *political* practice." (Chatterjee, 1993: 117) In addition, the concept of nation becomes more muddled and contradictory when the issue of Hindu-Muslim unity comes up and I will discuss this a little further into the section.

The question of viable political practice crops up in any discussion of Gandhi's philosophies. His subversive politics cuts through the core of every colonial import from economy to lifestyle to social organization and even gender constructions. Ashis Nandy writes sensitively on this subject and explains Gandhi's countering of the homology of the 'adult' colonial versus the childlike colonized and also his re-invention of gender frameworks. He directly defied the ideology of adulthood since many references exist of Gandhi's childlike smile, and his manner was often described as childlike and childish. Nandy continues, "His infantile obstinacy and tendency to tease, his immature attacks on the modern world and its props, his juvenile food fads and symbols like the spinning wheel – all were viewed as planks of a political platform which defied conventional ideas of adulthood." (Nandy, 1983: 56) While Nandy connects this to Gandhi's ideas of history and of self, I prefer to view this part of a general Gandhian approach to spiritual purity

that often embodies the quality of a childlike innocence, the clean slate of morality and the purging of greed and dishonesty. Gandhi's simple writing style, often in the form of parables, is also evidence of the deliberate stance of childlike purity, an ideal to be striven for that is hard to attain and thus, very superior to the moral and spiritual corruption represented by adulthood. On the subject of gender, Nandy finds that Gandhi stressed the concept of *'Naritva'* – the essence of femininity – discussed in Sanskrit scriptures wherein one finds, "a closer conjunction between power, activism and femininity than between power, activism and masculinity." (Nandy, 1983: 53) Gandhi propagated this idea to subvert the hyper-masculinity of colonialism and the hyper-masculinity it induced in the anti-colonial ideology.

Central to all Gandhian tactics of subversion and ideologies of resistance was his most famous concept of *satyagraha* (civil disobedience and non-cooperation) through *ahimsa* (non-violent means). Armed with this particular ideology and with many volunteers for its practice, Gandhi ushered the Indian freedom struggle into a decisive new phase of anti-colonial revolt and a very strengthened version of nationalism. To some degree, the local leaders and intellectuals had laid out the groundwork right from the early twentieth century by inciting rage against the injustices of colonialism. Gandhi came onto the scene armed with a unique ideology and more importantly, offered an actual method to the existing amorphous flux of the anti-British sentiment. How then did such a non-violent philosophy turn so quickly into a violent Partition phase? The multiple historical factors have been written about extensively – the Muslim's League's aversion to being dominated by the Indian National Congress, the historic space reserved for Hindu nationalism within the Congress, the mobilization of the Muslim provinces by A.

L Jinnah and others for a two-state solution, as well as the popular theory that blamed the British 'Divide and Rule' policy, which drove a furious wedge between the two religious groups.

On the surface level, Gandhi's methods for uniting India and resisting the British had an opaque simplicity emphasizing truthfulness, honesty, moderation and tolerance. According to Chatterjee, through the science of non-violence, "Gandhism provided for the first time in Indian politics an ideological basis for including the whole people within the political nation. In order to do this, it quite consciously sought to bridge even the most sanctified cultural barriers that divided the people in an immensely complex agrarian society." (Chatterjee, 1993:110) Focusing thus on the question of the class of untouchables created by the oppressive Hindu caste-system, Gandhi strove to change the deep-seated prejudices by changing the terms with which this group was addressed and treated. He was also considered to have championed the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity from the early phases of the struggle and towards the end, he desperately pleaded with both communities to stop slaughtering each other in the name of religion. He was shot to death by a fundamentalist Hindu, Nathuram Godse, who acted to end his call for equality and tolerance of Muslims. While everything reached a pitch point of chaos and violence in last years of Independence and Partition, in retrospect, Gandhi's views and writings on the Hindu-Muslim issue reveal some disturbing inconsistencies.

Gandhi sincerely propagated the idea of one tolerant, united nation, but his leanings towards Hindu scriptures and Christian writings in all his political and philosophical ideas have been documented. Chatterjee writes about his subversion of the principles of caste by replacing the *jati* system, which is essentially a system of tribal

divisions with the more "idealized scheme based on *varna* classification" that had its roots in the Hindu Vedas and the Manusmriti. In the *varna* system, the population was divided based primarily on occupational skills.[7] He deliberately privileged the "Untouchables" and referred to them as *"Harijans"* (children of god). He claimed that since the peasants were of a higher caste, they could rise as high as they liked whereas the *Harijans* required a different organization. Here, Chatterjee raises an extremely crucial point in terms of the Muslim polity of a greater India when he observes: "Whether this idiom of solidarity necessarily referred to a cultural code that could be shown as 'essentially Hindu', and whether that in turn alienated rather than united those sections of the people who were not 'Hindu' are of course, important questions…" (Chatterjee, 1993: 110)

Ashis Nandy explores Gandhi's undercutting of *Ksatriyahood* or the warrior-caste's hyper-masculinity that was being projected against the frameworks of masculinity of colonial power. To subvert the above, Gandhi "borrowed intact from the great and little tradition of saintliness in India, and also probably from the doctrine of power through divine bi-unity in some of the *vamachari* or left-handed sects…" that claimed an androgyny which was a combination of *Purusatva* (manliness) and *Naritva* (womanliness). Through his own appearance and behavior as well as to situate the philosophy of non-violence, Gandhi turned to Hindu sources. Nandy makes the connection here between gender subversion and non-violence when he writes, "The principle of non-violence gives men access to protective maternity and by implication, to

[7] The Varna system formed ideologies of identity and status and may have been open to a changing process of the coming and going of groups. Broadly speaking, the varnas are Brahmins (priests, scholars and teachers), Kshatriya (warriors and rulers), Vaisya (traders and agriculturists), and Sudra (manual workers) and the Untouchables, which were called the pariahs.

the godlike state of *ardhanarisvara*, a god half-man, half-woman." (Nandy 53-54) Linked to the above is Gandhi's derivation of *satyagraha* and *ahimsa*, the sources of which are located not just in ancient Hindu texts but were also borrowed from the Bible's Sermon on the Mount. The influence of his close friend English cleric C.F Andrews on Gandhi was significant. Evidence of his close reading of the Biblical texts can be found in his writing style and also his speeches, which were often in the form of parables and were generously sprinkled with tenets such as 'turn the other cheek' or 'love thy neighbor.' Nandy states that, due to Gandhi's reliance upon Biblical ideas, "he knew well that he would have to fight hard in India to establish his version of non-violence as 'true' Hinduism or as the central core of Hinduism…In the 150 years of British rule prior to Gandhi, no significant social reformer or political leader had tried to give centrality to non-violence as a major Hindu or Indian virtue." (Nandy 51)

In my opinion, Gandhi's obvious use of Hindu and Christian ideas, as well as the use of Hindu terminology and linguistic bases overshadows to some degree the many gestures he made to the Muslim community in India. These would include his symbolic refraining from becoming an enlisted member of the Indian National Congress or his constant reference to the assimilated Hindu-Muslim populations. There is a sense that Gandhi took Hinduism and its influence upon him for granted, and in so doing, managed to appeal to the Hindu population on a very natural linguistic and cultural level. There is no evidence showing that this alienated the Muslims and there were several devoted leaders of Muslim faith that were avid followers of Gandhi's movement. Yet, while fusing Hinduism and Christianity as a mode of reconciling India and England, Gandhi left out Muslim religious sources entirely.

Gandhi took a strong position on Hindu-Muslim unity as soon as he had arrived in India from South Africa in 1915. A compilation of his writings, speeches and interviews of Gandhi shows that he did not waver from his position toward unity and preached non-violence, tolerance and joint Hindu-Muslim efforts against ousting the British. He referred to the relationship as "…a daily-growing plant, as yet in delicate infancy, requiring special care and attention,"[8] but he failed to create a viable discursive space in which Hindus and Muslims could co-exist. In 1921, he complained that, "The Mussalman masses do not still recognize the same necessity for Swaraj as the Hindus do. The Mussalmans do not flock to public meetings in the same numbers as the Hindus." (Gandhi and Hingorani, 1965: 14) He thus urged Hindus to make a special effort to "draw out" their Mussalman neighbours. When asked about the tricky question of inter-dining and inter-marrying between the two communities, Gandhi reacted with surprise and asserted that these two ideas were borrowed from the West. He found both to be completely unnecessary and determined that they were "…not necessary factors in friendship and unity, though they are often emblems thereof." Finally, he concludes, "I hold it to be utterly impossible for Hindus and Muslims to intermarry and yet retain intact in each other's religion." (Gandhi and Hingorani, 1965: 15) Coming from the very Hindu perspective, which believed that food was a private and sacred matter, he found the whole line of questioning to be manipulative, Western and artificial. Gandhi had a hard time reconciling his deeply embedded Hindu beliefs and practices with notions of a Western assimilation. He seems to have been advocating a separate togetherness or mutual tolerance and stood staunch on those ideas.

[8] http://www.gandhi-manibhavan.org/eduresources/article7.htm

In many areas a hegemonic Hindu discourse would overtake the usually fair and non-judgemental leader. In a particularly perturbing observation, he begins by stating that religious environments have made Hindus and Muslims different though they are essentially of the same stock, and that it transforms "man's features as well as character." Gandhi explains ways in which Hindus and Muslims are quite different in character from one another:

> "The Mussalman, being generally in a minority, has as a class developed into a bully. Moreover, being heir to fresh traditions, he exhibits the virility of a comparatively fresh system of life. Though, in my opinion, non-violence has a predominant place in the Quran, the thirteen hundred years of imperialistic expansion had made the Mussalmans fighters as a body. They are, therefore, aggressive. Bullying in the natural excrescence of an aggressive spirit.
>
> The Hindu has an age-old civilization. He is essentially non-violent. His civilization has passed through the experiences that the two recent ones are still passing through. If Hinduism was ever imperialistic in the modern sense of the term, it has outlived its imperialism and has either deliberately or, as a matter of course, given it up. Predominance of the non-violent spirit has restricted the use of arms to a small minority, which must always be subordinate to a civil power highly spiritual, learned and selfless. The Hindus, as a body, are, therefore, not equipped for fighting. But not having retained their spiritual training, they have forgotten the use of an effective substitute for arms, and not knowing their use nor having an aptitude for them, they have become docile to the point of timidity or cowardice. This vice, is, therefore, a natural excrescence of gentleness." (Gandhi and Hingorani, 1965: 47-48)

The above passage displays a particularly biased and superficial observation expressed in the basest of anthropological terms. Gandhi draws up a dangerous binary – the Muslim as an aggressive bully, thus violent by nature and the Hindu as docile and physically weak, thus non-violent by nature. Speaking of Hindus as belonging to an age-old civilization

and claiming that they are done with usurping power, and generates extremely false, prejudiced notions of the self, of history and of the religious culture. To insist that Hindus are 'naturally' non-violent and inclined to the spiritual reveals Gandhi's worst blind spot.

Anthropological and theoretical studies have established the dialectical relation between the notions of violence and non-violence in the context of Hindu thought and tradition. In the provocative anthology titled *Violence/ Non-Violence: Some Hindu Perspectives*, scholars aim to illustrate "how the concepts of violence and non-violence are defined cannot be understood if they are disassociated from each other. Rather, as the articles in this volume show, violence very frequently legitimates itself in the name of non-violence as well." (Vidal et al, 2003: 12) The collection sheds light on various processes through which violence becomes institutionalized. Ouigibénine's essay, "On the Rhetoric of Violence" is very pertinent to a discussion of Gandhi's version of Hinduism. He states that the Sanskrit language has several privative compound words like *ahimsa* (non-violence), *abhaya* (non-fear) or *amrta* (non-death), where the affirmation gains strength by existing through the negative as opposed to contradicting or subverting it. Though the instances of violence are fairly few, reflection upon it is abundant in early Vedic thought due to the significant role played by ritual in acts of sacrifice. Given agency by religious ideology in Vedic India, "humanity as a collective entity," writes Ouigibénine, "is disjoined in a contradictory way from violence so that violence may operate on the individual who is pre-occupied with non-violence." (Vidal et al, 2003: 81) In "Opposing Gandhi: Hindu Nationalism and Political Violence," Christopher Jaffrelot traces the rise of Hindu militarism from the early stages of the freedom movement. In fact, popular anti-colonial leaders like Lokmanya Tilak and Veer

Savarkar, who were poignant figures in the freedom struggles, had made a case for a specifically Hindu form of violent resistance. These were based on a *realpolitik*-influenced reading of the *Bhagvad Gita* and were radically opposed to Gandhi's forms of non-violence. Jaffrelot includes some striking quotations from the trials of Nathuram Godse, Gandhi`s assassin, who justified and glorified the killing using the above arguments, even fancying himself as a modern-day Arjuna who was forced to kill loved ones for the sake of a cause. (Vidal, et al, 2003: 299-324) It is hard to imagine why Gandhi took such an unquestioning and partisan stance towards Hinduism, but the problems inherent in his call for united India certainly begin to reveal themselves.

Later in the struggle, when the two-state idea finally took root and started to look like a real possibility, Gandhi opposed it with his usual deliberate simplicity. At a session in Lahore, he declared India a joint family, and further declared:

> "The vast majority of Muslims of India are converts to Islam or are descendants of converts. They did not become a separate nation as soon as they became converts. A Bengali Muslim speaks the same tongue that a Bengali Hindu does, eats the same food, has the same amusements as his Hindu neighbor. They dress alike. I have often found it difficult to distinguish by outward sign between a Bengali Hindu and a Bengali Muslim. The same phenomenon is observable more or less in the South among the poor who constitute the masses of India. When I first met the late Sir Ali Imam I did not know he was a Muslim. His speech, his dress, his manners, his food were the same as of the majority of Hindus in whose midst I found him…Hindus and Muslims of India are not two nations. Those whom God has made one, man will never be able to divide." (Hasan, 1993: 70)

The long passage shows a complete reversal in Gandhi's original conceptions of Hindu and Muslim identities. The Muslim's League's needs had begun to be articulated for almost two decades by the time this passage was written – the fear of the Indian National

Congress as the main party, the resistance to being viewed as a minority group, the need for a cultural and religious space that was not subsumed by the Hindu culture and politics, and the need for equal power in governance. From a separate togetherness and mutual tolerance, Gandhi makes a desperate and sincere plea for both groups as being deeply assimilated and impossible to tell apart, thus indivisible. Here Gandhi reveals yet again an underestimation of the Muslim groups' sense of self and identity. Jinnah passionately argued that the difference between the two groups was immense – food, dress, social habits, religious philosophies, historical sources and literatures – and stressed that the two rarely intermarried or dined together. Gandhi's position by now had taken on the manner of a patriarch trying to appease a quarrel between two siblings and his tone to some degree reveals a disturbing paternalism, a lack of complex analysis and an non-pragmatic strategic solution for the situation at hand. Perhaps unconsciously, he stresses that the Muslims were merely converts and thus potentially Hindu in an earlier epoch. His claim that the cultural and linguistic assimilation between the two religious groups could probably only be applied to Bengal and some regions of the South. The rest of India presented a different picture as he himself had admitted over a decade ago. The true social ethnography of difference between the people of the two religions is not entirely relevant here, but what becomes evident is that Gandhi now (and perhaps too late) profoundly undermines the identity by coercing the two to exist under the hitherto non-existent rubric of the 'Indian.' Using analogies of plants and families only gave evidence of infantilizing the deep dilemma of worsening Hindu-Muslim tensions.

Thus, even though he had an immense and spellbinding power over the masses, he left many gaps for Pakistan propagandists to view his message as somewhat lop-sided

and communal. In Chatterjee's analysis of Nehru's ideas on postcolonial nationalism, he writes of an Indian political domain having split into two – the elite represented by leaders such as Nehru and the subaltern classes represented by Gandhi due to his ability to make the peasants relate and listen to his ideas. But here, Nehru himself admitted some discomfort: "I used to be troubled sometimes at the growth of this religious element in our politics…Even some of Gandhi's phrases sometimes jarred upon me – thus his frequent reference to *Rama Raj* as a golden age which was to return. But I was powerless to intervene, and I consoled myself with the thought that Gandhiji used the words because they were well known and understood by the masses. He had an amazing knack of reaching the heart of the people…" (Chatterjee, 1993 151) While Nehru was reluctant to criticize Gandhi's Hindu-influenced language and ideas at the time, in my view, it becomes evidence of an inherent ideological strain of communalism that Gandhi is unconscious of. Sadly, more than ever now, the idea of *Rama Raj* (based on the figure of the benevolent patriarchal ruler, Rama derived from the extremely popular and important Hindu epic, *Ramayana*) has taken on a grotesque form in contemporary Indian politics. Nationwide unrest and rioting in 1992 was a direct result of communal tensions flaring up due to the rise of the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) and the RSS (Rashtriya Swayaksevak Sangh) and their flagrant flaunting of Hindu fundamentalist ideologies. In 1991, an excerpt from Time magazine states, "In elections concluded late last week, that tradition faces an unprecedented challenge from a movement that proudly proclaims itself to be the antithesis of what Nehru, and to some extent Gandhi, represented. It rejects the 'foreign' influences of Islam, Christianity, capitalism and socialism, and aspires to restore *Rama Rajya*, a mythical golden age of Hindu civilization when the Hindu god Rama

ruled."[9] While Gandhi's idealization of the *Rama Rajya* cannot be directly blamed for influencing the growth of Hindu fundamentalist movements today, a conceptual space had been carved out in Indian politics and civil violence has become it's most distressing aftermath.

[9] Edward Desmond. http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,973241,00.html

IV Frantz Fanon

Fanon's posthumously published *The Wretched of the Earth* has often been viewed as a call to violent action against the colonizer, as a radical militant anthem for all oppressed peoples and as a deeply controversial ideology of resistance. However, embedded within the anxious haste of the prodigal ten weeks[10] within which Fanon composed and dictated *The Wretched of the Earth* to his wife Josie[11], there lay some disconcerting and timely predictions about what the postcolony would go on to become. Simone de Beauvoir described him as having a dark, hesitant air that that lent his work 'an enigmatic quality as though they contained obscure, disturbing prophecies.'[12] Writing at the cusp of Algerian independence and already at his life's end, Fanon's last work attained an intuitive urgency. Homi Bhabha considers the book more pertinent than ever and states in this introduction that Fanon's reflections on emerging national histories, "quickens the long shadows cast by the ethnonationalist "switchbacks" of our own times, the charnel houses of ethnic cleansing: Bosnia, Rwanda, Kosovo, Gujarat,Sudan." (Fanon, 2004: xi)

As he was deathly ill with cancer and fully aware that this was to be his legacy, it seemed that *The Wretched of the Earth* was his attempt to make a larger contribution on colonialism and decolonization in Africa. A year before his death, Fanon had been seeking outside help for the Algerian Revolution and had begun shaping the 'African Legion' project. Though it was Algeria, his chosen country, Tunisia, his country of exile

---

[10] Gordon, Lewis R., T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, and Renâee T. White. Fanon a Critical Reader. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1996. p? (from introduction)

[11] Richard Philcox. "On Retrieving Fanon, Retrieving a Lost Voice." Frantz Fanon and Richard Philcox. The Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove P, 2004, p. 245

[12] Homi Bhabha "Framing Fanon." Frantz Fanon and Richard Philcox. The Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove P, 2004, p. xli.

and Martinique, his country of birth that Fanon knew best, creating diplomatic ties with several African countries for African Legion project took him to many places in the continent such as Mali, Cameroon, Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Ethiopia and Congo. His attendance at the Pan-African conference in Accra and the two *Présence Africaine* gatherings put him in touch with some of the most important leaders and intellectuals from the African continent.[13] Though most of *The Wretched of the Earth* is a product of Fanon's experience with the Algerian struggle, it would not be a stretch to say his concerns about the rest of the African continent are certainly not absent from the theories outlined in the work. In fact, Algeria itself can be seen as Fanon's fatal flaw in the work.

In a heartfelt portrait of a dying Fanon desperate to have Sartre preface his last work, David Macey writes of the visit paid to him by Claude Lanzmann and Marcel Péju of the editorial board of *Les Temps Modernes*. Other than speaking at great length about Sartre's *Critique of Dialectical Reason*, he also spoke of Algeria and Africa. Macey observes: "His account of the Algerian revolution and the coming African revolution was visionary to the point of being idealist, and he tried to convince his visitors that the interior of Algeria was now a realm of pure freedom that had been cleansed of all prejudice."(Macey, 2001: 453) Nothing could be farther from the truth as the terrifying violence had only gotten worse and this was the time of the combined deadly brutalities of the OAS (*Organization Armée Secrete*) and the FLN (*Front de Liberation Nationale*). Paralleling this absurd false idealization of Algeria, Fanon spoke of his other concerns. He was, "deeply worried about developments in Black Africa and profoundly depressed about the news of Lumumba's death. His dream of a united Africa had been shattered by

[13] All the information is taken from various parts of Macey, David. Frantz Fanon a Biography. New York: Picador USA, 2001.

the realization that Black Africans were quite capable of murdering one another." (Macey, 2001: 453) It is through this dual, oppositional vantage point that Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* is born. Fanon's obstinate need to defend the Algerian Revolution was very hard to reconcile with the bloodshed and civil violence in the ex-colonies that he could no longer ignore. An odd contradictory intersection of idealism about Algeria along with an unspoken anxiety about the postcolonial future of Africa is at the crux of his final work. *The Wretched of the Earth* amalgamates psychological, political, sociological and historical approaches in order to represent colonized as well as decolonized society. Fanon's experiences in liberated African nations along with his involvement with the ongoing Algerian war for independence make his book a combination of the varied stages of colonialism and its aftermaths. While his comprehensive reflections on violence and nationalism are crucial for understanding a highly complicated and charged historical moment, the problems in his theory require even more attention since they have had direct impact on postcolonial discourse at large.

Colonial violence begins with the colonizer who, according to Fanon, "does not alleviate oppression or mask domination. He displays and demonstrates them with the clear conscience of the law enforcer, and brings violence into the homes and minds of the colonized subject." During decolonization, it this exact unchecked, destructive and tireless violence that is "appropriated" by the colonized. Further reinforcing that the origins of violence lie with colonial power, he defines decolonization as "…an encounter between two congenitally antagonistic forces that in fact owe their singularity to the kind of reification secreted and nurtured by the colonial situation." (Fanon, 2004: 2). Fanon explains that, "In its bare reality, decolonization reeks of red-hot cannonballs and bloody

knives…This determination to have the last move up to the front…can only succeed by resorting to every means, including, of course, violence." (Fanon, 2004: 3)

Using a generalized psychological analysis for the colonized people (a population he frequently treated as a psychiatrist and knew intimately), Fanon explains the individual process that leads a person to employ violence. Somewhat reminiscent of Albert Memmi's treatment of the same subject, he creates an emblematic portrait of the colonized man living in an atmosphere where a reservoir of repressed fury is beginning to manifest itself consciously and the desire to be a "man" instead of the "thing colonized" is omnipresent. He writes, "The muscles of the colonized are always tensed. It is not that he is anxious or terrorized, but he is always ready to change his role as game for that of hunter. The colonized subject is a persecuted man who is always dreaming of becoming the persecutor. " (Fanon, 2004: 16) In fact, even the dreams of the colonized are infused with a physicality, action and "aggressive vitality" and through these, he subconsciously frees himself. The problem implicit in the unleashing of this aggression is obvious to Fanon and it is herein that one can locate a point of entry into internecine violence.

In what appears to be a projected anger, "The colonized subject will first train this aggressiveness sedimented in his muscles against his own people. This is the period when black turns on black, and police officers and magistrates don't know which way to turn when faced with the surprising surge of North African criminality." (Fanon, 2004: 15-16) In fact, Fanon states that this violent rage erases all common sense and that while the colonized might be beaten and humiliated by the colonizer,

> "…it is not uncommon to see the colonized subject draw his knife at the slightest hostile or aggressive look from another colonized subject…Internecine feuds merely perpetuate age-old grudges entrenched in memory…Here we grasp the full

> significance of the all too familiar 'head-in-the-sand' behavior at a collective level, as if this collective immersion in a fratricidal bloodbath suffices to mask the obstacle and postpones the inevitable alternative, the inevitable emergence of the armed struggle against colonialism. So one of the ways in which the colonized releases his muscular tension is through the very real collective self-destruction of these internecine feuds…The colonized subject loses sight of the colonist through religion. Fatalism relieves the oppressor of all responsibility since the cause of wrong-doing, poverty and the inevitable can be attributed to god." (Fanon, 2004: 18)

The above passage is a description of the behavior and mindset of the subject but further explanation of this phenomenon can be found in his chapter titled *Colonial War and Mental Disorders* where he elaborates further on this surge of violence amidst the Algerians claiming that, "…in a colonial situation the colonized are confronted with themselves. They tend to use each other as a screen." (Fanon, 2004: 230-231) The reason for this is often material - poverty, debt, starvation, unemployment and fatigue. Fanon writes of this descriptively: "Exposed to daily incitement to murder resulting from famine, eviction from his room for unpaid rent, a mother's withered breast, children who are nothing but skin and bone, the closure of the worksite and the jobless who hang around the foreman like crows, the colonized subject comes to see his fellow man as a relentless enemy." (Fanon, 2004: 231) He likens this situation to a concentration camp where the imprisoned fight amongst each other for crumbs of bread.

In fact Fanon's main goal here was to disprove previously published psychological studies on North Africans, predictably infused with a racism and condescension – the notion that this criminality is a 'natural' trait given their underdeveloped minds and psyches, childlike manners and non-Cartesian outlook. Fanon claims that all of this changes dramatically as soon as the anti-colonial war begins; the

protagonists and antagonists in this war are identified and thus allows for directing the aggression at the occupier. By framing the question of this malaise through the lens of colonialism and its apartheid policies, he is able to show that with the onset of the war, criminality diminishes drastically since "the screen" is no longer required. During the war of national liberation, there occurs an absolute reversal; the internecine fighting comes to a halt as families can offer soldiers their only donkey or share their meal. The anti-colonial war creates a moment of unity in spite of the material conditions even though this "violent praxis is totalizing." Fanon's ideas about the war and the communal sharing and generosity that it facilitates are certainly romantic and almost utopian. Mouloud Feraoun's reflections of living in close proximity to the same war make a completely different, contradictory claim. As the daily brutality took its toll, Feraoun speaks of the fatigue experienced by the people. He wrote:

> "Money is demanded of them, they do not know where to get it, they have to provide shelter for the maquis[14] members and feed them good meals, they have to cease all contact with the French and still manage not to lack anything. All of them have to become outlaws and obey – albeit blindly – only the outlaws. Those in charge of the village arouse both fear and admiration. They are well dressed, large, fat and arrogant. They have already taken power. They are already independent. Yet there are all the others who are dying of hunger, terror and suppressed anger. One of these days, its going to get tough for the independents." (Feraoun, 2000: 188-189)"

Feraoun experienced the war first-hand and depicted the bullying, aggressive conditions under which rebels demanded hospitality. However, Fanon could not have been entirely

[14] The term *maquis* in Feraoun's work refer to, "Members of the resistance; here, Algerians who fought against the French during the French-Algerian war." Feraoun, Mouloud, and James D. Le Sueur. Journal, 1955-1962 Reflections on the French-Algerian War. Lincoln: University of Nebraska P, 2000, p. 335.

wrong in perceiving the shift from the anger projected onto one's own kind to that of being directed at the oppressive colonizer.

Though Fanon's writings on nationalism predict and outline every possible postcolonial pitfall, it is his solidarity to the Algerian cause and aversion to critiquing it that explains why he glosses over the problems during the war. Feraoun's version of the war is a poignant and indispensable contribution to the writings on the subject as it charts the hideous civil war being waged against his own Kabyle people by the dominantly Arab FLN. It is clear to him that it was indeed going to 'get tough for the independents' once independence arrived and the cycle of violence would begin yet again but this time, internal to Algeria. Feraoun is very clear about his distress regarding the FLN. As early as 1956, when the FLN rebels carry out a massacre in the western Kabyle town of Palestro, he writes:

> "They were machine-gunned. Their farms were burned down. Their farms were burnt down because they were the enemy, and nothing more. Has the time for unbridled furor arrived? Can people who kill innocents in cold blood be called liberators? If so, have they considered for a moment that their "violence" will engender more "violence," will legitimize it, and will hasten its terrible manifestation? They know that people are unarmed, bunched together in their villages, immensely vulnerable. Are they knowingly preparing for the massacre of "their brothers"? Even by admitting that they are bloodthirsty brutes – which in any case does not excuse them but, on the contrary, goes against them, against us, against the ideal that they claim to defend – they have to consider sparing so as not to provoke repression. Unless liberation means something different for them than it does for us." (Feraoun, 2000: 84-85)

While Feraoun articulates his questions and concerns in a straightforward manner, Fanon hesitates to make his questions specific to Algeria. He is likely to have known about these

problems and certainly was aware of the murder of Abane Ramdane[15] and also the scandal of the Melouza massacre, he makes observations similar to those of Feraoun but poses them for a generalized African postcoloniality. He points out that, "Obviously the violence channeled into the liberation struggle does not vanish as if by magic after hoisting the national colors. It has even less reason to disappear since nation-building continues to operate within the framework of critical competition between capitalism and socialism." (Fanon, 2004: 35) Fanon also understood that a dystopian future that awaited the African postcolony when he wrote, "Between colonial violence and the insidious violence in which the modern world is steeped, there is a kind of complicit correlation, a homogeneity. The colonized have adapted to the atmosphere. Independence brought dignity and moral reparation but there has not yet been time to elaborate a society and build and ascertain values." (Fanon, 2004: 40) In my opinion, it is possible to mitigate the positions taken by Fanon and Feraoun on the war. While Feraoun wrote frankly about the daily brutalities of Algeria, Fanon wanted to create a text for the African continent and was always hesitant to criticise Algeria, being a public defender of the war. Thus, concerns about violence come in the form of a general postcolonial problem though it is evident that it was Algeria that was Fanon's first example and experience in terms of an anti-colonial struggle.

Though Fanon was a spokesperson for the FLN, an ardent radical writer for *El Moujahid,* a psychiatrist for fighters and tortured combatants and a staunch critic of the French left, Fanon's posthumous fame became focused on his one singular observation

[15] Abane Ramdane was a young member of the FLN of Kabyle origin who was assassinated. http://www.kabyle.com/article.php3?id_article=9353

about violence during decolonization. He wrote that decolonization "fundamentally alters" the colonized man's sense of self, "It infuses a new rhythm, specific to a new generation of men, with a new language and new humanity. Decolonization is truly the creation of new men." (Fanon, 2004: 2) This observation about the new men formed through the use of violence has been consistently viewed as a detrimental and dangerous idea. Feraoun never commented on Fanon's work or gave evidence of having read it. James Lesueur remains a vociferous critic of Fanon's ideas in his comprehensively researched intellectual history of the French Left during the Franco-Algerian war and also in his introduction to Feraoun's translated journals. He criticizes Fanon's faith in violence as a cleansing, revolutionary force that would liberate the oppressed subject by "…erasing colonial identity through anticolonial violence." (LeSueur, 2005: 272) He sets up a debate about Fanon as seen through the eyes of prominent intellectuals of the time. For example, Jean Daniel of the journal, *La Blessure* was disgusted by how much Fanon's ideas smacked of revenge and claimed they were futile in terms of the any real negotiations or reconciliation. LeSueur seems to favor Pierre Bourdieu's objective, analytical and ethnographically framed understanding of Algerian violence that was very unlike Fanon's, which was more dangerous due to its ability to turn into direct practice. Bourdieu firmly believed that Fanon's lack of concern with the traditional Algerians' inclinations towards Islam coupled with the eagerness of Algerian leaders to apply Fanon's 'celebratory' attitude towards violence and belief in the "avant-garde revolutionary peasantry," (LeSueur, 2005: 285) was detrimental to the understanding of the Algerian struggle and eventually led to the creation of a highly volatile postcolonial, post-independence Algeria. "The end result was that Sartre and Fanon's visions of

revolutionary identity and Algeria epistemologically recolonized Algeria's political leadership after the war." While it makes sense that anti-colonial adoption of violent ideologies becomes a factor in embedding the violence epistemologically and ontologically within society, it does seem that Bourdieu's (and by extension LeSueur's) reading of Fanon seems more simplistic than *The Wretched of the Earth* gives evidence of and is also somewhat reductive when seen in the light of the precarious and complex position that Fanon found himself in during the war. Firstly, Le Sueur simultaneously overestimates and undermines Fanon's role in the war and in postcolonial Algeria. He emphasizes that Fanon was, "neither Algerian nor Muslim but a Black psychiatrist from Martinique in the French West Indies…" By reminding the readers of the fact that Fanon was not native to Algeria, LeSueur inserts a primary doubt about the ways in which Fanon would comprehend and interpret the struggle. By juxtaposing his life trajectory with an "elder" (thus more experienced) Feraoun, he further establishes that Feraoun "lived" through the violence and that Fanon was merely a "revolutionary outsider." (Feraoun, 2000, Foreword by LeSueur: xxvii) In the same breath, LeSueur insists that Fanon's influence on the Algerian war as well as postcolonial Algeria was significant, unparalleled and had far-reaching consequences to this day. Like many of Fanon's critics, Le Sueur's understanding of Fanon reveals a strong ambivalence.

David Macey's detailed reading of the "terrible" book and the context surrounding its publication gives the controversy some breathing room and a more generous space for Fanon's writings by elaborating the chain of events that led to dissemination of Fanonian ideas about violence. Macey writes about the way in which Sartre's preface created a grave risk for the book. "Sartre wholeheartedly endorses the

thesis that violence can be cleansing or even therapeutic, and that the colonized man cures himself of his colonial neurosis by driving out the colon by force of arms." However, it was Sartre's comment that, "…leaving aside the fascist rantings of George Sorel, Fanon is the first person since Engels to have discussed the role of the midwife of history," that created an even more troubling interpretation of Fanon's ideas. According to Macey, this comment "obscures Sartre's own contribution to Fanon's stance on violence" and that the reference to Sorel becomes a "red herring." Insisting that there was no evidence that Fanon had been influenced by Sorel, Macey claims that the two speak of very different kinds of violence. Sorel writes of violence as a, "mobilizing myth which will eventually bring about an apocalyptic transformation of society rather than a contemporary reality." For Fanon, however, there is nothing mythical about violence in Algeria, but it was simply a daily reality. "Abane Ramdane was no philosopher, but he knew that violence would lead to counter-violence as the infernal spiral went on. Fanon himself justifies the violence of the colonized by evoking the 'absolute wound' that was first inflicted when the eyes of the *béké*[16] burned the eyes of the black man." (Macey, 2004: 211-223)

[16] Macey's observation on the 'absolute wound' and the *béké* is best explained through his own analysis in David Macey, Frantz Fanon, or the Difficulty of Being Martinican. History Workshop Journal 58 (2004) 211-223. "The unexplained allusion is to the Créole saying *les yeux béké ont brûlé les yeux nègres*. Fixed by the gaze of the white child, Fanon's self-composure disintegrates and his persona gives way to a 'racial epidermal schema'. In the Créole lexicon appended to his *Ravines du devant-jour*, Raphaël Confiant defines the *béké* thus: 'The blue of his eyes burned the gaze of the negro during slave-time. When he disembarked from Normandy, Poitou or Britanny, he exterminated the native Caribs with fire and the sword'.Trapped in the child's gaze, Fanon complains 'all this whiteness is burning me up'.16 The encounter revitalizes a trauma that has lain dormant: this is where it all began: under the blue gaze of the white man supervising the unloading and auctioning of slaves on the waterfront in Fort-de-France. That is how Edouard Glissant's novel *Le Quatrième Siécle* (1964) begins. Martinique's history begins with trauma. There is no other past. The aboriginal population was exterminated by the first settlers. Everything began with the coming of the slave ships."

Thus, it becomes Sartre's scandalous preface that overshadowed Fanon's work. Jean Daniel and many other thinkers from the French Left gave it far more attention than to Fanon's actual work. In Macey's opinion, Jean Daniel misreads the Sartre text in a "spectacular fashion" viewing it as a book about blacks and whites rather than colonizer and colonized or Europeans and natives. He also believes that Daniel's anger was reserved mostly for Sartre. (Macey 463-467) There might be a truth to this claim given that Daniel was well aware of Fanon's speech about the necessity of violent struggle against the colonized in Accra three years before it was published, and had been told that it was moving and profound moment. (Macey 371) Fanon's ideas in his last work could not have come as a big surprise to him. The preface had taken on "a life of its own" and when Sartre officially supported the Zionist cause, Josie Fanon asked for the preface to be omitted from all future editions of *The Wretched of the Earth*.

Macey does not falsify Fanon's thesis on violence and admits that it did exist at the crux of his work. Fanon's limited political experience and the blunders it led to jointly with the GPRA (*Gouvernment Provisoire de la République Algérienne*) are also well documented in Macey's biography. But he does criticize Jean Daniel, Jean-Marie Domenach and Hannah Arendt who have turned Fanon into a figure that glorifies violence for its own sake. He writes:

> Fanon does not 'glorify' violence and in fact rarely describes it in any detail: there are no descriptions of what happens when a bomb explodes in a crowded café and when shards of glass slice human flesh. The violence Fanon evokes is instrumental and he never dwells or gloats on its effects. In a sense, it is almost absurd to criticize Fanon for his advocacy of violence. He did not need to advocate it. The ALN was fighting a war and armies are not normally called upon to justify their violence. By 1961, the violence was everywhere. It had even

> seeped into the unconscious. A schoolteacher 'somewhere in Algeria' set his pupils, aged between ten and fourteen, the essay topic 'What would you do it you were invisible?'[17] They all said that they would steal arms and kill the French soldiers. The children of Algeria dreamed on violence, and two of Fanon's young patients in Blida acted out those dreams. 'Our prosperous societies do not have nightmarish dreams of massacres in Sétif or Philippeville or torture in their schools. Algeria had been having those nightmares for over a century." (Macey, 2001: 475)

In this quotation, Macey is revealing the obverse manner in which Fanon's work had been received. It was not that Fanon asked for violence and it occurred, it was that violence was everywhere in Algeria and he wrote of it as inevitable to a revolution in which he had a profound faith. Fanon's explains the psychological processes that lead to violent acts against the agent of oppression and the ways in which this could generate political agency. Macey states, "In a sense, it is the term 'violence' itself that is so scandalous; had Fanon spoken of 'armed struggle' the book would have been much less contentious."(Macey, 2001: 475)

Dynamically tied to the issue of violence were also the discordant and complex relationships between the masses (primarily peasants) and nationalist bourgeoisie (intellectuals, business elite and party leaders) as well as the fundamental spatial, economic and ideological dichotomies of the rural and the urban. According to Fanon, the peasants in the rural areas were clear that they wanted to usurp the colonizer's place and take back the land through violent means. The urban/rural binary played itself out here since the supporters of these nationalist parties were primarily urban voters and were attempting to profit from the colonial situation to some degree. The intellectual also

[17] Macey refers to 'A quoi rêvent les enfants d'Algérie?', *Les Temps Modernes* 164, October 1959, pp. 720-4.

remained far too individualistic and assimilated for Fanon's taste. The sad result of this is that, "The peasantry is systematically left out of most of the nationalist parties' propaganda." (Fanon, 2004: 23) While they pillaged, burned and killed, the nationalist parties distanced themselves from the people's struggle in order to reach a non-violent compromise with the colonizers. In the eyes of Fanon, this compromise is a form of profit-mongering and a betrayal to the struggle. Yet what it reveals in hindsight are the primary chasms between the different sections of society that are bound to come to the fore, perhaps even more violently, when independence has been won. Questions of modernity, technology and progress only widened the gap between the two groups, "So it is understandable that the clientele of the nationalist parties is above all urban: technicians, manual workers, intellectuals, and tradespeople living mainly in the towns. Their way of thinking in many ways already bears the mark of the technically advanced and relatively comfortable environment in which they live. Here 'modernism' is king. These are the very same circles which will oppose obscurantist traditions and propose innovations, thereby entering into an open conflict with the old granite foundation that is the national heritage." (Fanon, 2004: 65) As the peasants migrate to the towns, the distrust between the two groups becomes worse. Dividing the social classes further is the extremely complicated strategy towards creating a national consciousness, culture and ideology. The colonialists manipulate the antagonism between the rural and urban and further revive tribal identities. The existing gap had already broadened into bitter rivalry and it came to plague nation-formation during decolonization. Herein, we had the creation of the primary internecine chasm.

Fanon writes that national consciousness is nothing but a "crude, empty fragile shell. The cracks in it explain how easy it is for young, independent countries to switch back and forth from nation to ethnic group and from state to tribe – a regression which is so terribly detrimental and prejudicial to the development of the nation and national unity." (Fanon, 2004: 97) He singularly blames the apathetic nationalist bourgeoisie for not sufficiently engendering this somewhat unnatural process of nationalist awakening. Furthermore, he claims that the bourgeoisie play a double game of hoarding resources and profiting from western capitalism while pretending to appeal to the anti-colonial sentiment and attempting to create a nation. It is to them that Fanon attributes the creation of a 'narrow-minded nationalism,' which relies too heavily on foreign trade and systematic oppression through the army, thus leading to corruption, decay and often to dictatorships that loom in the horizon. The answers are obvious to Fanon – to transition into a peaceful and prosperous postcolonial phase the nationalist bourgeoisie should display an impeccable and selfless commitment, the leadership should be genuine and humane, the youth should be employed, the rural should be prioritized and socialism should be privileged over capitalism. Fanon even goes as far as saying that perhaps the bourgeois phase can even be effectively skipped and resolved through revolutionary action since it cannot pave way for national culture. Macey has rightly observed, "For Fanon, the nation was a product of will, and a form of consciousness which is not to be defined in ethnic terms; in his view, being Algerian was a matter of willing oneself to be Algerian rather than of being born in a country called Algeria." (Macey, 2001: 378)

Fanon thus acknowledges that the concept of nationalist consciousness is rudimentary, abstract and to some degree, something that is imposed from elsewhere onto

a people instead of organically stemming from 'within.' But while admitting that nationalism might be a weak form of organization, he does not take this inquiry further by offering any other methods to unify the multiplicity of identities existing in a colony. For Fanon, the process of attaining national consciousness is hierarchic and linear – as in, from territorial, tribal or ethnic identities, a group eventually progresses into a national identity. For example, he writes, "The Africans and the underdeveloped peoples, contrary to what is commonly believed, are quick to build a social and political consciousness. The danger is that very often they reach a stage of social consciousness before reaching the national phase. In this case the underdeveloped countries' violent calls for social justice are combined, paradoxically enough, with an often primitive tribalism." (Fanon, 2004: 143) A split is revealed here also; he criticizes nationalism by calling it crude and empty but at the same time he idealizes it as a higher, important stage within a revolution. It seems hard to reconcile the paradox here. Its also brings us back to Chatterjee's pointed question about the ability of nationalist thought to produce a discourse of order while wanting to negate the system of knowledge that has conquered the world. (Chatterjee, 1993: 42) Thus, while being cognizant of the fact that violence and nationalism are fundamentally problematic ideas that are likely to have some serious repercussions, he keeps trying to elaborate on how they could be better executed. There is an odd paradox in Fanon's ability to be farsighted and shortsighted at the same time. Fanon mediates the split position on violence and nationalism by holding the nationalist group and new leadership responsible for not having a generous and expansive vision of the world. Though he relies primarily on his understanding of Senegal's post-independence history and the hatred of Islam and Arabs that rose to the surface, he is generalizing when he

writes, “Since the only slogan of the bourgeoisie is “Replace the foreigners,” and they rush into every sector to take law into their own hands and fill the vacancies, the petty traders such as taxi drivers, cake-sellers and shoe shiners follow suit and call for the expulsion of the Dahomeans or, taking tribalism to a new level, demand that the Fulani go back to their bush or back up on the mountain…This ruthless struggle waged by ethnic groups and tribes and this virulent obsession with filling the vacancies left by foreigners also engenders religious rivalries.” (Fanon, 2004: 105-106) It is them he blames for the postcolonial problems caused by their “ultranationalism, racism and chauvinism.” It is them he rebukes and chastises and it is them he attributes all postcolonial conflicts. It slowly becomes evident that this might be the targeted object audience of *The Wretched of the Earth.* Fanon is quick to blame the nationalist bourgeoisie as a group but he does not suggest an alternative form of leadership. While he praises Bandung or Accra, he does not seem to acknowledge that the leaders he is praising (Sekou Touré or Kwame Nkrumah) belong precisely to the group of pragmatist, non-violent, urban, reformist bourgeoisie that he criticizes elsewhere.

In terms of a theory, Fanon’s ideas are solid but as practice, they lack any guidelines on the question of leadership, on how to de-center the leadership by shifting it from the urban metropole and on how to avoid the pitfalls of adopting a colonial mode of government, law and economics for the new nations. Part of this stems from the fact that does not attribute to Algeria the problems he diagnoses in other postcolonial societies proving yet again that Algeria was indeed his blindspot. When he wrote his book in 1961, the moment of Algerian unity and seeming national consciousness was in a stage of great euphoric intensity. While he criticizes other African countries and also Brazil, he

intersperses the text with a reference to "we Algerians" – "We Algerians during the course of this was have had the opportunity, the good fortune, of fully grasping the reality of a number of things." (Fanon, 2004: 131) He meant that the FLN created clear communication systems, kept the masses informed and engaged and cultivated dependent relationships between the various echelons of society.[18] Fanon assumed that the Algerians were on the right path and would not end up with the fate of other postcolonial states.

Feraoun's journal exposes the gaps in Fanon's knowledge of the FLN's daily practices dictated by religious fanaticism and ethnic rivalries. Even in the early stages of the war, Feraoun expresses his disdain regarding the FLN rebels' expectations:

> "They include prohibitions of all kinds, nothing but prohibitions, dictated by the most obtuse fanaticism, the most intransigent racism, and the most authoritarian fist. In a way, this is true terrorism. There is nothing left to do for the women of T.A (mosque) except to shrill with enthusiasm in honor of the new era of freedom that they seem to perceive beyond the foggy horizon that our dark mountains inexorably obstruct. It is forbidden to call a doctor (?), for a midwife (?), especially for a midwife (?), or a pharmacist (?). And on top of this, one must welcome, according to our most hospitable tradition, our brave visitors who put on the airs of heroes and apostles, just as we would welcome the great saints of Islam one knows so well." (Feraoun's question marks, 2000: 54)

Part of the problem was that Fanon's Marxist and atheist sensibilities certainly led to a dismissive attitude towards religious or ethnic consciousness amongst people and he did not concern himself with assimilating varied identities into a nationalist one or even in the national project of developing secular thought even though he brought up the

[18] Fanon's exact formulation is: "The flow of ideas from the upper echelons to the rank and file and vice versa must be an unwavering principle, not for merely formal reasons but quite simply because adherence to this principle is the guarantee of salvation…Once again we Algerians quickly understood this, for no member of the upper echelons has been able to take precedence in any mission of salvation. It is the rank and file which fights in Algeria and they are fully aware that without their difficult and daily heroic struggle the upper echelons would collapse – just as they are aware that without the upper echelons and leadership the rank and file would disintegrate into chaos and anarchy." (Fanon, 2004: 138)

potential identity wars quite often. Even though it has shortcomings on many counts, Fanon's examination of different classes of this society during decolonization illustrates his pessimism about the new nations. It becomes crucial for understanding the impending internecine wars that essentially display a failure of nationalism and corrupt, faulty leaderships of nationalist bourgeoisie, topics explored by Fanon with some depth.

Like the other revolutionary figures discussed in this chapter, Fanon was not just a theorist but also an active participant of the revolution. He was an honorary Algerian who had been granted a Tunisian passport with the name Omar Ibrahim Fanon. He was closely associated with the key FLN members and traveled to many places advocating the anti-colonial cause not withstanding the two serious assassination attempts on his life and a CIA-monitored hospital stay in the United States. More importantly, though he did not experience the war as a victim or as a soldier, he certainly saw it up close as its primary psychiatrist who dealt with a huge influx of torture victims, fatigued soldiers and generally patients suffering from trauma as they fled to Tunisia. As a writer and spokesperson for the FLN, Fanon had been put in a position of defending the struggle at any cost, especially to what he saw as a paternalistic and impotent French Left. His writings on psychiatry are scholarly and researched but his writings on politics, society and culture stand at the nexus between theory and practice. The sweeping generalizations, the lack of research and detail, the prophetic tonality, the structural shortcomings, the dialogic style, the frequent reference to 'we Algerians' and the psychological interpretation of politics are the product, not just of a haste precipitated by impending death, but also of a final coming together of a Fanonian legacy that was meant to be a

theoretical manifesto but also a call for practical shifts towards understanding, living with, eradicating and ending colonialism.

There is a deep duality in Fanon's last work as it walks a fine line between theory and practice – on the one hand Fanon's book is an objective theorizing of anti-colonial revolutions everywhere, while on the other hand, it is composed and delivered like a speech, like an attempt to incite action. The constant back and forth between the two styles, two objectives and two personalities makes his writing alluring, urgent and complex but at the same time, it remains neither here nor there; all is halfway formed and in many instances, exhibits a fragmented, sometimes unfinished quality. These dual intentions create within Fanon an epistemic bifurcation regarding the subject of violence and also nationalism – he criticizes and idealizes the two at the same time. For him, violence is not merely celebratory, cathartic or cleansing, it is also terrifying when it continues after the unfurling of national flags. LeSueur's own book becomes evidence of the astounding severity with which the French held on to Algeria, refused to negotiate independence and unleashed the terrifying violence of extreme torture and repression upon the Algerians. Viewed in the light of Gandhi's non-violent struggle that failed so fundamentally, and given the quantitative enormity of French violence as opposed to the English, it becomes imperative to think of Fanon's theories with a deep emphasis on the reality from which they are generated, and to specifically keep in mind the dynamics of a settler colony such as Algeria.

V Amilcar Cabral

Amilcar Cabral's revolutionary phase begins towards the end of Fanon's life even though they were both born in 1925 and their formative years have resounding similarities. Brought up in a middle class environment with a focus on education, both studied in Europe after the second World War that eventually fed their commitment towards an anti-colonial struggle and both found radically anti-colonial European women to be their life partners. Yet, it is the differences between the two that are more prominent according to Jock McCulloch, a scholar of Cabral's life and work. While Fanon approached the colonial problem through the study of psychiatry, Cabral's anti-colonialism stemmed from his profession as an agronomist. On a different level, Fanon had a "…marked attachment to a kind of intellectualizing that is so conspicuously absent from the writings of Cabral." (McCulloch, 1983: 8) In his famous speech at the Tricontinental conference at Havana, Cabral laid out his primary ideas but with a warning, "To those who see in it a theoretical character, we would recall that every practice produces a theory, and that if it is true that a revolution can fail even though it be based on perfectly conceived theories, nobody has yet made a successful revolution without a revolutionary theory." (Cabral, 1970 93) Cabral, more than Fanon, tried deliberately not to slip into the realm of the intellectual or philosopher of colonialism and claimed a more pragmatic relationship between revolutionary theory and practice – a revolution requires a theory but theory itself cannot lead to a successful revolution.

Most of his writings were in the form of speeches for conferences at venues as wide-ranging at the United Nations and Tricontinental Conference in Havana. Influenced

by *Presence Africaine* while studying in Lisbon and having made minor attempts to write poetry influenced by Senghor's ideas of negritude, Cabral's scholarly and creative side found its most pragmatic use in his role as a teacher to new PAIGC recruits. He taught his young students about the mechanisms of colonialism and the importance of a nationalist war. (Chabal, 1970: 43, 62) Irrespective of the form it originated in, a Cabralian theory exists and his opinions on violence, nationalism, guerilla wars and the impending issues of national leadership are pertinent given that he became a father figure in the revolutionary struggles of Lusophone Africa. He worked hand in hand with Agostino Neto of Angola who led the MPLA (Popular Movement for Liberation of Angola) and also was aligned with Mozambique's FRELIMO (Mozambican Liberation Front). He had managed to live in Cape Verde, Guinea, Angola and Sao Tome and also visited Ghana (for the All African People's Conference in Accra) and went to Guinée to gain support from Sekou Touré. A re-reading of Cabral becomes essential given that Lusophone regions, primarily Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, certainly suffer from the malaise of postcolonial civil wars exacerbated by oppressive and brutal dictatorships, particularly in Guinea-Bissau and Angola. It is imperative to ask why this particularly well-strategized and intellectually solid revolution did not lead to a more stabilized postcolonial state.

Cabral's first studies of the Portuguese colonies began with research on agriculture and the peasantry. As a trained agronomist, he spent years studying the main crops being produced, the technology being used and most importantly, the ways in which agriculture stratified social groups and vice versa. Cabral lays his first tenet for revolution with an African proverb, which states that no matter how hot the water from

your well, it will not cook the rice. According to him, this expresses a simple principle that, "the development of the phenomenon in movement, whatever its external appearance, depends mainly on its internal characteristics." (Cabral, 1970: 92) Applying this to the socio-economic sphere of humanity, it appears that while the external realm might wield some influence on this socio-economic whole, the internal processes are rhythmic, constant and progressive in comparison. He claims that, "Sudden progress is only possible as a function of violent alterations – mutations – in the level of the productive forces or in the pattern of ownership. These violent transformations carried out within the process of development of classes, as a result of mutations in the level of productive forces or in the pattern of ownership, are generally called, in economic and political language, *revolutions*." (Cabral, 1970: 94)

The specter of Marx looms large upon Cabral. McCulloch observes that in a twist on Marxist ideas, "Cabral implies that the dialectics of social transformation lie within the forces of production and not within the struggle between classes." (McCulloch 54) He adds that Cabral's agronomic writings "carry within them an anthropology reminiscent of *Marx's Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*. In this anthropology the achievements of human history are seen to be measured against the continuing conflict against nature as a the subject of labor." (McCulloch, 1983: 54-55) Cabral's understanding of agriculture and his reinforcement of technological progress appear pivotal to the national liberation struggle. The colonization of Guinea and neighboring Portuguese colonies was essentially economic and relied upon forced labor in the agricultural arena and the export of cash crops produced in the fertile regions. Cabral deduced that Guinea primarily produced groundnuts and the lack of crop diversity as well as the small amount of rice

production was detrimental to any kind of growth. (Chabal, 1983) He faithfully applied the idea of revolution achieved by 'sudden progress' through violent alterations or mutations to all aspects of his anti-colonial strategies, being a firm believer in the party as an agent of change. The infrastructure remained export-oriented and while Cabral justifiably wanted to change that, the eleven-year long war against the Portuguese wreaked havoc on the actual space of agriculture and destroyed the infrastructure, plunging the country into a deep postcolonial economic crisis.

Cabral closely studied group stratifications of people that existed in Guinea-Bissau. In the rural areas, the Fulas could be classified as the feudal nobility, Dyulas, the nomadic traders and artisans, came second and finally, there existed a peasant class that was highly exploited and underdeveloped. There were also a number of African small farm owners who lay somewhere in between the above three groups. In the urban areas, Cabral locates the proletariat– the wage earners such as the dockworkers, domestic servants, factory workers as well as the small farm owners. Then come the déclassé group which had the beggars and prostitutes on the lower strata and the more ambiguously positioned "young people," Cabral explains, "who are connected to petty bourgeoisie or workers' families, who have recently arrived from the rural areas and generally do not work; they thus have close relations with the rural areas, as well as with the towns (and even with the Europeans)." (Cabral, 1970: 59) After this breakdown, Cabral explains which of the groups are most engaged in the national liberation struggle and those that are not. Here, his work diverges significantly from that of Fanon. Cabral discovers that while the peasantry has most to be gained from the liberation struggle since, "physically the peasantry is a great force in Guinea: it is almost the whole of the population, it

controls the nation's wealth, it is the peasantry which produces; but we know from experience what trouble we had convincing the peasantry to fight." (Cabral, 1970: 61) The group that shows promise is the working class but even they were dismissed as a revolutionary class since they lacked the tangible, physical force of numbers. McCulloch further explains Cabral's anxiety regarding the working class:

> "The sad history of the nationalist struggles in Africa throughout the 1960s had shown the weakness of movements which were based on petty bourgeoisie leadership. These movements had all ended in disappointment and frustration. Cabral thought that he had discovered the reason for this failure in the absence, within these movements, of the leading hand of working-class elements. This helps to explain how it came about that the working class, its political consciousness, and culture occupy the place of a myth in Cabral's theory, which contains the wish for the arrival of a world not yet formed and perhaps not even possible in some Black African states." (McCulloch, 1983: 73)

In search of this ideal revolutionary class and diverging even further from Fanon, Cabral gives a central position to the urban experience of the déclassé young people who become the, "key stimulant required for the awakening of consciousness." (Cabral 63) Oddly, while the exploited peasantry does not awaken to fight and the working class is too small in size, Cabral proceeded to cultivate this group. In reality, this déclassé group consisted of unemployed youth having migrated to their petty bourgeoisie relatives, who had some knowledge of Portuguese and had awakened to the stark colonial inequalities in the urban areas. This section of the déclassé group ended up with a heightened anti-colonial consciousness and a will to fight for the cause. He felt it was imperative to inculcate a working class mentality amongst a certain set of people. The PAIGC successfully trained almost a thousand such people in Conakry for two years who, in turn, attempted to spread this mentality to the peasants. McCulloch observes that, "The task of the national

liberation movement was to instill a working class consciousness in a society in which there was no working class." (McCulloch, 1983: 67) And this new consciousness would form the underpinnings of a socialist revolution in Guinea-Bissau.

Cabral also asserted that there was no real tension between the urban and the rural populations. Most "contradictions," as he called them, lay between tribes and must not be allowed to explode, but at the same time, party identities should not be based on tribal identities either. But he devoted no time to understanding issues related to tribes and tribalism because his entire focus is on the category of class. He blamed the colonialists for aggravating the tensions between urban and rural and amongst different tribes and as a party leader, decided that these difference have been falsely exaggerated and must be underplayed in the an effort to unite everybody." Declaring that it is in fact the petty bourgeoisie that must be viewed as agents of history, Cabral's strategy was to train them to always be on the side of the toiling masses. During the epoch of decolonization that would follow, in an distressing move, Cabral wanted them to commit a 'class suicide' because their attempts to become bourgeoisie in order to replace the colonizers were bound to fail, leading them into maturity, an idea that ends up being utopian and impractical to the extreme. Some would then become revolutionary and some would become pseudo-bourgeoisie. While this showed promise of revolutionary action to some degree, Cabral was also attuned to the fact that such factions within the ruling class are bound to turn into a conflict. Strengthening of revolutionary consciousness within the bourgeoisie was clearly not possible in practice, as much as it was an alluring idea in theory. Perhaps it seemed possible to Cabral on a personal level. Robert J C. Young states that he, "had already committed suicide in class terms, and recognized the key to such an

action involved what he called 'cultural reconversion'" This entailed a re-Africanization of the mind, which he considered an indispensable criterion for "the integration of colonized peoples into the liberation movement." (Young, 2001: 28) While such a philosophy might be an essential intellectual and revolutionary foundation for Cabral on an individual level, the desire and hope that the bourgeoisie class could be converted to a similar consciousness is utopian in the extreme. Not only does this plan of instilling class suicide and new consciousness fail, but Guinea-Bissau's later coups become proof of the conflict within the bourgeoisie groups as they play out the deeply ingrained differences based on economic interests, class mobility and status in post-independence society.

There is a tyranny in Cabral's apparently pragmatic, practical theorization of the classes and the way in which each of them is used and manipulated for the revolution. Most importantly, the mindsets he deems ideal for the groups he speaks of are hard to cultivate and do not come from an organically charged revolutionary space. To some degree, a group of seemingly idle but angry youth cultivated for a war of national liberation reeks of a problematic process of militia-formation. Essentially without vocation and in a transitional stage, the war becomes a self-affirming phenomenon for the déclassé group. But the real dangers of unemployment, lack of assimilation into society and lack of economic promise appears in hindsight, a formula for generating future violence. Cabral's revolution also reveals an absurd irony. While he believed that only practice yielded theory, his attempts to superimpose Marxist socialist ideals upon a region shows the exact opposite. Part of the violent transformations he tries to facilitate included the creation of a proletariat class in an entirely forced manner.

McCulloch exposes a tension in the work of Cabral wherein he hoped that the anti-colonial war would have created and sustained a deep change in the men and women who fought and that this would find its way in the development of new institutions of the new state. But at the same time, Cabral, "feared that this would not be enough." This tension widened as a contrast emerged between, "Cabral's enthusiasm for the changes which has taken place during the period of armed struggle in the spheres of education and health and his prescription on the development of the state and rise of the pseudo-bourgeoisie once independence had been achieved." (McCulloch 132) Thus it can be argued that while Cabral was a primary instigator of nationalist unity, class-free society and strong intellectual foundations for the anti-colonial revolution, he failed to develop a theoretical as well as practical framework for the post-independence society. Guinea-Bissau gave way to a brutal, oppressive dictatorship within a decade of gaining independence and has ushered in the twenty-first century with mortifying levels of poverty, an unstable leadership and a full-blown civil war.

2

Warscapes

"Whiteness of a dawn that was soiled."

- Assia Djebar, *Algerian White*

I The Novel and Nation

The most significant way in which postcolonial civil war literature diverges from any other war writing is by the fact that it represents a splintered nationalism as opposed to a strengthened nationalism. Vincent Sherry observes of the European world wars: "Participation in the war strongly altered the ways in which the new nation could imagine itself, and the intensity and extent of that experience maybe be measured, inversely, by the relative brevity of the country's actual involvement in the military action of the war." (Sherry 3) The nation and national identity is often the pr imary component in the discourse about European wars, whereas postcolonial conflicts have often led to the shattering of those exact ideas. In postcolonial war writing these themes of patriotism, heroism, nationalism as well as the concept of warfare itself take on unusual forms. Civil war creates a very different universe leading to a crisis in the categories of national literature, the war novel, patriotic allegiance and questions of resistance amongst others. It demands a different framework for understanding the literature stemming from this phenomenon. I will map out the trends towards civil conflict starting from the early post-independence literature but before embarking on a literary analyses generated by the civil war novels, I would like to investigate the peculiar relation of the novel to the nation and furthermore, locate the postcolonial novels within the discourse of nationalism.

In his book about the connections between literature and geography, Franco Moretti places the novel in a very special category in relation to space, maps and the nation-state. Firstly, he emphasizes the *ortgebunden* or rather, the place-bound nature of literary forms and secondly, that literary form is a result of two conflicting forces working from inside as well as outside and both are equally significant. (Moretti, 1998: 5) While nation-states existed before the birth of the novel, they were, "still fragmented in several local circuits," and their "national" presence had not seeped into daily consciousness. Though there was a court, a dynasty and taxation, it was the coming of improved communication, mass conscription and industrialization that forcibly transported human beings from local spaces into large 'national' ones. Jane Austen's novels, for example, solidify this phenomenon, "…her plots take the painful reality of territorial uprooting – when her stories open, the family abode is usually on the verge of being lost – and rewrite it as a seductive journey: prompted by desire and crowned by happiness. They take a *local* gentry, like the Bennetts of *Pride and Prejudice*, and join it to the *national* elite of Darcy and his ilk. They take the strange, harsh novelty of the modern state and turn it into a large exquisite home." (Morretti, 1998: 20)

Austen's novels offered a symbolic solution to the trauma of being uprooted from a local space and being transferred into a highly abstract and amorphous national one. If the nation-state becomes an imagined home within the novel linking the two concepts in a dynamic and direct way, then how does the postcolonial novel of a complicated nationhood fit with this phenomenon? Kenneth Harrow's observation about African nationalism can be applied to all postcolonial spaces. He asks, "And where does literature intersect with the nation when the idea of the nation-state in Africa is often, mistakenly,

regarded as a maladroit consequence of colonialism, better discarded than reformed?" (Harrow 1) The nation-state is depicted as a fragile entity and authors took on a critical stance towards the onset of neocolonialism in works that were written just after independence.

The new post-independence literature emerged in different forms - as socially engaged literature denouncing metropolitan values and embracing a patriotic standpoint, as an aesthetic experimentation with the linguistic and culturally hybrid nature of the new nations, coming-of-age literature pitting the man and the nation as having intertwined destinies, allegorical literature, historical literature rewriting colonial encounters from the colonized's point of view or the realist novel depicting (favorably and unfavorably) the post-independence country. Soon enough, however, the question of a national literature and its ominous absence took root as a fundamental characteristic of postcolonial literary dilemmas and debates. Though discussed more comprehensively in the first part of the dissertation, it is imperative to remember that nationalism had a dialectical relationship to postcolonialism – while an empowering nationalist ideology is the staple mode of all anti-colonial resistance the actual embracing of a European version of nationalism becomes a way of remaining complicitous with colonialism. In the context of Africa, Christopher Miller claims that it is after independence that, "…an irony of history intervenes: having demanded nationhood in this peculiar, generalized sense, Africans found themselves subject to nationalism of quite a different, more vulgar sort. The arbitrary borders between African states, which had been ignored or critiqued as arbitrary by the theory of Pan-African nationalism, were re-asserted as the armatures of a more familiar state nationalism at the service of the new elites…It is as if Africa went from

prenationalism to postnationalism (or protonationalism) without an assertion or experience of a "positive," "traditional" nationalism." (Miller, 1993: 65) Miller claims that African nationalism as seen in literature went from having no actual state or nation to a second phase that reclaimed national borders. But it is a *resistance* to either types of nationalism that lies at the center of the two moments in literature. Neil Ten Kortenaar has argued that African novels often imagine a fictive nation given that, "state borders are so uncertain in the African literary imagination. (Koretenaar, 2000: 288) In an introduction to his work on Lusophone African literature, Patrick Chabal tentatively reminds his readers that national borders were carved up with no real historical logic but for the convenience of colonialism. He also adds that Africa's national literatures were formulated in the context of what he calls "artificial countries." (Chabal, 1996: 5) The development of language and expression through writing has also been complicated by the traumatic rupture suffered by indigenous, often oral, cultures due a long duration of colonialism.

In the South Asian Subcontinent, nationalism suffered a similar traumatic injury as India's partition into two nations put the question of an authentically Indian or Pakistani national literature into crisis. In fact, early literature from both countries was a Partition literature, a body of work that unified and divided at the same time. In Sri Lanka too, civil tensions between Sinhalese and Tamil populations were rearing their heads during the anti-colonial struggle. In any debate about postcolonial national literature, language still remains a tenuous issue and vociferous arguments have been made for and against the privileging of regional as well as the master's language. This argument yet again reinforces the essential postcolonial dialectic of national language – while regional

and local languages might emphasize a cultural autonomy they fails to unify as a nation due to the vast diversity of languages. Simultaneously, a blind acceptance of a colonizer's tongue is often at odds with local culture while managing to be an arbitrating entity in terms of a national unification. Canonical literary works have always existed in all these spaces in the form of epics, religious texts, oral histories, poetry and prose but colonialism severs an organic connection with the existing literature due the linguistic and cultural mutilation that it brings about, and the imposition of a framework of nationalism serves to only distance the traditional texts from the space they belong to. All of this proves that a tenuous and fluctuating understanding of nationalism pervades a majority of postcolonial writing pointing to the nonexistence of a cohesive, clear national literature. I would like to clarify this absence not as a 'lack' but as a mere fact. In reality, this phenomenon buttresses the debates on national literature that have gained a renewed vigor in light of the disintegration of Yugoslavia in Europe's own backyard, proving again the futility and inorganic nature of such a body of work. Moreover, the focus upon a literature of diaspora, exile and migration further shows the impossibility of defining a literature by nationalist criteria.

In my attempt to find a comparative thread between the decolonization and postcolonial literatures of South Asia and Africa, I would first like to position the literatures emerging in the wake of independence as sharing a common predicament regarding the (non)formation of a national literature and culture. Emmanuel Yewah speaks of the phenomenon in apocalyptic terms, stating that multiple writers,

> "…disillusioned by the broken promises of "les soleils des indépendances," betrayed by postcolonial rulers who have appropriated national discourses, conscious of dictators' human rights abuses within their imagined sovereign

> space, have turned their creative endeavors into weapons to challenge, indeed to deconstruct what Jean Franco has called in another context 'any signified that could correspond to the nation.' Such subversive activities of de-centering the nation, of questioning established national boundaries, have taken various forms. Some of the writers have created grotesque, ubuesque, composite political figures and endowed them with larger-than-life qualities that transcend national boundaries while undermining their flattering attributes by also endowing them with self-destructive tendencies as well, tendencies that together nullify their existence." (Yewah, 2001: 45-46)

Yewah's observation illustrates that most postcolonial writing is, in fact, resisting the coming of a dystopian postcolonial nationalism itself.

Contemporary postcolonial writing has also become more and more synonymous with an exilic writing and it is imperative to examine the peculiar relationship of postcolonial literature to the literal and literary question of exile. Firstly, there is a kind of voluntary exile of writers whose privileged educational and financial backgrounds allow them to leave national borders and migrate to the western metropolis (for example, Salman Rushdie, Chinua Achebe, Assia Djebar). The second kind is generated by oppressive regimes and dictatorships that create an environment of stifling censorship and brutality towards its writers and artists often forcing them to find political asylum in safer spaces (for example, Nuruddin Farah or Ngugi wa Thiong'o). The third kind of exile can be seen as a more metaphorical one, wherein a writer develops an exilic consciousness based on an alienation experienced from one's homeland as he or she witnesses its collapse into utter discord. Zimbabwean author, Alexander Kanengoni, or Lebanese novelists like Hanan Al-Shaykh or Ghada Samman could be placed in this category. Exile can certainly bring about a nostalgic longing for the abstract concept of home but it can also provide an objective critical lens into this home. In the case of

postcolonial writers, home remains a difficult notion to define and reconcile with. Memmi's words ring true when he claims that any colonized person suffers from a cultural, linguistic and historical schizophrenia. and a certain exile from the pre-colonial or native past is in existence. Pheng Cheah claims that, "Coming after the formal success of political independence, postcolonial nationalism is the anticlimactic betrayal of the promise of freedom in decolonization, in which, as a result of its consummated marriage to the postcolonial state, the nation-people becomes subordinated to particularistic state imperatives." (Cheah, 1995: 225) Writers like Ken Saro-Wiwa and Tahar Djaout have paid with their life for their critique of existing national agencies. While the stylistic registers wary, most postcolonial authors represent this particular betrayal of promise and the coming of civil war and violence provide an affirmation of this failure.

II Literary Trajectories of Civil Violence

> "No one can fathom this world of the suns of Independence. A day is already long, it contains many things; what of a month then? And I am too old. Men's life under the suns of Independence is poised at the tip of their little finger, ready to take flight."
>
> - Balla laments in *The Suns of Independence* by Ahmadou Kourouma

Each of the works being analyzed in this section could be said to represent a specific phase in postcolonial writing that heralds and, to some degree, welcomes the coming of a new epoch of independence, but is simultaneously self-critical and self-reflexive. *Weep Not, Child* by Ngugi wa Thiong'o takes place during the anti-colonial war in Kenya and is more concerned with the main protagonist's deep ambivalence to the cultural schizophrenia that is to become the collective psychological reality of the postcolonial state. Ahmadou Kourouma's *Suns of Independence* is a scathing critique of the independence that has now finally arrived and betrayed an entire community of people. Nuruddin Farah's *Sweet and Sour Milk* has gone past the above stages to represent life under a violent, military dictatorship, an experience that became the fate of a majority of colonies after independence. The Partition literature of India and Pakistan can also be perfectly aligned with the above works and expresses not just the failure of an anti-colonial struggle but also contextualizes the historic hatreds which tear at both the countries' internal fabric. I argue that there is a representation of an internecine discord within post-independence society and politics that can be traced even in the earliest literature. While this idea cannot yet be found at the center of any text, it is often embedded within the work no matter what phase of a postcolonial literature it belongs to. Furthermore, it gives evidence of the violence that has turned inward in the newly formed

nation and has begun to cut through any narrative of post-independence experience. Such representations whether in the form of themes, allusion or specters go on to foreshadow the civil conflicts that will come to eventually engulf those spaces and also provide a literary-historical frame to contextualize the later violence. By examining notions of civil discord, resistance to state mechanisms, representations of the Cold War's postcolonial politics as well as the overt or implicit instances of violence internal to the country in novels from varied spaces and chronology, a trajectory can be mapped leading right toward the postcolonial civil war phenomenon and the literature that it generates.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o is one of the most vociferous critics of postcolonial politics, literature and scholarship. Having led a life that has witnessed colonialism, revolutionary uprisings against it, the demise of those revolutionary ideals, tyrannical leadership, neocolonial injustices, imprisonment as well as exile, Ngugi's writings capture the turbulent experience of being in postcolonial Africa. In a literary profile of Ngugi, Simon Gikandi reminds his reader of the complicated historical vortex which shapes him – as someone having struggled with colonialism and then again with the Kenyan postcolonial state. Gikandi writes, "Indeed, one of the greatest ironies of Ngugi's transformation from being his nation's most famous writer to its most feared political dissident is that there was a time when his writings articulated the same ideological message as that of his country's leaders." (Gikandi, 1989: 144) In his later works such as *Petals of Blood, Matagiri* and *Devil on the Cross*, Ngugi articulates a full-fledged critique of contemporary Kenya. The cultural conflicts between an African past and a neocolonial present, the religious divides, the avaricious nationalist bourgeoisie, the corruption and the failure of independence are some of the novels' most resonating themes. For this

essay, I would like to return to this first work *Weep Not, Child* written in 1964 charting the rise of the anti-colonial struggle through the eyes of a young man trapped between a modernizing imperialist Christian system versus a resistant traditional African ideology during the state of emergency in colonial Kenya.

Weep Not, Child opens on a joyous note for its young protagonist Njoroge, who has been given permission to attend a colonial school. As the adolescent journeys into adulthood, Ngugi structures the conventional coming-of-age plot with what Gikandi identifies as a split narrative. Njoroge is always imprisoned between two sources of identity; the maternal or the paternal authority, the Biblical or the Gikuyu versions of the genesis, acceptance of colonialism or resistance to colonialism and striving for education or for land. However, the coming-of-age does occur with the onset of a violent colonial crackdown upon the burgeoning Mau Mau rebellion during which his father, Ngotho, is brutally tortured and Njoroge himself undergoes an unjust and violent interrogation. Njoroge realizes now that it is impossible and futile to hope for a new vision of his future and he finally discovers, "…the true state of the African subject under colonial terror." (Gikandi, 2000: 96)

The deep divides that exist within Njoroge's community are revealed through Ngugi's frank, boyish and at times, melancholic tone that lends the narrative a veneer of innocence and objectivity. The novel also depicts a larger theme of varied groups of people in conflicts based on class, race, age, gender and space. According to Cook and Okenimpke's reading of the work, "Social conditions make unity impossible." While the most flagrant division is obviously between the blacks and the whites, there still existed some strong resentment between other groups as well. At the beginning of the novel,

Njoroge's innocent tone captures the tense relations between Indians and Africans. As he strolls through the town, Njoroge presents the basic social stratifications in society. Musing about how Indian traders that had settled in Africa were quite rich, he adds, "They too employed some black boys whom they treated as nothing. You could never like the Indians because their customs were strange and funny in a bad way." (Ngugi 7)He also explains that the white Europeans still instilled fear and servility amongst the Indians further complicating the social structure in the town.

Though the novel is sprinkled with slogans of black unity, Ngugi undercuts the elation with a tragic portrayal of the internal class system that threatens this unity. While many of the characters can be seen as prototypes of a Kenyan microcosm with Boro as the Mau Mau fighter, Ngotho as a powerless father figure, Mr. Howlands as archetypal colonial settler, it is the figure of Jacobo, the character that openly collaborates with the colonials and manipulates the community for their benefit and this complicates all the internecine relationships in the Kenyan village. He is rewarded handsomely for his collaboration and models his house and lifestyle in a mimicry of the Europeans. Though most critics agree on the fact that Ngugi was not exposed to Fanon's theory of the nationalist bourgeoisie who betray their own people in *The Wretched of the Earth*, the figure of Jacobo certainly seems to be a fictional epitome of the Fanonian universe. Greedy, destructive, individualistic and without conscience towards his own people, Jacobo and Ngotho soon enter into a bitter conflict that tears apart this rural community and has personal ramifications for Njoroge who is emotionally involved with Jacobo's daughter, Mwihaki. Trouble rears his head when a strike is called. As a loyal employee of Howlands, he is warned that he will lose his job if he participates. Ngotho's frustrated

ambivalence regarding his role in the unfolding revolution causes first and foremost, a quarrel within this family. "Njoroge had never seen his father quarreling with his wives…Fear gripped him as he witnessed a real discord in a home that had hitherto been secure." (Ngugi, 2005: 52) In a manner characteristically depicted by Fanon, Ngotho character begins to unleash a repressed violence upon his own people. He screams at his wife to shut her mouth when she brings up the strike. Soon enough, "Ngotho could bear it no longer. She was driving him mad. He slapped her on the face and raised his hand again…'Why have they bewitched him? My man is changed…" (Ngugi, 2005: 53) Nyokabi and Njoroge thus witness the way in which the political situation manifests itself on their family life. Ngotho's sense of self as a husband and father enters a state of peril as he becomes bewitched with the coming anti-colonial struggle and the profound changes it will soon bring about.

Internecine violence within the community follows soon after the above incident. Ngotho attends a gathering of people where Kiarie, a revolutionary and a charismatic speaker gives a fiery speech about the importance of the impending strike and urges the strikers to be peaceful. However, police surround the meeting and soon a white inspector escorts Jacobo onto the stage to pacify the people and have them go back to work. Ngotho, astounded by this development has an epiphany: "For one single moment, Jacobo crystallized into a concrete betrayal of the people. He became the physical personification of the long years of waiting and suffering – Jacobo was a Traitor." (Ngugi 58) With that revelations, Ngotho suddenly heads toward him. "All this happened quickly and took the people by surprise. And then all of a sudden, as if led by Ngotho, the crowd rose and rushed towards Jacobo. At once the police acted, throwing tear-gas bombs and

firing into the crowd, and two men fell as the panic-stricken mob scattered." (Ngugi 59) The spontaneous incident of mob violence becomes emblematic of the class division in this society that become hyper-manifested in the event of an emergency.

The conflict between Jacobo and Ngotho points to the fact that small eruptions could eventually escalate into violence at a much larger scale when taken out of the microcosm being represented in *Weep Not, Child*. The author has aimed to portray the time of Kenyan emergency by synthesizing his personal experience into the fictional character of Njoroge. Ngugi further clarified his intentions, "In *Weep Not, Child* I just wanted to capture as much as possible the atmosphere of the situation, what it felt like to actually live in a small village at this time. So I wasn't trying to capture anything that was very deep, but I was trying to capture what it felt like to live in a civil war." (Sander and Munro: 2) Ngugi's later works capture the civil dissonances in Kenyan society in much greater depth and detail. But his awareness of these themes even in his first novel about an epoch that has often been idealized in postcolonial narratives certainly sheds light on the origins of violent civil wars and provides a socio-historical framework through which they can be better understood.

Ahmadou Kourouma's groundbreaking novel, *The Suns of Independence* was published in 1968 lending a whole new dimension to the already existing debates on African writing in French. The novel depicts a community struggling for survival in the wake of Ivory Coast's independence and as they mourn the loss of an older way of life, they remain maladjusted to the new hierarchical government and social stratification brought about at the end of the anti-colonial struggle. The story of the characters' loss of identities, languages and systems is written in a deliberate and dynamic hybrid of French

and Malinké thus making the frenetic linguistic mixing synonymous with the cultural and political experience of the newly independent space. By intervening the French language with the Malinké and by intervening the Malinké with the French, the moment of independence is represented as an impurity. It symbolizes the country itself which no longer remains linguistically or culturally pure, having been a victim of a forceful colonial episode and is now building a future that will be assembled on the bits and pieces of pre-colonial, colonial and an anti-colonial past. Secondly, in a literary attempt to complicate the concept of nation in this work, Kourouma portrays a very realistic world in the fictitious states of Ebony Coast and Nikinai. In his essay titled Fictive States and the State of Fiction in Africa, Kortenaar gives a simple reason for this tendency in African novels attributing it to that fact that, "state borders are so uncertain in the African literary imagination." He adds that authors, "…simply take advantage of the imaginative resources available to them in order to examine the conditions resulting from the colonial imposition of the system of nation-states in Africa." But in the case of Kourouma, it is not a fictive nation that he creates but a "nonfictive subnational community" modeled upon an existing Mandé community. Ebony Coast parodies the Ivory Coast thus subordinating the actual nation-ness of Ivory Coast to the community and territory of the real Mande people. Kortenaar writes that such a state is, "at best a shadow," and, "…is felt to be foreign and less real than the subnational level of identity below it. This particular gesture, while being reminiscent of many other African novelists such as Yambo Ouoluguem, Wole Soyinka, Chinua Achebe and Mongo Beti, places Kourouma firmly within the post-independence tradition of writing, which is articulating a profound disillusionment with the newly decolonized Africa.

Kourouma is acerbic in his portrayal of the new country and centers the narrative on characters that have been most downgraded by the transformed politics and economics. The novel is mainly focused on Fama, a protagonist emblematic of a rapidly fading historical past. He is the last remaining descendant of the Dumbuya dynasty but has been relegated to an underprivileged position in post-independence society. Fama shamefully admits the Malinkés' fall from grace and is embarrassed about the scavenging that has become mandatory for survival: "Since every funeral ceremony pays, one can readily understand why Malinké praise-singers and elderly Malinké, those whose trading activities were ruined by Independence (and God alone knows how many old traders ruined by Independence there are in the capital city!)" (Kourouma, 1981: 4) Even the weather seems conspiratorial to Fama as he exclaims with frustration, "The sun! The sun! the cursed sun of Independence filled half the sky, scorching the universe so as to justify the unhealthy late-afternoon storms." (Kourouma, 1981: 5) The curse here refers not just to the political and economic misfortunes but is perhaps an allusion to Fama's sterility, which though literal, is also symbolic of his general impotency in society and the waning status in his community, (Thus, the disturbance caused by independence that cuts through the raw emotional core of these communities is the primary premise of Kourouma's work. The plot develops through a journey where Fama tries to travel from the fictitious Ebony Coast to the equally fictitious socialist republic of Nikanai to reclaim his kingdom as its only heir. Inevitably, the borders are impossible to traverse as new rules of nationhood dictate and Fama dies tragically when the crocodiles attack, having changed from being sacred to hostile.

The Suns of Independence fits neatly within the tradition of authors that have been deeply critical of postcolonial politics but this critical stance is more overtly manifested and the approach towards the new government is unsympathetic from its very inception. It is a world where the native inhabitant has turned on members of his own community by having willingly succumbed to the re-invention of the colonial dynamic even when the memory of an anti-colonial struggle is in the recent past. Christopher Miller points out in his detailed reading of *The Suns of Independence* that the character of Fama often equates colonialism and Independence. Miller writes that, "Although he (Fama) was active in the struggle against colonial rule, it as a return to tradition that he thought would be the result." (Miller, 1990: 232) But instead, Fama and others like him are overlooked once Independence arrives. In fact, the word "Independence" itself is written as if it were a proper noun and it is always used to evoke the authoritative connotation given to a person, political party or a regime.

During Fama's first journey by road in a crowded lorry, the embedded themes of civil discord brought on by the new politics begin unraveling. He bumps into his old neighbor Jakite, who has fled his village that lay right in between the People's Republic and the Socialist Republic, thus forcing him to choose between the two. As the novel progresses, it is the story of Jakite and his father that goes on to mirror Fama's fate as well. Jakite's father was a wealthy and well-respected man until Independence brought the one-party system and socialism. Since the father belonged to the opposition, he was told that the party had been dissolved and he would now have to pay dues to the ruling party, not just for himself but his many wives and sons. He pays up willingly and soon enough, with the coming of a socialist self-help agenda, he is even forced to give up his

lorries to build a bridge. Since there was no petrol since Independence, the party youth set the lorries on fire in an act of frustrated vandalism. The next day, the party officials bully Jakite and his father again ordering them to go work on the bridge instead of the fields even though it was the time of harvest. They do not comply and on his way back home, Jakite is accosted by the party youth lying in wait for him and, "…they leapt out and attacked him, pinioned him, pulled off his trousers, attached a rope to his genitals and tied him to one of the posts on the bridge, like a dog." Jakite's desperate father tries to beg the party secretary-general, "who replied that since socialism was to bring to an end the exploitation of man by man, nobody should set foot on a bridge he had not helped build." After begging him further to no avail; "the old man went mad, raised his shot-gun and fired full in the chest; the secretary-general collapsed." (Kourouma, 1981: 57) As panic spreads, the old man shoots down more party officials and eventually releases his son from the post. Jakite escapes but the old man is soon shot dead.

As the lorry journey continues, Fama's fellow travelers narrate their individual woes in the wake of new leadership. Already addressing the tyrannical form that the new leadership has begun to take, Kourouma writes, "The old man begged for mercy, but he (the party secretary-general) could not be moved: socialism was socialism!" (Kourouma, 1981: 57) The somewhat merry exclamation mark points to the farcical and ridiculous nature of this version of socialism that Kourouma is mocking. Christopher Miller explores Kourouma's rhetoric of mockery and irony in great depth and links it to a direct satire of Félix Houphouët-Boigny's whose official ideology in the 1950s resonated with constant use of clichés such *as fraternité* and *humanisme*.[19] This explains the socialist

[19] Christopher Miller offers a detailed footnote explaining Houphouet's use of these terms in his speeches and national policies in his chapter titled "Les Soleils des Independences" published in Theories of

self-help projects, which become a pretext for extortions as well as an excuse to disrupt existing economic sustenance via agriculture and other rural trades. Throughout the novel, he critiques the leaders' less than perfect modus operandi in the guise of socialism as it is unleashed upon innocent villagers. Even more pertinent is Kourouma's depiction of the bullying youth who have been handed a small amount of power by the ruling party. Energized by the legitimacy granted to them and with no real knowledge of the existing community and its internal structures, these youth set out to wield the little power they have through acts of humiliation and violence. Inevitably, resistance to their violence leads to more violence on the part of Jakite's father leading to an all-out spread of panic. Jakite's story cannot be characterized as a full-fledged incident of mass civil violence but Kourouma certainly plants a seed here. The narrative that emerges here can be seen as the next phase of postcolonial politics going awry and heralds a move away from a problematic anti-colonial phase of Ngugi to the beginnings of a very troubled one during decolonization.

Another fellow traveler, Sery, voices his opinions for the misery and violence in Africa. Colloquially narrating the beginnings of a political discontent, Sery reminds all the travelers of the way in which the French colonizers infiltrated his land and communities with literate folk from Dahomey and Senegal, privileged them in every way and thus deliberately underdeveloped his tribe of Sery people. And with the coming of Independence, the Sery tribe immediately turned against the Dahomeans and there was an outright war. According the Sery (who has same name as the tribe), the narrator of this history, the lesson learnt from those events was that Africans should not leave their native

---

Africans: Francophone Literature and Anthropology in Africa. Chicago: University of Chicago P, 1990, p.235.

homes. He explains, “But now things were going wrong again, because other Africans wouldn’t stay at home; they kept coming to the Ebony Coast, Nago from the South, Bambara and Malinke fleeing socialism, Mossi from the north, Hausa from the east.” Complaining about the problems this chaotic internal migration creates, Sery ominously concludes his speech to the silent passengers, “We don’t like that at all. Will we have to start killing again, driving people into the sea? It’s not nice.” (Kourouma, 1981: 60) Kourouma does not sustain this particular theme in his novel. It is subtly interspersed within the overall poly-vocal narration of the work where he aims in particular to give agency to the individual’s fate in the aftermath of the Independence. The somewhat farcical tragic-comic elements of this work are consistently undercut by the brutal acts of violence – the story of Salimata’s forced excision and rape, Salimata’s witnessing of a bloody animal sacrifice, the story of Jakite’s humiliation, the funeral rites marked by a celebratory violence and finally, Fama’s scuffle with the crocodile leading to his death. While the sacrificial violence is meant to evoke positive connotations of cathartic purity and new beginnings, the violence depicted between the human beings is always between members of the same community. Fanon’s observations of the colonized venting their repressed violence against their fellow colonized hold true here. Yet, it is not in the context of an oppressive colonialism but in fact, stems out of a now oppressive postcolonial politics. Kourouma’s brief exploration of this theme cannot be characterized as a prediction of the civil violence but more of a quick glimpse into a very realistic problem posed by new political systems, and the way in which it generates these civil discords and communal violence.

Nuruddin Farah's masterful trilogy titled *Variations on the Theme of African Dictatorship* consisting of *Sweet and Sour Milk* (1979), *Sardines* (1981), and *Close Sesame* (1983) explore the underbelly of violence under tyrannical conditions in Somalia, amplified by Soviet presence and interference, at a pivotal juncture of the Cold War politics in Africa. A history of violent civil disputes has plagued Somalia for centuries. The 'Scramble for Africa' in the late nineteenth century carved up the Horn of Africa for European colonial powers resulting in a triple colonialism (French, British and Italian) in the Somali region that superimposed a colonial politics upon an already existing complex clan system and re-arranging it spatially and constitutionally. The result of the multiple colonizers and the overlapping territories with Ethiopia was that unlike other colonies, a Somali region unified under colonial rule was never created. Somali critic and poet, Ali Jimale Ahmed points out that there was no consensus even on the anti-colonial liberation struggles because, "There is no one blueprint to follow…The dilemma is made sharper by the absence of an armed struggle in the fashion of the Mau Mau or the Algerian War of Independence, where a guerilla war marks the departure of a colonizer." (Ahmed, 1996: 36) Ahmed claims that Somali freedom was mostly won in the political arena with multiple parties leading thus to, "…the absence among Somalis of, to a borrow a phrase from Barthes, a 'shared code of reference' forged in the heat of a common liberation war experience…" (Ahmed 36) While rivalry between the clans persisted in the wake of Independence, it was within a decade that Siyad Barre's military coup transitioned into repressive dictatorship clamping down on any opposition and dismantling all forms of democratic apparatus. Meanwhile, Barre tried to put a lid on all ethnic and clan identities in his ambition to create a socialist 'nation' of Greater Somalia but clan warfare persisted

throughout his rule intensifying acutely towards the later part of his regime. To some degree, while a post-independence literature does come about in Somalia, it less about the liberation struggles or decolonization and more about the period of dictatorship that followed so quickly after.

A Naked Needle and *From a Crooked Rib* capture Somali post-independence society, the crisis of identities and the role and treatment of women. However, I prefer to focus on *Sweet and Sour Milk*. Here, Farah depicts the all-pervasive nature of dictatorship, which controls not just one's physical movements and political activities but also appropriates one's soul, spirit and memory. Written like a detective novel, Loyaan attempts to excavate the truth behind his twin brother, Soyaan's mysterious death. Yet, the investigation yields less answers about the actual murder but succeeds more in the unraveling of an existential truth about one's corporeal as well as intellectual being in a situation of unending crisis. But the structure of a cryptic detective investigation allows for a game of doubles that persists throughout the book. Soyaan's note makes an appearance as the first clue to the mystery stating, "M to the power of 2" referring either to Margarita and Marco, his lover and son respectively or even Mogadiscio and Moscow. Soon the doubling becomes incessant epitomized by the main characters that are identical twins, Soyaan and Loyaan followed by the birth of another Soyaan in the wake of the elder Soyaan's death. Using a strategic epigram by William Reich - "In the figure of the father the authoritarian state has its representative in every family, so that the family becomes its most important instrument of power" - Farah also creates a mirror dynamic between family and state where Kenyaan and the General share authoritarian tendencies and possess a very cruel streak.

Many critics have written in some depth of the way in which the family becomes an microcosm of the nation-state with its patriarchal, controlling dynamics, mistreatment of women, tangled polygamous webs, secrets and lies as well as an overall atmosphere of repressed hatreds and violence. In my opinion, it is not sufficient to only reveal this connection between state and family but it is imperative to delve deeper into the meanings behind the difficult interpersonal dynamics since Farah develops it into full-fledged allegories for the civil war in his later works. In my loosely mapped progression from brief depictions of postcolonial internecine violence in an anti-colonial struggle in *Weep Not, Child* to the disillusionment literature of newly independent state in *Suns of Independence*, Farah's novel is placed last. While in the previous novels the internal violence came in the form of a prophetic gesture or a secondary event, in *Sweet and Sour Milk*, a political violence has completely overtaken the community and lies entirely *within* the boundaries of the Somali nation controlled by dictator Siad Barre. Farah's narrative represents the centrality of violence in the community and it is as prominent as any main charater. Since the agents of violent acts such as torture and murder are unnamed and invisible, violence literally creeps through the entire novel weaving itself through incidents narrated indirectly to Loyaan and also through the phantasmagoric and dystopian visions emerging from Loyaan's psychological landscapes.

Soyaan's murder brings into focus the troubled relationships between the patriarch, Kenyaan and all the other members of the family. Loyaan's memories of childhood resurface in the presence of his father. As he and Soyaan quarrel over a ball, he remembers,

> "Kenyaan's crooked smile, his towering height. The fist of power; the power of the patriarch; eyes hard as knuckles. Kenyaan had picked up the ball and, without

> much ado, without any uprush of rage or anger, punctured it and tore it in two. "I will kill him one day," Soyaan had said. "I really will. When I am strong as he. When I can handle a knife, when I can carry a gun." (Farah, 1980: 33-34)

This image of a man with hardened eyes, a towering personality and the cold violence towards the children shows the patriarch as a figure of deep negativity lacking compassion and any paternal love for his own twin boys. As Soyaan fantasizes about an act of counter-violence towards his father, the author illustrates that any violence running through the veins of the younger generation has been brought on by a previous generation that has abused and scarred them. In fact, characters belonging to the younger generation are portrayed sympathetically while the older male generation belongs to a brutish mode of behavior and is always traitorous toward the youth. These include the General, Kenyaan, the Minister and later in the novel, even Dr. Ahmed-Wellie turns into a suspicious figure.

Farah seems to be generating a critique of Somali postcoloniality by laying out a generational conflict with the use of the family model that he also extends to the nation-state. This conflict is important to Farah, firstly because the figure of the father, "is part of the chain of oppression in which he passes on the regime's violence to his family, beating his wife and children when he is humiliated by superiors at work." (Wright, 1994: 51) Though the younger characters' lives and views can be seen as archetypically westernized with a disregard for tribal kinships and pre-colonial Somali traditions, it stems more out of disgust at how outmoded and repressive those identities and ideas have become in contemporary Somali society. Postcolonial authors from other African traditions have certainly discussed the way in which the new nation betrays its citizens and the way in which is takes a toll on a generational differences. But in Farah, the

intensity of that profound rupture *inside* of the family is unique and unparalleled. In *Sweet and Sour Milk*, the father is disgusting in ever way and is the household replica of the dictator – both are chauvinistic, semi-literate, obscurantist about religion and intolerant of opposition. (Wright, 1994: 49) Not only has he betrayed his sons, daughter and wives at every juncture of their lives, it is the way in which he betrays Soyaan's memory after his death that becomes an even more shocking example of his extremism. Kenyaan conspires with the regime as they fabricate Soyaan's last words turning his death into that of a hero of the General's revolution though he knows full well that his son was anti-regime and has been poisoned to death for those activities.

Within this representation of a generational conflict and betrayals between the families, there lies an allegory of civil discord. On a literal level, the troubled father-son dynamics function at a level of a quarrel brought on by a deep generation gap between father and sons. Also operating at a literal level is the mirroring between the dictator and patriarch. On the symbolic level however, Farah's positioning of the conflict within the family signifies the way in which the unit of society is experiencing deep ruptures and is tearing apart at its core. Furthermore, this conflict is not merely verbal but engages the physical being in the most violent way. Kenyaan hitting out at this children, the terrifying beating up of his pregnant second wife, his compliance with Soyaan's death and his previous job as a torturer unravel the corporeal violence at the heart of this particular internecine discord. Kenyaan could be accused of collaborating in a filicide and the twins harbor fantasies of a vengeful patricide. In *Sweet and Sour Milk*, this allegory is intuitive about the civil war to come, pointing to the fact that a war has already weaved its way into the primary unit of the family where a cycle of violence and counter-violence is

already in place. In *Secrets* and then in *Links*, similar allegories of civil wars problematize the origins of one's birth and sibling rivalries respectively, opening up a discourse on the authenticity of clan identity as well as becoming a reminder that the battleground is indeed one's own family.

Partition literature from India and Pakistan represents a very different universe. As the anti-colonial struggle in India reached a crescendo, the talk of partitioning the state between Hindus and Muslims also became a reality. In August 1947, the Partition became official, creating 10 million refugees and resulting in a massacre of one million. (Fancisco, 1996: 227) Literary representations of the Partition, whether in the form of novels, poetry, short stories or plays, are a significant part of the cultural and artistic sphere or India and Pakistan. Fiction about Partition appeared as early as 1948 with the short stories of Sadat Hasan Manto, who moved from Bombay to Lahore and spent the remainder of his years satirizing the gory event. Though it has been more than sixty years since the Partition, the event remains etched in the Indian and Pakistani imagination and Partition literature has seen many revivals since its early beginnings. When East Pakistan became Bangladesh in 1971, the memory of 1947 resurfaced. With the television boom in the eighties, many television series and adaptations from book to mini-series dealt with the event in a serious manner.[20] The nineties saw yet another revival in the literary realm with the appearance of new anthology compilations as well as novels.[21]

African literature during the anti-colonial and decolonization stage finds civil conflict at the level of sub-plot, metaphor or allegorical allusion but civil war literature is produced in a full-fledged way due to the Partition. Jason Francisco writes that, "In wider

[20] Television series such *Humlog, Tamas, Garam Hawa* are some of the primary examples.
[21] Jason Francisco reviews all the new anthologies, Bapsi Sidhwa's *Cracking India*(1992) & Mukul Kesavan's *Looking Through Glass* (1996), Amitav Ghosh's *Shadow Lines* (2001)

perspective, the Partition stands as the archetype of what I would call nationalist fratricide, the conflict between people of a common cultural heritage – usually also the common subjects of foreign domination – in competition as 'nations' for political control of land and government." (Francisco, 1996: 227) Emerging from British colonialism of India for almost 350 years, the civil conflict between Hindus and Muslims is one of the earliest examples of the violence of decolonization and postcoloniality. In my dissertation, Partition literature finds itself in conjunction with African literature on two fronts. Firstly, Partition novels have a lot in common with African novels of civil conflict even though they were published at an earlier time. For example, Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan* places the tiny, secular village of Mano Majra in Punjab at the center of a Partition massacre. Using the trope of a choral protagonist, multiple characters narrate the story of a revenge train that goes from Delhi to Lahore and back from Lahore to Delhi carrying nothing but a mass of butchered bodies. The tiny railway station of Mano Majra is left to witness and engage with this hideous event splitting the previously secular town into religious factions. In a similar vein, Boris Diop's *Murambi: Le Livre des Ossements* (*Murambi: The Book of Bones)* used multiple narrators to tell the story of the Rwandan genocide, eventually settling on the small town of Murambi where the ethnic cleansing took on horrifying dimensions. A second comparative example can be found with Bhisham Sahni's 1974 novel, *Tamas*[22] and Nigerian Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun* published in 2006. Both employ three narrative threads to represent the Partition and the Biafran War respectively. Nathu is a lower class laborer who is manipulated by the Hindu and Muslim factions and gets trapped in the conflict. In

[22] Tamas refers to a philosophy of the negative forces of death, darkness, ignorance, sloth and destruction.

Adichie's novel, Ugwu is similarly a houseboy of an elite Igbo family and experiences the conflict by his linkage and servitude to them. Both novels use figures of English colonizers who have 'gone native' to some extent and thus play a unique role when the violence comes to the fore. Through the epic events played out over many months, *Tamas* and *Half of a Yellow Sun* represent the violent creations of separatist, partitioned states.

However, at a different, secondary level, it also becomes necessary to resist comparing the oeuvre of Partition literature with the body of a burgeoning African literature of internecine wars. Though Partition remains a particularly significant and important memory with regards to the history and aftermaths of British colonialism in the Indian subcontinent, the constant and consistent emphasis of this particular event in the Indian and Pakistani literary universe had led to a lack of emphasis on the kind of civil violence problem both countries have been facing in the more recent past. The publishing phenomenon and a 'noble savage' status given to South Asian literature (briefly discussed in the introduction) becomes a factor in determining the narratives that are privileged in the literary and academic culture. Contemporary, metropolitan literature from India and Pakistan has not engaged with the new ethno-religious wars, separatist movements, dictatorships, communal riots and civil violence. This absence becomes even more ominous when that political turmoil is juxtaposed with various examples of African literature representing similar problems in their postcolonial environments. In addition, the ongoing production of a distinctly civil war literature in Sri Lanka just next door only adds to this conundrum.

II The Metaphysical Detective

Novels about the discordant and irrational universe of civil wars often cast the figure of the detective as their central protagonist. The figure of the detective represents a metaphor of order for a world gone awry with the chaos of war. In Nuruddin Farah's *Links*, Jeebleh, a professor and scholar of Dante living in New York returns to his native Mogadishu in the middle of the ongoing clan wars. While Jeebleh has many compelling psychological reasons for revisiting his homeland, his main purpose is to investigate the abduction of a young girl named Raasta, a mystical "miracle" child and the daughter of a close friend. As a protagonist turned detective, he journeys into the heart of Mogadishu's wartime chaos and as the experience of living in a civil war unravels itself, it brings with it past memories and exposes familial and political secrets. Romesh Gunesekera's novel, *Heaven's Edge* has a plot composed along the same lines. Marc, an Englishman of Sri Lankan origin, journeys to his ancestral home in order to connect with his roots and family history. There, he becomes embroiled in a passionate friendship with a young woman. When she is kidnapped, Mark sets out to investigate the abduction of his beloved in a country destroyed by a civil war. And Mia Couto's *Last Flight of the Flamingos* uses magic realism and fragmented, multiple narratives to articulate the story of a detective investigation as United Nations peacemakers start disappearing in war-torn Mozambique.

In his essay *Mayhem at the Crossroads: Francophone African Fiction and the Rise of the Crime Novel,* Pim Higginson claims that the genre of detective fiction holds a strong literary and intellectual sway over marginalized writers from subject countries. He delineates five main reasons for this: "…its urban setting and preoccupation with class and ethnicity; its exploration of normative paradigms through the trope of the law; its

liminal literary status; its evolution through geographic displacement and its celebration of the vernacular." (Higginson, 2005: 163) The Francophone African novel, in particular, leans towards this genre in order to represent a political engagement with colonialism through a framing of tropes of law, order, criminality and dynamics of social power. In addition, it attempts to capture the migration from rural to urban, and represent the gritty, complex and violent conditions of city life. Civil war offers an even more intense array of violent turbulence, rampant lawlessness and societal breakdown. In my opinion, it seems fitting that authors find that the detective novel is a compelling and ideal framework to represent these conditions.

The world of chaos becomes the starting point for the fiction of detection and this holds true for the universe of Farah's *Links*. When Jeebleh lands in Mogadishu, it is not at the city's main airport, "but at a desolate airstrip, recently reclaimed from the surrounding no-man's land between the sand dunes and the low desert shrubs, and the sea." (Farah, 2004: 3) It is a symbolic landing for Jeebleh, figuratively framing the primary question mark of the narrative. As the protagonist stands between the no-man's land vortex of the dunes, shrubs and the sea, he literally does not know where he is and by extension, it seems that neither does Somalia. The setting is chaotic as the other landing passengers push one another, argue fiercely and unidentified men loiter around the airstrip. Jeebleh sets himself apart from the crowd and becomes an observer, detached from the chaos to a certain degree. Farah's narration of Jeebleh's character displays a duality – as he participates in the actions and conversations with other characters, Jeebleh simultaneously processes the events analytically. Though he retains a politely interrogative social façade, he evaluates every character he meets with suspicion, filing

away their most minute gestures and trying to fit them into the puzzle that war-torn Mogadishu has become.

Tzvetan Todorov claims that the thriller is an offshoot of detective fiction and it distinguishes itself through a specific milieu, particular characters and behavior. The three main elements include, "violence, generally sordid crime, the amorality of the characters." (Todorov, 1977: 48) Time here is usually out of joint and there is an overarching rotten atmosphere. Certainly in *Links*, these three elements are omnipresent. Violence is everywhere due to the ongoing war. Within hours of landing, Jeebleh witnesses an unnecessary shooting of a young man in a Mogadishu that Farah describes as "anarchic" and "violated." Youth armed with guns dominate the cityscape. Abductions, murders and corruption are examples of the sordid crimes that surround the returning protagonist. Characters like Af-Laawe and Caloosha are decidedly amoral. These characters are depicted as having profited from the war either by occupying homes of citizens that have fled or through businesses involving money laundering.

In Gunesekera's *Heaven's Edge* the title itself points to the notion of being on the brink. It begins on an idyllic, quiet note but not without a hint of the suspicious. As the protagonist Marc settles into a ramshackle hotel on an obscure Sri Lankan beach, the macabre elements reveal themselves. "On my second morning I got up earlier, before the heat became unbearable, and took a walk outside the walls of the hotel. A broad strip of macadam meandered up to the sentry-point. I noticed the flash of mirror-light as a gun, or camera lens, hidden in the pill-box caught the rays of the sun. Although there were no soldiers to be seen, I didn't go any closer."(Gunesekera, 2002: 9) The civil war is around the corner, and it shadowy specter haunts the early beginnings of Marc's journey. Unlike

Jeebleh, the Sri Lankan novel portrays an unwitting protagonist who comes to the paradise island to discover his roots but is forced into a horrifying abduction plot. He eventually turns into a man on the run, thus becoming an active participant in the civil war.

One of the ways in which Jeebleh begins to imbibe the characteristics of a detective is by plunging into three main investigations upon this return. Firstly, there is the abduction of the young girl, Raasta, which forms the literal detective investigation plot of the novel. On a second parallel level, he is trying to locate his mother's grave and also rekindling his friendship with his childhood friend Bile. These two personal elements shape the ontological quest of the story and lastly there is the question of his country and the reasons for Somalia's state of disarray. When he admits to himself that, "he was hoping to locate his mother's story in the context of the bigger national narrative," (Farah, 2004: 29) it becomes clear that Jeebleh is also trying to articulate a political narrative for Somalia. In an analysis of Farah's earlier novel *Sweet and Sour Milk*, Ian Adam writes, "The mood of detective fiction is interrogative, and the questions – which may be asked by all – are definitely framed in the consciousness of a detective investigator, who ponders the circumstances of the death and begins a reconstruction of the events leading up to it, basing his re-creation of the past on such clues as he can discover." (Adam, 2002: 332) Though the plot for this novel is shaped around an abduction and not a murder, Jeebleh does develop different interrogative modes for each of his investigations. Externally, he interviews all the characters he meets from the driver to the hotel manager, trying to find out what they know about the recent abduction and also to map out the locations of the various characters who he suspects are involved.

Internally, Farah shapes a complex inner monologue for Jeebleh's character. As Jeebleh unwinds in his hotel room on the day of his arrival, the questions plague him relentlessly:

> "Was he, as a member of a clan family, responsible for the murders committed in the name of a shared "we"? And what of the claim that violence is cathartic, capable of making people get to know one another in a deeper way, just as a person comes closer to knowing others in times of disaster? […] He was sure he did not love Somalia the way he used to love it many years before, because it had changed. Maybe love did not enter into one's relationship with one's country? Maybe nostalgic patriotism demanded its own brand of flag-waving? Was he back in the country to refurbish his emotions about Somalia with fresher affections? Can one continue to love a land one does not recognize anymore?" (Farah, 2004: 42)

Farah privileges the acts of self-detection as much as he does the actual investigation of Raasta's abduction. Jeebleh and later Bile, his childhood friend, enter and exit realms of their past lives and reflect upon their destinies. There is an attempt to find a political and personal logic since the protagonists' destinies seem intertwined with the dislocated narrative of the country. Pointing out the existential, metaphysical leanings of such a narrative, Holquist writes: "…the metaphysical detective story does not have the narcotizing effect of its progenitor; instead of familiarity, it gives strangeness, a strangeness which more often than not is the result of jumbling the well known patterns of classical detective stories. Instead of reassuring, they disturb. They are not an escape, but an attack…If, in the detective story, death must be solved, in the new metaphysical detective story it is life which must be solved." (Holquist,1971: 155) The above observation holds true for *Links* and a disturbing strangeness overcomes Jeebleh when he is alone or it communicates through his dreams. As he walks around on the grounds of the hotel, he identifies a human silhouette and feels that the shape, "seemed detached from both time and space." Furthermore, it instills in him a funereal sorrow. Jeebleh's

daily vivid dreams reflect a violent chaos where the themes of torture, imprisonment, war, abduction, family, animals intertwine to create a "disjointedness and lack of clarity." As the novel progresses, the story of the abduction resolves itself in a much simpler manner than the story of Jeebleh and Bile's political and personal pasts.

The main difference between *Links* and *Heaven's Edge* lies in the role that the civil war plays on their literal and existential investigations. In the former, Jeebleh and also Bile try to parse through the chaos of the war to formulate a logical sense of their selves and to find the abducted child, whereas in the latter, the violent war becomes an impetus and oddly enough, an anchor that leads Marc to his father's past. The journey through the war-torn region takes it toll upon him but it also rejuvenates and energizes him, and eventually leads him to his destination. In *Heaven's Edge,* this structural relationship between the political and personal is turned inside out – what begins as an existential search for his roots turns into a story of a tense abduction in the middle of a ruthless war. Marc goes to Maravil in search of the place that fascinated and eventually killed his father. The first person narration also suggests that that novel intends a memoir-like self-reflexivity. His lethargic and pensive approach to the trip belies the thrilling urgency that he is about to encounter. Several days pass as he explores the island and Marc embarks on a sensuous affair with an enigmatic Sri Lankan girl, Uva. The narrative alternates between flashbacks from Marc's childhood and his daily meetings with Uva. When Uva is abducted, the novel changes its mode entirely and Marc now encounters violence, murder and amoral characters in search of her. Ellen O' Gorman has evoked the dual roles played by such protagonists and claims that the figure of the detective is comparable to that of the historian. "The detective seeks a solution to a mystery or mysteries. The

solution is arrived at through the scrutiny of material evidence and the careful questioning of witnesses: in short, through a process of retracing, recovering the past. The detective is bound by an obligation beyond that to any human individual: an obligation to Truth." (Gorman, 1999: 20) Both novels put heroes returning from foreign exiles in charge of recovering a political, often national narrative. The detective as a historian becomes a poignant parallel in this case.

O'Gorman writes that, "Theoreticians of detective fiction have always agreed that style, in this type of literature, must be perfectly transparent, imperceptible; the only requirement it obeys is to be simple, clear, direct." (Gorman, 1999: 20) While this observation is applicable to the above two novels, Mia Couto's *The Last Flight of the Flamingos* departs entirely from a simple, direct and transparent style. Set in the small Mozambican town of Tizangara, this detective thriller takes on a supernatural quality and the narrative contains highly stylized magic realism elements. Though Couto started his career as a poet, most of his oeuvre now consists of a several *contos* (short stories) and novels wherein, he blends colloquial realities of daily life with the realm of the fantastic to allow for an excavation of contemporary Mozambique's language and identity. Patrick Chabal explains Couto's hybrid style:

"Never overtly tragic, Mia Couto's c*ontos* nevertheless disclose the tragedy of contemporary Mozambique concretely and powerfully. Beneath the surface of stories which are always ironic and often humorous lurks a world in which people's lives have been severely traumatized. Old values have been undermined, familiar social compacts have disappeared and a new political bureaucracy rules over everyday life – all this in a country which has not yet formed itself into a cohesive society a firm sense of identity." (Chabal, 1996: 79)

For example, *The Last Flight of the Flamingos* is framed around the main conceit of an

investigation: United Nation peacekeeping officers are disappearing leaving behind nothing but their dismembered genitals and blue helmets. Italian official Massimo Risi arrives on the scene as a detective and his tale is told through the first person narrative of a Tizangaran local who plays the role of Massimo's translator. Real rural life soon begin to collide with the magical as the plot of the investigation unravels. Patrick Chabal says this of Mozambique and it could be just as easily said about Somalia or Sri Lanka: "Poorly integrated by the Portuguese during the colonial period, badly bruised by the nationalist struggle and torn asunder by civil war since independence, Mozambique is not yet a country in any meaningful sense of the word. Largely shorn of the social cultural attributes of the modern nation-state with which Africans could readily identify, Mozambique in itself is part reality and part fiction." (Chabal, 1996: 80) While Farah and Gunesekera recognize and acknowledge a similar quality about their respective national spaces, it is through a deliberate "hyper-logic" and a rational realism that they work through the dilemmas. For Couto, it is the realm of fantasy that offers not just solace but also a mode of survival. Topics such as rural poverty, an all-pervasive neocolonial capitalism, violence and depravation are paradoxically depicted through the lens of a magic realism and fantasy. Chabal also claims that the element of fantastic in his work becomes a response to the violent history, which brings about a death of the imagination.

There are two stories being told in *The Last Flight of the Flamingos*. The first one is the story of a befuddled Massimo trying to solve the crime and the second is that of the narrator who retraces his past and tries to be a literal and spiritual guide to Massimo. The figures of historian and detective fuse seamlessly in Couto's universe. The main crime at hand is merely an excuse to set the two main protagonists on their journey and it never

really gets resolved. However, the larger crime, that of the violation of Mozambique and its symbolic disappearance becomes the author's main concern. The first person narrative is personal, emotional and melancholic but Massimo undergoes a transformation as his rational side embraces the mystical elements in his surroundings, leading him thus to deeper answers. In the previous novels, the main events are imbibed through one character but in the magic realist universe, everything comes in sets of two. The two main characters form one main narrative of detection and characters like Temporina, the old-young girl, also contains contradictory dualities.

In this work, the genre of the detective story is being emphatically subverted. The narrator explains that "The only facts [here] are supernatural ones," Each chapter begins with an epigram, which the author calls, "A belief from Tizangara." As the investigation continues, Couto's epigrams reveal less and less. For example, "Facts are only true after they've been invented" (Couto, 2004: 85) undermines the importance of clues or evidence. Taking the novel to its most symbolic conclusion, Massimo writes an ominous last report from what he describes as the "edge of the world" and it contains neither resolutions nor answers. It states the following, "I am aware that my present report will lead to my dismissal from the team of United Nations advisers. However, I have no other choice but to report the truth that confronts me: that his vast country has disappeared, as if by a stroke of magic. There is no land left, no people, and even the very ground has evaporated into am immense chasm." (Couto. 2004: 178) After he writes it, the very concept of "a report" itself is subverted when Massimo makes a paper bird out of the page and launches it across the sky. Unlike the other novels, the "hyper-logic" of the detective story ceases to exist rendering instead a metaphysical absurdity.

III Reconfiguring the "Other"

The contemporary usage of the concept of the "Other" can be attributed to Emmanuel Levinas and was later explored by Sartre in his work on existential philosophy and by Jacques Lacan for psychoanalysis studies. Simone de Beauvoir made the term synonymous with 'minority' when she applied it to issues of gender description and the privileging of masculine, patriarchal structures in society. In postcolonial studies, French theory wielded a strong influence on Edward Said and Gayatri Spivak both of whom applied the concept of the "other" and the processes of "othering" to the history of colonialism. Said outlines in *Orientalism* that colonial relationships were often built on binary constructions of self and other. He claims that, "the essence of Orientalism is the ineradicable distinction between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority." (Ashcroft et al, 2000: 81) The essence of imperialism is thus the deliberate, politicized distinction between the superiority of the colonizer and the inferiority of the colonized, the division between savagery and civility. Spivak borrows heavily from Lacan's theories and coins the term, "othering" which she defines as, "a dialectical process because the colonizing *Other* is established at the same time as its colonized *others* are produced as subjects." (Ashcroft et al, 2000: 171) This "othering" was crucial to the project of empire, which sought to establish its universality and centrality through a discourse of "difference."

Historically, postcolonial critics have been engaged in a re-contextualization of canonical and celebrated authors and texts by exposing their "othering" of colonized people and the way in which it fueled the imperial work. Some examples include the exposure of Conrad's insistence on an African barbarism and bestiality in *Heart of Darkness* or Isak Dinesen's inherently superior ownership and exoticization of the Kikuyu tribe in *Out of*

Africa are some of the examples. Writers have also responded to these unjust representations through a process of "writing back" at Empire. Aime Cesaire's black version of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, Jean Rhys' re-writing of Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre* in the *Wide Sargasso Sea* or Wilson Harris's revisionist re-writings of *The Divine Comedy, The Odyssey* and *Faust* are prime examples. A different mode of "writing back" at colonial history has involved an obverse process of "othering" in postcolonial literature. In attempts to re-inscribe the colonial experience in history and literature through the colonized's point of view, writers often mirrored the process of "othering" the colonizers in early postcolonial works.

For example, Cameroonian author Ferdinand Oyono's *Houseboy* tell the story of young boy coming of age as a domestic servant in a French household. Toundi, the houseboy, writes a diary in which he jots down his daily encounters, some significant, others often trivial. Not only does Toundi take on the task of narrating his own story, he also becomes a judgmental and descriptive commentator of French culture. Oyono uses the trope of naïveté and childishness to "other" his colonial employers. Toundi is surprised by a white priest's robes and comically claims that he is wearing women's clothes, thus mocking the high ranking of the priest, using a tone of faux innocence. In a key scene, Toundi comes upon his French master who is naked in the shower and is shocked to discover that this powerful man is uncircumcised. He thinks, "He had seemed to me more naked than my fellow Africans who strip unconcerned and wash at the water channel in the marketplace." (Oyono, 1966: 28) In this encounter, Toudi's master is stripped of his dignity and in fact, rendered inferior to the Africans. This moment heralds a pivotal shift in the dynamic of the colonized and the colonizer. He claims, "It killed

something inside me…I knew I should never be frightened of the Commandant again." (Oyono, 1966: 28) By othering his master, by making him different and less civilized than the colonized Africans, and by making the master an object of his "native" gaze, Toundi re-invents himself as the superior one of the two. The postcolonial project has attempted to subvert existing configurations of power and in doing so, works like Oyono amongst several others, have re-invigorated and re-perpetrated the binary between the colonizer and the colonized. In the current, more contemporary phase of postcolonial literature, the subject of civil discord and internecine conflicts comes to the foreground. While the specter of colonial history haunts the literature, the binary of the colonizer and the colonized has come apart. The figure of the colonizer is now only a ghostly trace but the "other" has been relegated to a different set of characters and elements in these works.

A contemporary example of othering between the colonized themselves include Emmanuel Dongala's *Johnny Mad Dog,* a novel that depicts civil war in Congo through the eyes of two young protagonists. Alternating chapters take us inside the experience of Laokolé, a teenager fleeing a genocidal attack on her village with her mother and younger brother in tow, and Johnny, another teenager who has been forced into becoming a child soldier, conducting his tasks with a ruthless, irrational intensity. As the story unfolds, the two characters' paths intersect several times until the final confrontation where a captive Laokolé kills the violent, insatiable Johnny Mad Dog. Dongala's novel, more than many others, points to a theory of the new "other" and represents an encounter between the two, antagonistic forces, which are internal to the postcolonial state at war. The girl protagonist is depicted as the good force within this society. She is a compassionate and responsible person who does not shirk her duties to her family during the war and her

interest in education shows that she aspires to better herself and her environment. As the daughter of a mason, Laokolé learns about life by helping her father and grasping the significance of the mason's tools. She muses, "These old mason's tools had not only fed us and clothed us and enabled us to buy medicines that had kept us healthy up to that point, but they had also given me a certain advantage over my fellow students (…) And last but not least, thanks to that folding ruler (…) my dream had been born: my dream of graduating from high school and becoming an engineer, so that I could construct buildings even bigger than the ones Papa had built." (Dongala, 2005: 15-16)

Johnny on the other hand, could not be more different. He is a child soldier in one of the many militias who recruit the young men and women by keeping them under the influence of large amounts of drugs and forcing them into crude sexual encounters as well as euphoric mass killings. Johnny who swears nonstop and obsesses over his alias name, physique and weapons, is portrayed without any sympathy. This thirteen-year old second-grade dropout brutally rapes a famous TV presenter at gunpoint early in the novel. As he forces himself upon her he thinks to himself, "That's what's so terrific about a gun. Who can resist you? We'd been told that power lies at the muzzle of a gun, and it was true." (Dongala, 2005: 24) As the woman weeps in pain and humiliation, a delusional and utterly childish Johnny thinks, "I even think she liked it – she was weeping with pleasure, was no longer struggling, was looking at me without emotion, her eyes wide as if she were in another world." (Dongala, 2005: 25) Johnny represents a world gone awry in its delusional violence.

In a violent war-torn country, Dongala offers two faces of humanity. Laokolé and Johnny mirror each other since they are of the same age, of similar small town

background and experience the same grotesque war through a parallel geographic journey. Yet, they are enemies of each other literally and symbolically. In every encounter between the two, Laokolé "others" him. When she first sees him and his cronies from her hiding place, she finds him puzzling at first. "In any case, I'd never seen any outfit as bizarre as the one by this Mad Dog…Dark glasses hid his eyes, and – even more strange – from time to time his T-shirt gave off flashes of light." Laokolé watches in shock as Johnny and his friends bully a small boy. They kick him, steal the fruit he is peddling and eventually gun him down to death. Another child soldier appears on the scene and Laokolé compares him to an animal describing him as having, "…the macho strut of a male gorilla, pitching from side to side with every step." (Dongala, 2005:54) The author depicts the young boys as irrational savages and animal-like in their behavior, mirroring to some degree, colonial conceptions of an African "other". But in this case, it is Laokolé who finds her own people savage and sub-human.

The final face-off between the two protagonists solidifies the status of Johnny as the enemy. Reaching the peak of her anger and frustration as she watches Johnny's attempts to torture and kill another young helpless child, Laokolé realizes, "He is a beast." Picking up the heaviest book in the room, which symbolically turns out to be the Bible, she hits him with it till Johnny bleeds to death. The novel depicts Westerners in a far better light that it does Johnny and other soldiers. Though Dongala exposes their callousness and negligence, he also shows Tanisha, the Swedish aid worker, to be compassionate and indignant about the way in which the refugees are being treated. Though he paints a satirical sketch of the Western media, United Nations organizations and governmental officers, the author still reserves the most negative portrayal for the

African militias. Dongala appears to be representing a dual picture of postcolonial Africa. Though both characters allegorically represent good and evil, they also stand for creation and destruction. The process of "othering" is simultaneously a process of creation. Unlike a colonial "othering" which was grounded in racial, ethnic, economic and geographic grounds, the differentiation in this case is primarily ideological and ethical. Laokolé self-affirms her admiration and aspiration for compassion, education and ethics through the savagery and bestial cruelty of Johnny. Though he is fond of using the term "subversive element" for his captives, ironically it is Johnny who is the subversive element in African society and Laokolé, who represents a humanist hope within the situation.

Nuruddin Farah engages in a similar discourse of "othering" by using the family as an allegorical unit of nation. In *Secrets* and in *Links*, the family becomes a space where national events can be solidified into a narrative. In *Sweet and Sour Milk*, Farah presents a conflict between two generations and its significance for the nation being held under a patriarchal dictatorship. The father and his sons stand in as symbols for the dictator and his nation. The patriarch is represented as the figure of "other" in this Somali family. Not only does he possess a violent, savage, bestial character, he also symbolizes a different and 'other' value system and cultural sphere. In *Links*, similar allegories of civil discord projected through dysfunctional family dramas become a reminder that the battleground is indeed one's own family. While *Sweet and Sour Milk* is concerned with othering the values and politics of a generation, *Links* locates the figure of the "other" amongst siblings. Jeebleh the protagonist reconnects with his two childhood friends, siblings that are very much like his own brothers. The binaries between good/bad, victim/victimizer and hero/villain are laid out from the very beginning.

The war has diametrically opposite effects on Jeebleh's closest friend, Bile, and brother, Caloosha. Bile is framed and sent to jail where he spends a harrowing few years only be set free by the chaos of the civil war. In a spirit of generosity and humanism, Bile starts an orphanage for children affected by the war. Caloosha, on the other hand has become a cruel, mean-spirited warlord profiting from war and involved in kidnappings and violence. Farah's preoccupation with myths of identity and the question of origins come to the fore. In this case, the origins hold the prophecy of the future. Caloosha is "born evil" and the author explains, "Caloosha had been born in the breech position almost killing his mother in the process." (Farah, 2004: 94) His destructive quality is shown to be inherent to his character. He is also shown as grotesque: "flabby with a paunch that spilled over his belt laying flat on his lap." And furthermore, "Caloosha's distended belly was filled with sentiments of war and wickedness, which was why he looked so ugly and so unhealthy." (Farah, 2004: 102) When Jeebleh meets him, he is repulsed at his fleshiness and forces himself to be smothered by his hug, all the while full of loathing for him. He remembers that, "Ever since childhood, they had been at loggerheads, and the memory of how Caloosha had again and again hurt him returned with a vengeance, causing Jeebleh to display his rage right away, and violently." When Caloosha asks if peace can prevail between them for the time being, Jeebleh thinks, "In the two days he had spent here, he had seen nothing but destruction, because none of the men at each other's throats was prepared to compromise, and none showed humility. Where would arrogance lead him? It would create further rifts, cause more deaths, and spill more bad blood?" (Farah, 2004: 102)

The relationship between Caloosha and Jeebleh here is meant to evoke the clan wars wherein the complex clan system can often mean that the rivalry can almost take on the form of a fratricide. The author here alludes to the difficulty of making peace in a civil war situation where the common origins and bonds have been forgotten in the pursuit of destruction and violence. Though Farah is critical of colonialism and of the US intervention in Somalia, that history is merely a backdrop to the depiction of the current war. In this case, Farah attempts to claim that the enemy and the "other" now reside in one's own family. Jeebleh's mother warns him to beware of his blood community, his clansmen. She says, "They will turn out to be your worst enemies, and they are more likely than not to stab you in broad daylight if you choose to have nothing to do with them," (Farah, 2004: 96) There is a disturbing cyclical return to Edward Said's postcolonial formulation where he claimed that Western discourse viewed the Oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, 'different'; thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, 'normal.' This binary is now appropriated by Farah to represent siblings now at war with each other.

Written a few years before *Links*, *Secrets* is less focused on the mechanics of "othering" but more concerned with the problem of origins of one's birth and the foundational myths of family that hold a key to understanding the civil war. Articulating a narrative through the figure of the young Kalaman in search of his father, the novel allegorically parallels the story of Kalaman to that of the country. Frances Ngaboh-Smart observes that *Secrets*, "…responds to a particular moment in the elaboration of Somali national discourse, namely, the early 1990s or the eve of the civil war, when the nation entered a period of accelerated militarization, sporadic but growing insurrection, guerilla

activity, and bloodshed. Narration thus seems to follow history to the end of the state and provides us with many ready connections between history and representation. *Secrets* is thus a skillfully textured narrative, but it still remains a discourse on the fate of a nation: Somalia." (Ngaboh-Smart, 2000: 138) Kalaman navigates the search for his identity with his wise grandfather and a resistant mother only to eventually realize that he is a child born of the gang rape of his mother. He finds that he is, "weighed down with an alloy of physical and mental incongruities, of a peculiar blend too cumbersome to define." (Farah, 1998: 95) Alidou and Marzui conclude that, "With Kalaman as a possible symbol of postcolonial Somalia--a state born out of a "gang-rape" by the British, the Italians, the French, and even the Ethiopians--this immoral act in the postcolonial dispensation leads to a serious crisis of identity (on the part of Kalaman/Somalia), which constitutes the background to the ensuing collapse of the state." (Alidou and Mazrui, 2000: 124) Furthermore, the metaphor of gang rape also alludes to the violence inherent in the origins that starts off a cycle of abuse, and goes on to becomes a metaphor for the ongoing civil strife.

Kalaman's quest also forces him to come to terms with his relationship to the mystical, shape-shifting and manipulative childhood friend, Sholoongo, whose origins are also complicated and problematic. Farah designates evil origins to certain births (Sholoongo and Caloosha, for example) and embedded within this genealogy is a prophecy of a cursed future. While Sholoongo represents a curse upon the society, Kalaman is the innocent recipient of this cursed society's actions. Though complex in its vibrant mythological and cultural realms, the symbolism often appears to contain a simple and fatalistic binary of good and evil within society, a fact that some critics have

viewed as a "moralistic interpretation." Here, a character's birth leads him or her to bad deeds and decisions, which lead to the detriment of the entire family unit and by extrapolation, the nation. Sholoongo is classical figure of the "other" and is at some point described as a condition, "a condition of wrath" and "a state of turbulence." (Farah, 1998: 200) In *Secrets*, Farah draws up a taxonomy of social, psychological and familial origins through an abundance of proverbs, myths and idioms which hold a key to tracing the events of the past and linking their significance to the present. According to Nonno, there exists a theory of universal secret laws that governs humans and beasts and these contain an explication of violence as well. Origins are the only key for understanding events that occur years later and Nonno says, "The secrets which we all preserve provide a key to who we are, deep down." (Farah, 1998: 144) Farah's preoccupation here with family mysteries is really a fascination with the idea of a microcosm and the way in which it can shed light upon the larger political universe. As life-altering world-changing events play out in this microcosm, the cosmic links between humans, animals, origins, secrets, language, violence and curses are unraveled.

Nonno also makes the more direct connections between this microcosm of the family and of the Somali nation:

> "Let's for a change talk about the entire country, and its impending collapse into blood-letting anarchy. And let's agree for what it is worth that our nation's predicament is our own predicament too, collectively and individually, each of us an accomplice in its ruin. Can anything be done to stop the country from fragmenting into family fiefdoms? …Because what is happening to the collective identity of the nation and in the individual lives of its people is not tiddlywinks, a game played with pieces of plastic made to jump into a container. What is happening is a life-and-death matter." (Farah, 1998: 189-190)

Farah also explores the issue of a clan identity through the use of these microcosms. Incest is a powerful recurring theme in his works and through this, he wishes to expose the fundamental impurity of a family unit. By introducing characters in the family who appear to defy the logic of intimacy and are in fact, figures of the "other," the author defiles the unit of the clan and the loyalty it is supposed to organically generate. For Farah, the embracing of the family unit as something pure and without fault is in direct relation to embracing a clan identity. Kalaman's impure origins are a symbol of the futility of such an allegiance. The hero observes that, "Forming a political allegiance with people just because their begats are identical to one's own--judging from the way in which clan-based militia groupings were arming themselves--is as foolish as trusting one's blood brother. Only the unwise trust those close to them, a brother, a sister, or an in-law. Ask anyone in power, ask a king, and he will advise you to mistrust your kin." (Farah, 1998: 77) Kalaman's epiphany is simple and he speaks of the politics of inclusion and exclusion that communities generate through false myths of ancestry and origins. Since it is these notions that become the foundation for violence and civil war and it is through devaluing, defiling and "othering" the unit of the family that Farah subverts the individual and collective politics of clan wars.

IV The Space of Violence

"The killing has changed the city's shape – This rock
Is bone
This smoke people breathing."

- Adonis, *The Desert (The Diary of Beirut Under Seige, 1982)*

In Frantz Fanon's essay, "On Violence," he reflected briefly upon space in the colony. Calling it a fundamentally compartmentalized world, Fanon explains that, "By penetrating its geographical configuration and classification we shall be able to delineate the backbone on which the decolonized society is reorganized." (Fanon, 2004, p. 3) In this divided universe, the colonist's sector is made of stone, steel, lights, paved roads, clean streets and even the garbage is wonderfully filled with "undreamed-of leftovers." The colonized's sector which consists of the Medina, the reservation or shanty-town is a cramped space filled with piles of people who are famished and "angry for bread, meat, shoes, coal, light." (Fanon, 2004: 4) Fanon calls it a prostrate sector that "crouches and cowers." It is no surprise that while these two compartments co-exist, the colonized fantasizes about taking over the colonizers sector. An even more important aspect of this dual universe is the dividing line of the border, which is controlled by an unmitigated violence. The "regime of oppression" is perpetrated by the figure of the police office or soldier who manage this border space through the creation of barracks, checkpoints and police stations. These two worlds that are kept apart by violent means are governed by the "dictates of mutual exclusion" and the colonized's sector is a superfluous space. In the violent moment of decolonization, Fanon claims that the dreams of the colonized take on a spatial quality. They wish to "swarm the forbidden cities" and want nothing more than, "demolishing the colonist's sector, burying it deep within the earth or banishing it from the territory." (Fanon, 2004: 6)

Taking a cue from Fanon, it becomes obvious that anti-colonial struggle and decolonization does indeed bring about the violent swarming of spaces and eventually power and autonomy is granted to the leaders of these movements. As the nationalist bourgeoisie take over the political centers of the colony, they inevitably begin occupying the villas, offices, monuments, public institutions, administrative buildings, clubs, bars and gymnasiums formerly inhabited by the colonizers. In *Midnight's Children*, a work that is set during the simultaneous decolonization of Indian and Pakistan, Salman Rushdie creates a humorous, hyper-realized rendition of this phenomenon. The Sinai family relocates to Bombay and they buy a huge estate from an old colonial, William Methwold, on two conditions: the actual transfer of the house would take place the midnight of independence and that "the houses be bought complete with every last thing in them, that the entire contents be retained by the new owners." (Rushdie, 1995: 109) As the comedy about transferring the space continues, Mrs. Sinai is appalled at the thought of living with the Englishman's belongings. Methwold persists,

> "Lock, stock and barrel…Those are my terms. A whim, Mr. Sinai…you'll permit a departing colonial his little game?"
>
> "You'll take a cocktail in the garden? Methwold is saying, "Six o' clock every evening. Cocktail hour. Never varied in twenty years." (Rushdie, 1995: 109)

Soon, the narrator exposes the folly in agreeing to these terms. Rushdie writes,

> "…things are settling down, the sharp edges of things are getting blurred, so they have all failed to notice what is happening: the Estate, Methwold's Estate is changing them. Every evening at six they are out in their gardens, celebrating the cocktail hour, and when William Methwold comes to call they slip effortlessly into their imitation Oxford drawls…" (Rushdie, 1995: 113)

This satirical interaction reveals the raw relationship between space and its impact upon cultural and political behavior. It also illustrates Ernest Bloch's observation that, "the

manner in which objects fill a space generally reflects the manners of those who are served by them." Using an example of how a chair's form can dictate the body's posture, Bloch writes, "We also take on the form of our surroundings. Not only does the man make his world, but the world makes the man. *Homo faber* and also *homo fabricatus* – both are equally true; they are dialectically interrelated." (Leach 43) The onset of neocolonial politics is very present in this scene and humorously reveals the problem of the elite, urban national bourgeoisie that Fanon finds to be the most destructive element in postcolonial politics. The problematic way in which space is understood, used and created during the moment of decolonization already heralds the onset of an extremely tangled and challenging postcolonial spatial politics. Thus, I would like to approach the question of space in the postcolony and its relation to violence in a two-fold way; firstly by making the connection of architecture and space to nation-building. Secondly, I will address the postcolony as a space of war and explore the dialectical relationships between space, narrative and violence as deduced from the novels.

In his groundbreaking work on the connections between architecture and formation of national identities, Lawrence J. Vale explains: "In the emerging postcolonial world of the middle and late twentieth century, the leadership of newly independent states has frequently attempted to use architecture not only to house a new form of government but to advance its status. The professed goal of such government buildings is to forge something most often termed national identity of national unity; yet, I will argue, the design of these buildings remain closely tied to political forces that reinforce existing patters of dominance and submission." (Vale, 1992: 10) Moreover, Vale believes that postcolonial leaders straddle two antithetical pressures; either to commission a new

parliamentary district despite budget issues or "to expropriate and reuse the opulent edifices of the colonial ancien regime." The final "capitol" that comes about resonates with strong symbolic meanings for the centers and the peripheries. Vale's theory rests on Eric Hobsbaum's idea that while modern nations claims a remote antiquated past, their identities are really constructed through an innovative social engineering in which architecture, of course, plays a vital role.

During the formation of postcolonial nations, many leaders and national elite tried to use architectural strategy and design to promote a homogenous national identity especially in light of the fact that anti-colonial struggles had already started giving in to civil strife due to a tussle for power amongst different groups. Theories of nationalism claim that the main goal for emerging nations is not really about the process of tapping into an older, dormant national bond but to promote a high centralized culture and politics which allows for an assimilation into "universal civilization." Chandigarh in India was a new, modern city designed by Le Corbusier in the aftermath of Partition, where tensions between Hindus and Muslims as well as Sikhs and Hindus were rife post-Partition. The Sikh city of Chandigarh was projected as a symbol of new beginnings, homogenous identities and most importantly, national unity. The decision to relocate national capitals has been a common phenomenon in post-independence countries. Pakistan's capital was moved into West Pakistan's interior and led to the creation of the highly planned city of Islamabad. The aim here was to move away from the centre and locate further into the interiors in order to facilitate a unity between the two large provinces of the East and the West including the controversial East Pakistan comprised of Bengalis. For the space of Pakistan, this particular move only affirmed the Western

superiority and also provided the military-minded leader, General Ayub Khan with a place to develop the military strength of the country. In Sri Lanka, Sinhalese nationalism was deliberately projected upon the mythical city of Sri Jayawardhanapura Kotte. In Africa, the most ambitious and expensive projects were taken up in the Nigerian creation of Abuja as its capital and Tanzania's creation of Dodoma. National identity, unity and inclusiveness were claimed as the primary goals and in the case of Tanzania, a socialist shift toward the rural was emphasized. Vale reminds us, "Yet topological centralism, like many other political maneuvers can be deceptive…It is one thing to move out of an overcrowded and tainted colonial city; it is quite another to choose to move to the center of the country." (Vale, 1992: 135)

Doxiadis, the architect whose firm designed Islamabad was critical of the designed capitals because of the emphasis placed on monuments, government buildings and high-income housing. He prescribed that one, "must start by covering needs, and not by building monuments." Yet, Vale argues that this only made a difference in the sequence of the building process but, "did nothing to challenge previous attitudes towards the privileged position and the isolation of the capitol complex." (Vale, 1992: 130) A huge problem apart from the expenses and sequencing of these relocations was its reliance upon an inorganic and somewhat absurd migratory imperative. There is no real reason to move to these capitals when the economic stronghold and growth remain elsewhere and the new capitals only become isolated hubs of elite governmental and military officials. Furthermore, the ideological foundations for these projects are problematic, often revealing a "powerful ambivalence. In Vale's research, Abuja, Dodoma, Islamabad and Kotte suffer profoundly from ideological flaws revealing that the

national elite in power might claim to be committed to national unity but they are not always "equally committed to all groups in the nation." In the case of Sri Lanka, this is tragically deliberate: "As a resplendent royal capital in the fifteenth century, it was the power base for Sinhalese control over the whole island, the last time such total control would be exercised until independence, five hundred years later. With this symbolic return to the Kotte completed just as Tamil unrest renewed in 1983, no doubt Jayawardene (then Sri Lanka's Prime Minister) wished he could regain similar national control." (Vale, 1992: 201-202)

Similarly, in the case of Abuja, which was built during a moment of an oil boom, the housing that was supposed to be affordable for all was not really so. Moreover, the design, which aimed to borrow from Nigerian tradition ended up being a tribute to modernity. Regarding Nigeria tumultuous post-independence history, Vale reminds us of the "six military coups and a thirty-month civil war" and writes that "Abuja itself was designed as the mediator" by straddling an ethnically neutral North-South union. Quoting from a 1984 analysis, Vale writes that Abuja is perceived as a dominantly Northern capital and in fact, "threatens to become a symbol of North-South discord." (Vale, 1992: 139) Julius Nyerere's Dodoma project was founded with grandiose ambitions of being a socialist city with a space for co-operative compounds, strong connections between the urban and the rural as wells as a mode of promoting harmony between different ethnic groups. Intellectually solid in every way, the Dodoma plan attempted to erase the gaps between the governing and the governed yet the separation is somehow still maintained revealing an inability to execute intellectual ideas at the material level. The vast gap between the rural and the urban continued to remain a huge problem in the formation of

postcolonial states. Fanon's prediction about the urban, neocolonial elite crushing the needs of the rural masses became a fact in almost all newly independent spaces. The preoccupation with designing new urban nodes was yet another way of distancing from the rural areas, which would have been better integrated in a nationalist mainstream through an emphasis on agriculture and grass roots development strategies. The roots of an exploding Third World urbanism also lie in the urban-rural binary which forces rural masses to migrate to cities leading to the creation of slums and furthering unemployment on the national level. Fanon foresaw that a national crisis was looming and that the interior, the back country, should be given priority. Returning to his critique of space formation, he adds,

> "The myth of the capital must be debunked and the disinherited shown that the decision has been made to work in their interest. To a certain degree, this is what the Brazilian government attempted to do with Brasilia. The arrogance of Rio de Janeiro was an insult to the Brazilian people. But unfortunately, Brasilia is still a new capital, as monstrous as the other one. Its only advantage is that today a road has been built to through the forest. No, no serious objections can be made to the choice of the new capital, to relocating the entire government to one of the most destitute regions. The idea of a capital in underdeveloped countries is a commercial notion inherited from the commercial period." (Fanon, 2004: 129)

Thus, Fanon debunks the idea that capitals are a requirement for nationhood. If anything, the form of center versus periphery is amplified in such ventures leading to more Panoptic structures where the state is an agent of surveillance and domination, as opposed to a benevolent participant in the development of the rural masses.

While the designed capitals fail to unify the nations and lead to crushing expenses, monuments play a very different symbolic role in postcolonial space. George Bataille has claimed that, "architecture is an expression of the very being of societies in

the same way that physiognomy is the expression of human beings though more like the expression of important official characters." (Leach, 1997: 21) He is highly critical of great monuments since they inspire fear and thus by extension, contain an intrinsic violence. Thus, "the storming of Bastille during the French Revolution is emblematic of an animosity that people feel against monuments which are their true masters." (Leach, 1997: 21) The individual and collective experience of an immediate, spatial environment is stressed by Daniel Monk in *An Aesthetic Occupation: The Immediacy of Architecture in the Palestinian Conflict* where he writes "First, everyone has to participate in the intuition of something "immediate": namely, the presumption that in architecture a political reality presents itself to view directly and without mediation." In the epigram he explains the key word within this idea is "immediacy" and defines it as "the quality or condition of being immediate; freedom from intermediate or intervening; direct relation or connection; directness." (Monk, 2002: 2) By evoking this "direct relation or connection" Monk focuses on the fundamental nature of architectural structures as engaged in an urgent, reciprocal relation between the viewer and the view itself. Taking that further, he states that, "architecture *itself* assembles and reassembles the constellation of possible positions actually assumed by participants in this (Israeli-Palestinian) conflict…"(Monk, 2002: 9)

For example, the architecturally ambitious Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana suffered a particularly telling fate:

"On 24 February 1966 the Ghanaian Armed Forces instigated a coup that successfully transferred governmental authority to the National Liberation Council of J. A. Ankrah. Immediately after Nkrumah's overthrow, thousands of demonstrators in Accra marched in the streets, carrying signs and banners denouncing the former

President. The Evening News reported on 2 March 1966, that a sheep was slaughtered" and libation poured for the successful overthrow of the wicked regime of Nkrumah;" the monumental statue of Nkrumah—which had been damaged in an explosion attributed to the actions of "saboteurs and anti-Socialists" in 1961—was toppled and beheaded." (Hess 54)

In a different example in Lebanon, the Martyr's Square area and the National Museum, both nationally important sites were completely destroyed during the fifteen-year civil war. Thus, in several places, the failure of the postcolonial nation-state was indicated by the way in which the masses violently reacted to monuments and enacted their collective rage upon them.

Directly related to the way in which postcolonial spatial planning links itself to the forces of neocolonialism and globalization are the problems of overpopulation, overcrowding, spatial apartheid, urban violence and slums. If Mike Davis' provocative thesis is to be believed in *Planet of the Slums*, it appears that every single postcolonial city (referred to as the Third World or developing nations) now houses "ninety-five percent of this final buildout of humanity" in urban areas. (Davis, 2006: 2) He adds, "The exploding cities of the developing world are also weaving extraordinary new urban networks, corridors or hierarchies…The price of this new urban order, however, will be increasing inequality within and between cities of different cities and economic specializations." (Davis, 2006: 7) He claims that in these places, the distinction between urban and rural is becoming more and more blurred as cities expand and by-pass small towns and villages thus changing the landscape and environment in profound ways. Davis entirely blames the agents of neocolonialism disguised under the euphoric and humanitarian banner of globalization, mainly the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank whose policies of "agricultural deregulations and financial discipline"

generate a disproportionate exodus of rural labor to urban slums." (Davis, 2006: 15) Furthermore, it is impossible to sustain any kind of development within the slum areas or find pragmatic living solutions for housing the millions. As Davis concludes that most postcolonial states have, "comprehensively betrayed its original promises to the urban poor," and he also reflects on the perpetual state of conflict and violence that all of this has engendered. "Even within a single city, slum populations can support a bewildering variety of responses to structural neglect and deprivation ranging from charismatic churches and prophetic cults to ethnic militias, street gangs, neoliberal NGOs, and revolutionary social movements. But if there is no monolithic subject or unilateral trend in the global slum, there is nonetheless myriad acts of resistance." (Davis, 2006: 202)

There is no doubt that there is indeed an alternate planet of slums and it has generated its own system of communal and neighborhood identities, which are often in clashes with each other. A city like Bombay and its African siblings Lagos or Johannesburg perfectly illustrate the inner-city violence that takes on the character of civil wars, eventually making a dent in the national armor. In introducing their eclectic anthology of essays on Bombay, Patel and Thorner write, "Bombay is quintessentially a colonial city fashioned to a large degree by external inputs and demands. Foreign conquest set the stage for the establishment of the city. Imperial rule defined the parameters within which it grew. Bombay served as an open gateway for the exploitation of its hinterland and indeed, the country as a whole." (Patel and Thorner, 1995: xiv) It was inevitable that such a place became linked with the world markets and thus went on gain an economic stronghold because of its capital-intensive manufacturing industries. As its economic and urban growth reverberated through the nation, it became an obvious

destination for migrants from all over the country. This is the only city in India that defies the notion of spatial-cultural grounding and foundational myths. It is in arrival myths that its inhabitants find their rooted-ness to this city and therein begins the discourse of identity. Bombay holds that essential promise of jobs, money and freedom from class and caste hierarchies and thus, upward mobility.

However, the instantaneous glitter and growth that Bombay has come to represent easily hides the migrant laborers that Sandeep Pendse refers to as "the toilers." In *Toil, Sweat and City* he charts the rise of groups of migrant workers that " in any society form the hidden, silent underbelly." He adds that, "toilers are relegated to the periphery of existence in the city, both literally and figuratively; actually and ideologically."(Patel and Thorner 9) Being denied a legitimate urban identity, toilers are forced to carve out their spaces either on the outskirts of the city or within certain excessively concentrated spaces inside the main city. This acute lack of space on the actual and symbolic level tends to "strengthen traditional ties and identities, producing ethnic enclaves or sub-enclaves. A neighborhood solidarity comes into existence which dominates, at times, over other identities." Pendse observes that, "the social life of the city has increasingly communalized over the past decade or so." (Patel and Thorner, 1995: 16) These segregations of space and identity were a key factor during the ten days that Bombay burned in the most violent outbreak of civil violence between Hindus and Muslims since the 1947 partition of India and Pakistan.

Bombay's urban policy gone wrong is mirrored in the multiple gigantic projects that have all backfired in significant ways. The Backbay Reclamation Scheme is one such example that aimed to "create" new land in the southern extremity of the city in

proximity to a major commercial centre. Unrealistic to begin with and after numerous failed committees and enquires, the plan has resulted in extreme congestion, overcrowding and an abnormal rate increases in estate values. Now in its fourth phase, it is primarily attempting to cope with the damage caused by the previous three phases where high-rise luxury apartments and office buildings do nothing to provide anything for the wider population and in fact, only widen the schisms of class and wealth. "In the name of planned urban development, a powerful network of finance, business and real estate interests, in alliance with the State, has reshaped a section of the city, with repercussions for the whole metropolis." (Patel and Thorner, 1995: 108) In hope of solving the problem of overcrowding in the Southern tip, a new objective was found in the plans for designing the twin city of "New Bombay" which decided upon expanding city limits and creating new suburbs. Urban dipersal was the primary aim as the government simultaneously pursued the Backbay as well as the New Bombay plans, while each became antithetical to the other. As with all urban dispersal objectives, indigenous populations have been pushed even further away from their original homes. Such misaligned planning generates imbalance and insecurity, allows for the spread of a collective malaise that has the potential to suddenly erupt when the sub-surfaces of urban space become discordant and unsettled. It is no surprise then that such a disparity manifests itself through destruction; a destruction that comes from within and which is reactionary and self-subversive in nature and of which the 1992 riots become a primary example.

Bombay became a specific type of vessel within which the bloody riots were contained. The ideology and the social engineering of the space allowed for a particular

kind of mass violence to play out. The stage was being prepared for over a decade and needed an excuse to erupt. The demolition of a mosque by Hindu militants in central India was witnessed live on television and the fury was unleashed almost instantaneously in Bombay. Mobs of angry young men took to the streets demonstrating against the demolitions, setting fire to homes in certain neighborhoods and looting indiscriminately. Eventually, the clashes took form of a communal riot and after two days of violence, the army was called and the curfews imposed in selected areas. (Patel and Thorner, 1995: 285) Also evident was the active role, played by the Bombay police in exacerbating the riots In her essay titled, *"Religious" Violence in India: Ayodhya and the Hindu Right*, Johanna M. Lessinger writes, "The Bombay police acted slowly, if at all, as neighborhood after neighborhood went up in flames. Many of the police loyal to the Shiv Sena or RSS, actually took part in the attacks, passing on inflammatory rumors, directing mobs to their targets, or preventing fire fighters or citizen rescue parties from reaching besieged Muslim residents." (Fergusson, 2003: 152) Kalpana Sharma in *Chronicle of a Riot Foretold* also observes that, in fact when the report of this inquiry titled *The People's Verdict* was released, it identified, "over 80 policemen from 22 police stations who were named by victims in signed affidavits of having communal bias. From these reports it appeared that policemen identified themselves with the Hindu youth who went on the rampage." (Patel and Thorner, 1995: 285)

The smoke from the fires darkened the sky for several days. The riots destroyed everything that Bombay symbolized in terms of a secular, cosmopolitan space. It proved that this cosmopolitanism was very much a constructed, mythical idea and its reality had always been the opposite. Lessinger explains: "Although in other moods Bombay boasts

of a its cosmopolitan welcome to immigrants of all castes and religions, the city is also the stronghold of two of the most vociferous and violence-prone Hindutva groups, the *Shiv Sena* and the *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS). Both have strong followings in the city's petty bourgeoisie and in the urban working class – and consequently among city and state employees and officials." (Fergusson, 2003: 151) The communalization of the city had begun in the previous decade with Hindu fundamentalist parties and to assume that this was not affecting people's sensibilities is naïve. Also, the correlation between the way space had started to evolve and the way in which the riots were enacted was a palpable one. Sharma adds that, "For although some parts of Bombay, basically the island city, remained cosmopolitan with a mix of populations, it had already become evident in the last two decades that the new suburbs that were developing in the north were far more segregated. It is noteworthy that some of the worst instances of rioting took place in these newly developed parts of the city and not the old city." (Patel and Thorner, 1995: 269)

Jean Baudrillard has argued that there is a paradigm shift in the way that urban violence manifests itself, "The violence appearing today is of an altogether different kind, one we no longer know how to analyze because it eludes the traditional model of explosive violence. It is an *implosive* violence no longer resulting from the extension of a system but from its saturation and contraction – as in the physical system of stars. Violence as a consequence of unlimited increase in social density, resulting from an overregulated system, from overloaded networks (of knowledge, information, power), and from hypertrophied controls that invade all the interstitial paths of facilitation." (Leach, 1997: 217) Though his theory emerges from the riots of 1968 in Europe, it is also suited to understanding the implosions taking place in the globalizing postcolonial world.

The primary questions this raises are of urban development and its repercussions on economic instability and cultural identities, since all postcolonial cities have witnessed patterns of expansion that are rather homogenous in nature. It could even be said that as the governing corporate and political structures (that are global in nature) intertwine to create a unified vision for all urban spaces, they already have or certainly will reap a harvest of similar problems – the problem of disharmony between existing subterranean layers of a city's original cultures and the 'infinitely envisioned' futures which uproot and destroy quite blatantly. Bombay's violent conflict of 1992 and the several other Third world spaces that remain entangled in bloody civil wars can be viewed, among other factors, as examples of mass upheavals that have been fed by the forces of urban development ideologies perpetrated by the postcolonial state.

V Narrating Violent Spaces

In the emerging literatures about postcolonial violence, space is multi-layered and multi-dimensional in its physical, metaphorical and historical characteristics and authors employ various literary and critical tools to render its complex dimensions. The figure of the palimpsest holds a significant place in postcolonial discourse due to its direct linkages to mapping, languages, occupation and dislocation. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin explain, "Place itself in the experience of the postcolonial subject, is a palimpsest of a process in language: the naming by which imperial discourse brings the colonized space 'into being,' the subsequent rewritings and overwritings, the imaging of the place in the consciousness of its occupants, all of which constitute the contemporary place observed by the subject and contested among them." (Ashcroft et al, 2000: 175) A postcolonial space then not only comprises the deep traces of the pre-colonial and the imperial but it becomes engaged in yet another process of inscribing when the new nations are formed. The palimpsest, in this case, is more than an image and also becomes a critical tool to grasp the complex traces of earlier inscriptions that are still visible to the present consciousness.

The image of the destroyed city figures prominently in postcolonial narratives of civil conflicts. War here plays an antithetical role; on the one hand the multi-layered space is destroyed by violence but on the other hand, it brings the layers of the existing palimpsest to the fore. In *Links*, Nuruddin Farah's protagonist Jeebleh evokes the urban palimpsest that is Mogadishu on his return noticing, "…the grounds of the hotel were marked off from the street by a large sign, handwritten in Somali, Arabic, English and Italian warning that no one bearing firearms would be allowed onto the premises."

(Farah, 2004: 37) Thus, the specter of war is evoked alongside the palimpsest of language and history. Elsewhere, Farah writes similarly of an almost ceaseless violence in Somali history:

> "As one of the most ancient cities in Africa south of the Sahara, Mogadiscio had known centuries of attrition: one army leaving death and destruction in its wake, to be replaced by another and another and yet another, all equally destructive: then the Arabs arrived and got some purchase on the peninsula, and after they pushed their commerce and along with it the Islamic faith, they were replaced by Italians, then the Russians, and more recently the Americans, nervous, trigger-happy, shooting before they were shot at. The city became awash with guns, and the presence of the gun-crazy Americans escalated the conflict to greater heights." (Farah, 2004: 15)

Similarly, in *Sitt Marie Rose,* Etel Adnan's Beirut is first depicted as an animated, living being as she writes, "Street after street I cross the city. Beirut is humiliated. She suffered the defeat; she's the one who lost. She's like a dog with her tail between her legs. She was heedless to the point of folly." (Adnan, 1982: 20) The author then alludes to the rich past of this now humiliated city and evokes the following palimpsest: "She (Beirut) gathered the manners and customs, the flaws and vengeance, the guilt and debauchery of the whole world into her belly. Now she has thrown it all up, and that vomit fills all her spaces." (Adnan, 1982: 20) The image of Beirut having vomited out everything it comprised of in terms of history, custom, decadence and culture takes the layers of the space for granted and adds yet another layer to it; that which has now been thrown up and can be also be seen as the indigestible violence that has enveloped its history. Assia Djebar speaks of Oran where a cycle of wars paralyzes the city's ability to thrive. In her powerful story titled *Oran, Dead Language*, Djebar chronicles the city from the time of the Franco-Algerian war until the present time of civil war. She writes, "Before, all

throughout the sixties, Oran had preserved its ravaged heart. Its facades tattooed with nostalgia, grimed over with melancholy; shops with fallen metallic curtains; but entire floors closed and dark; long and narrow roads stripped of children's cries, of the calls of mothers of raucous families." (Djebar, 2006: 13)

The above palimpsests of destroyed cities emphasize the destruction that has been inscribed onto them. Whether it's the centuries of attrition in Mogadishu or Oran's already ravaged heart, the new war makes all of this apparent. The palimpsest thus becomes a mirror, which finally reflects the violence that has been continually inscribed onto these places. The authors also highlight a deliberate "forgetfulness." When the narrator of *Oran, Dead Language* remembers her city, it is an "opaque" place and here one forgets and forgets more. It is, "A city that has been washed, a memory bleached." (Djebar, 2006: 12) The new civil war however revives this memory. As Djebar's narrator journeys back, the silence of the dead city and dead language shatters slowly. The fresh wave of violence denies the characters their forgetfulness. As a young professor of sociology is gunned down outside his home, the cries of his children mingle with those of the narrator who screamed desperately at her parents' assassination during the previous anti-colonial war. Narrating the city in a palimpsestic form unravels an ontological crisis, that which is related to traumatic memory and its subsequent forgetting. The authors use this technique to invent a process of overwriting and re-inscribing upon these forgotten traumas and by doing so, a history of cyclical violence, or a repeated collective trauma and the impossibility of starting afresh is revealed.

In the representations of cities, a dialectical relationship emerges between space and violence. The form given to a space engenders a particular violence, thus playing a

role in shaping the civil war. Adnan narrates Beirut in an attempt to provide insight into the city's evolution and the way in which it has slowly begun to turn into a space of terror. "Cement has mixed with the earth, and little by little has smothered most of the trees. It not all. From every window what we call this city appears like a huge game of colored blocks consumed by the sun." (Adnan, 1982: 9) Light here can only be found in early dawn and that hour, "among all these volumes of pale translucide colors, neither tree nor open spaces, comes to break the rhythm. These volumes form a gigantic pile of building blocks, which gives me, each time I see it, a sensation of mystic terror…" (Adnan, 1982: 9) With verbs such as "smothered" or "consumed," Adnan exposes the feeling of claustrophobia that the landscape inspires. A lot of new construction is creating an obstacle for nature to thrive and the light sneaking through the concrete blocks inspires in the city-dweller an inexplicable terror. The author continues with the imagery of claustrophobia and she describes Beirut as a place of "luxury apartments next to hovels. Apartment buildings grow, concrete cages mounted patiently one of top of another." (Adnan, 1982: 9) The mounting inequalities in the city and its spatial manifestations lead to the formation of enclaves loosely based on identities of class and religion. The narrator resides in a neighborhood which has several ongoing constructions projects and she observes that, "…the ghetto instinct that characterized the old Middle East is still active. One could even say that Beirut is divided by a line running from north to south, with the essentially Moslem quarters to the west, and the Christian quarters to the east…" (Adnan, 1982: 9) The segregation of space becomes synonymous here with the segregation of religious communities. Adnan here aims to narrate a contemporary Lebanese city, one

that is already primed to violence due to its spatial inequalities, its ghettoized character and the overarching, uneasy claustrophobia that has gripped it.

While the city often becomes a character in these novels and an epithet for what the populace is undergoing, war narratives generate a taxonomy of various sites of conflicts which come to attain different symbolic and political meanings in a situation of crisis. In the works of Djebar and Adnan, a simple school classroom takes on terrifying dimensions. Djebar's work creates a list of violent acts committed against women during the Algerian civil war. Women teachers form the backbone of these short narratives and they are under threat in a society that condones their education and empowerment. In a story titled *Woman in Pieces,* the young teacher Atyka is considered obscene for teaching the tales from the *One Thousand and One Arabian Nights*. Five men enter her classroom, which is filled with young literature students and perform a ritualistic murder. "The hunchback, like a dancer or a madman, approaches the first row of students and brandishes his knife to the left and to the right." (Djebar, 2006: 122) Atyka is shot in the heart and then decapitated. "A pool of blood spreads around her neck, across the wood of the table." (Djebar, 2006: 123) The harmless classroom now becomes a place of acute violence and fear.

Similarly in Adnan's *Sitt Marie Rose*, the kidnapping occurs in the classroom of deaf-mute children. When Sitt Marie is accompanied by her four kidnappers into the classroom, the students realize that the war has now entered the hitherto sacred educational space. The children are too young to fight in the war but they express a latent desire to hold the guns and to join the older students on the streets. In this novel, the classroom doubles up as a space of interrogation where the seven different narratives

interact with each other. The civil war is thus entirely played out in the classroom as every narrator becomes emblematic of different identities whether as a kidnapper, as the student or as Sitt Marie. In both works, the women are teachers and the disruption in the classroom is an attempt to excavate a deeper truth about the war. The blasphemy of turning the classroom, which is a place of civilization into a place of savagery is symbolic of the collapse of reasoning. In the novels about the child soldiers, the classroom is the first place where a rupture occurs. The authors show the way in which war subverts a space essential for the development of any society and this space resonates on a national level. The school becomes the microcosm of developmental institutions and bringing the war to the class becomes a way of expressing a breakdown in civil society.

There is a strong prevalence of hotels in the novels of postcolonial wars. Particularly in African literature, the hotel is a hub for the agents of neocolonialism and globalization before and also during any ongoing war. When Jeebleh arrives at the hotel in Mogadishu, the hotel manager brags about the hotel's reputation: "In my day, I played host to several kings of the petrodollar variety, not to mention a handful of African presidents on visits to Mogadishu, and the secretaries-general of the UN, the Organization of African Unity and the Arab league too." (Farah, 2004: 39) The hotel becomes an alternate polis, a place of unofficial politics and commerce. At this juncture in the book, Jeebleh is also a privileged foreigner with American currency and passports, thus representing the powerful international crowd that is found in such a space. The foreigner protagonists arriving in Mia Couto's fictional Mozambiquan village and in Romesh Gunesekhara's Sri Lankan island also reside in similar hotels. In fact, in Couto's novel, the hotel is also a symbol of a neocolonial state. The receptionist explains that it is

private but it belongs to the "Party" and thus, the state. He explains further, "they nationalized it, then sold it, withdrew its license and then sold it again. And yet again, they cancelled its ownership and, at that precise time, if the foreigner wanted, the hotelier could even facilitate the paperwork for him to acquire it." (Couto, 2004: 22) The receptionist's eagerness to sell off the hotel to a European and the many stages that the hotel has undergone reveals the complete breakdown in the state machinery, and shows that the country has been entirely handed over to the forces of neocolonial ventures and international institutions. The space of the hotel also represents a forced neutrality. It is a place where diplomats come and go, where futile peace talks are held and where the international community attempts an objectively structured reconciliation between the fighting factions

In his novel of the Rwandan genocide, Canadian novelist Gil Courtemanche anchors his entire work around the swimming pool of the ominous Hotel Milles Collines in Kigali. Here, a range of characters comes together and all of them represented a form of power whether its members of the Rwandan government, French paratroopers, United Nations officials, and a small UN force which ironically gets pulled out as the genocide happens. Reviewer Alex Duval Smith captures the scene and the cycle of high-level power games and corruption that it represents: "Québecois journalist Bernard Valcourt, in Rwanda to set up a television station in the early 1990s, finds himself whiling away his time with other expats and self-important people around the pool at the luxury Hotel des Milles Collines in the capital, Kigali. The scene is much like any in an African troublespot: the UN is there, which means dollars, which means upmarket prostitutes, which means ministers, which means diplomats, which means gossip - which means there

are journalists. This parasitic little world of power, adrenaline and sex is overseen by jackdaws, ravens and buzzards, perched above the pool, in a hierarchy that echoes the ethnic obsessiveness of Rwandans." While the hotel might externally display the wounds of war, it remains internally disengaged from the conflict and does not take sides. To some degree, this is one the most unique recurring spaces in the postcolonial novels of war and its role is one of mitigation of the warring and unwarring worlds through a façade of luxury, safety and tranquility.

The spaces occupied by the active international humanitarian and peace-keeping organizations are found in the novels about child soldiers in particular. In Dongala's *Johnny Mad Dog*, the UN compound demarcates the red zones of war and the green zones of food, safety and electricity. Dongala's portrayal of these agencies is ambivalent. The young girl protagonist Laokole is saved by the peacekeeping troops in the blue berets and safely ensconced there, she watches the genocidal militias being driven out by the UN troops. However, the author does make a distinction between the compartmentalized universe of the native refuges and the foreign community. Loakole observes: "Outside the tent there was no electricity, but the moon's glow revealed that the courtyard was teeming with people, their features indistinguishable in the faint light. I could see isolated forms moving about, or groups silhouetted by the few scraps of light coming from candles and storm lanterns. In contrast, off toward the right were two brightly lit buildings with real walls and real roofs. They were the refuge of the white foreign nationals and their families, those who had been unable to read the protection of their embassies or consulates in the general panic." (Dongala, 2005: 123-124) Here, the

specter of colonial hierarchies looms large in the way space is doled out and the binaries between native and foreigner, white and black, poor and wealthy are sharper than ever.

VI Women Write War

> "After all, whatever approach is used to write their shuddering, the blood of the tongue – their own blood – does not run dry, no matter what tongue it is, nor what rhythm, nor what words are finally chosen."
>
> - Assia Djebar, *The Tongue's Blood Does Not Dry*

Poet and scholar Meena Alexander captures the essence of women propelled into a situation of crisis. She writes, "The very marginality of the female condition becomes highly charged in a world filled with conflict. Women can maneuver differently than men, and even fiercely partisan women can use their mnemonic powers, not to paint a nostalgic foyer from which the female self has been brutally evicted, but rather to fuse together fragments of a difficult world." (Cooke and Rustomji-Kerns, Foreword by Alexander, 1994) In the case of women authors being examined here, the marginality is not just the product of gender but is also the marginality experienced by Third Women and exacerbated further by the all-encompassing paradigm of war. The conflicts being addressed in this chapter take place in previously colonized spaces and thus, in addition to the paradigmatic structures of "gender" and "war" newer frameworks come into play such as the discourses of postcolonial theory and more importantly, Western feminist constructions of Third World women and religion. Chandra Talpade Mohanty writes, "Clearly, western feminist discourse and political practice is neither singular nor homogenous in its goals, interest or analyses. However, it is possible to trace a coherence of effects resulting from the implicit assumption of "the west" (in all its complexities and contradictions) as the primary referent in theory and praxis. Thus, rather than claim simplistically that 'western feminism' is a monolith, I would like to draw attention to the

remarkably similar effects of various analytical categories and even strategies which codify their relationship to the Other in implicitly hierarchical terms." (Ashcroft et al, 1995: 259) Mohanty thus brings to the surface that other newer hegemonic structure that Third World women or racialized women have to confront in their works.

In her seminal work on Algerian women's history entitled, *The Eloquence of Silence: Algerian Woman in Question*, Marnia Lazreg further explores the gap that exists between Western feminism and Third World feminism. She claims that Third World feminists often feel trapped between having to choose between feminism and their ethnicity or culture. Feminism is again tangibly projected as the monolith against which women must flaunt their culture. "Thus Third World female intellectuals find themselves either defending their culture against feminist misinterpretations or reveling in the description of practices deemed disreputable, but always sensational, in an attempt to reaffirm the primacy, validity and superiority of Western feminism." (Lazreg, 1994: 11) She also argues against Gayatri Spivak's observation that "First World women" and "Western-trained women" who write are complicit in their degradation of Third World women. Lazreg believes that this complicitous "we" oversimplifies the "feminist encounter between Western and non-Western women." She clarifies the actual problem:

> "Some Third World women find comfort in acquiring a Western-style feminist identity that presumably dissolves their cultural selves and enables them to take their distance from those who resist looking at themselves through Western feminists' eyes. The problem for Third World women is that their writing is constrained by the existence of an imperious feminist script. Thus, instead of being emancipatory, writing for them is often alienating. Their satisfaction, if any, derives from the approval they receive from their Western counterparts, or the ire they draw from them it they attempt to rewrite the script." (Lazreg, 1994: 11)

Most women authors are aware of this imperious feminist script in their attempts to craft a narrative that can challenge to some degree the masculine war story. Almost all the writers being discussed in this chapter deliberately explore the omnipresent alienation that goes hand in hand with the act of self-invention and expression. Most of issues explored by these authors have a lot in common with Western feminism – the inscription of history upon the body, the focus on a community of women, issues of reproductive politics, the impact of a men's war upon women and the importance of women's education. Yet, on a different level, Third World feminists also seek to "dismantle the unitary and uniform understanding of "woman" upon which so much of feminist interventions of the 1960s and 1970s was based…" (McClintock et al, 1997: 7) They attempt a paradigmatic shift through their nuanced treatment of certain subjects much misunderstood by Western feminists such as the role of religion, race, cultural identities, alternating between colonial and indigenous linguistic identities, the complexity of the matrilineal relationships and the nuances of women's engagement with social and political institutions.

It has been argued that Third Worldist discourse has valorized the "revolutionary female figure" waving a flag or carrying a bomb for her national struggle, yet the same discourse has condemned Third World feminists as traitors to the nation because of their critique of the masculine narration of the nation. (McClintock et al, 1997: 7) Perhaps it is here that the concept of a "postcolonial feminism" can be useful. Injecting the postcolonial into the discourse of feminism, Deepaki Bahri reminds us that feminist theory and postcolonial theory have similar concerns and engage with questions of representation, voice and marginalization, and the relation between politics and literature.

She adds that's both fields"find themselves in a mutually investigative and interactive relation with each other, especially when either becomes too narrowly focused, i.e., when feminist perspectives are blind to colonialism and the international division of labor and when postcolonial studies fails to include gender in its analysis." (Lazarus, 2004: 201) Bahri posits postcolonial feminism as a dynamic discursive field, which takes into considerations the commonalities as well as the divisive strands between the two fields and tries to attempt a sustained critique of gender within the context of empire and its stages. However, she admits that the slippage between postcolonial feminism and Third World feminism is so common that it can scarcely be identified and the two terms are often used interchangeably. In my opinion, postcolonial feminism can be applied for an analysis of a gendered nationalism in formerly colonized spaces. The term thus ignites the specific regional, historical and experiential aspect of colonialism and its aftermaths and the way in which masculine discourses of nation-formation hinder women's participation in a nation they participated in liberating.

A majority of postcolonial novels use male protagonists as allegories for the nation. Writers like Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Chinua Achebe, Ferdinand Oyono, Ayi Kwei Armah, Salman Rushdie, Nuruddin Farah, Ahmadou Kourouma and several others narrate the mirroring destinies of man and nation in their works about postcolonial states. The privileging of a masculine discourse is prevalent in most of these works and women, whether white or racialized women, are relegated to the bottom position in the power hierarchy. Ngugi's *Weep Not, Child* restrains the women to the domestic realm as in the case of the mother and Achebe's wrestler, Okonkwo wields his power in his community as well as in the domestic domain. Oyono's *Houseboy* is an even more emblematic text

since women in this work fall neatly into the binary of the maternal and the sexual. Toundi's mother is the loving, motherly angel whereas the Madame is an adulterous woman who willingly uses her sexual prowess. The two Cameroonian women, Sophie and Kalisia also attempt to transcend the colonial hierarchy by having affairs with white Frenchmen. In the colonial pyramid, the white French colonizers possess an extraordinary amount of power and the black African women have the least agency. Somewhere in the middle of this pyramid the black African man and the white Frenchwomen battle for power in society. In Oyono's narrative, Toundi might suffer death for having found out about his Madame's affair but the woman herself is powerless unless she sexually manipulates the white man. Throughout the novel, Toundi's resistant gaze back at Madame demonstrates the moral superiority he exerts over the white women. His final fate is really determined by the frightening and violence-relishing Monsieur Gullet who has him brutally tortured to death.

Oyono makes no space for women in his story and if the anti-colonial revolt is to be successful, it would be unlikely that women would leave the domestic realm and be active agents of participation in the process of nation-building. Joseph Massad reminds us that, "History shows that other revolutions have foundered on a "nation first, women after" strategy." (Massad, 1995: 468) McClintock ominously states, "All nationalisms are gendered, all are invented, all are dangerous." All male political power is heavily predicated upon a naturalized and deliberate ideology of gender difference and she adds, "Excluded as national citizens, women are subsumed only symbolically into the national body politic." (McClintock, 1991: 104) Postcolonial feminists authors precisely intervene at this juncture. Most writers approach these controversial matters of nationalism with

delicacy and as war engulfs these narratives, a diversity of attitudes towards the war as well as nation are revealed. For Assia Djebar and Hanan Al-Shaykh, the chaos of war allows for a transgression from domestic, patriarchal restriction and becomes a way to expose the violence embedded in the matriarchal lineage. For Etel Adnan, the resilience, courage and benevolence of women is in sharp contrast to the immature and malicious longing for war that men demonstrate. For Chimamanda Adichie, war acts as glue for women's bonds as men's weaknesses come to the fore, and women are left to continue the cycle of life itself.

Adnan's *Sitt Marie Rose* is a powerful undercutting of masculine nationalism. The book is divided into two parts and seven different narrators with the war breaking out in the first part and then becoming a sustained event throughout the second. It begins by illustrating the way in which the Christian male has usurped the Lebanese national narrative. The first person female narrator agrees to write the script for a film project with the wealthy and arrogant Mounir. The film consists of panoramic shots of the Lebanese countryside and the men penetrate this relishing the brutal, upper-class hunting culture. As the nationalist narrative of a puritanical, Eurocentric male hierarchy unfolds, the women watch with awe. During the screening of the film that tries to map out a nostalgic idyllic depiction of the Lebanese people, Mounir reminds them that telling this story through film is a man's prerogative and that the women would be incapable of such a creation. Adnan writes, "Its true. 'We women' were happy with this little bit of imperfect, colored cinema, which gave, for twenty minutes, a kind of additional prestige to these men we see everyday. In this restrictive circle, the magic these males exert is once again reinforced. Everybody plays at this game." (Adnan 4) This restrictive circle is challenged

by the second section of the novel, which focuses on the abduction of Sitt Marie Rose. Instead of Sitt Marie being posited as an allegory of nation, she comes to exemplify a critique of nationhood and of the males that strive violently for it. The private, domestic domain to which women are relegated is a key component for the triumph of nationalist ideology and Sitt Marie represents the breakdown in that particular social order. Her defiance, courage and intelligence as a woman becomes a threat to the national project. Adnan writes of the militiamen: "They see greater virtues in their cars than in their women. Their women only exert indirect powers over them, powers that seem ineffective, or else are so strong that they, the men, can't recognize them as such." Sitt Marie however, poses a different challenge. "But a woman who stands up to them and looks them in the eye is a tree to be cut down, and they cut it down. She falls with the sound of dead wood which disappears among the perfidious murmurings of the city, and to the smirking of other women who are satisfied with the male victories…" Her stoic and contemptuous tolerance of their violence and bravado frightens them. Adnan writes, "They have all the means in the world to crush her in a second, to subject her to all forms of disgrace; to throw her, cut into pieces, onto the sidewalk, and register her name on the bulletins of victory. But they've known from the beginning that they wouldn't be able to conquer either her heart of her mind." (Adnan, 1982: 67-68)

The figure of Sitt Marie Rose represents an essential rupture in the masculine ideal of nationhood. She undercuts the idea by her contempt for the men's intelligence and scorn for their violence. She confronts them head on and they are unable to classify her as a woman; though she is a blue-eyed Christian woman, her affiliation with Palestinians and her transgressive activist acts set her apart from other women. She looks like the

Blessed Virgin Mary but is known to have an illicit affair with a Palestinian doctor. Defying every category and generalization about women, Sitt Marie becomes a mirror within which the men are forced to view the perverse form of their nationalism, which Adnan refers to as their "tribal mentality." It becomes a mirror to the Eurocentrism idolized by these men. Sitt Marie also defies the binary between tradition and modernity, which Adnan represents in the first half of the novel. Thomas Foster claims that, "Her status as a modern, liberated woman and as an emblem of the Lebanese Christian community's equality with Europe is reinforced when he (Mounir) compares his personal history with hers, noting that they both have been divorced." Sitt Marie thus exemplifies these complications, particularly since she not only crosses the external boundaries that separate the Christian from the Palestinian camp, "but also confounds the internal boundaries that map gendered spaces within that community." (Foster 67) Just like the civil war itself, Sitt Marie becomes symbolic of shattered myths. Mounir admits, "Yes, it's taken nearly a year of civil war, hundreds of dead every day in Beirut, and an upsetting of the old alliance between heaven and earth, for me to conceive of a woman as a worthy partner, ally or enemy." (Adnan 35) Though Sitt Marie is dismembered and murdered, the war provides the atmosphere and urgency which are vital for this feminist rupture to manifest itself in the primitive nationhood.

Two of Assia Djebar's stories assembled under the collection, *The Tongue's Blood Does not Dry* effectively outlines the civil crisis in Algeria but also create a lyrical metaphor for the suffering of Algerians and to some degree, all Third World women. While Djebar's novel *Algerian White* chronicles the trail of blood left by the murders of artists and intellectuals across Algeria in the nineties, her story *Oran, Dead Language*

focuses more specifically on women trapped in this situation. In her essay on violence upon women in Algeria and its representation in literature, Patricia Geesey writes, "The image of palpitating or fluttering shadows of the women—dead from the sectarian violence or natural causes—portrayed in these narratives is evocative of so much of Djebar's recent literary project in which she hopes to create a literary space for the memories and oral histories of Algerian women who may not otherwise find expression." (Geesey) Oran in this story is a haunted place inhabited only by ghosts and remnants of a recurring violence. The narrator recalls 1962 as a ten-year old child and the ghastly murder of her activist parents in the hospital hallways. She then revisits it in the wake of her aunt's death and as she leaves Oran, the narrator hears of a professor gunned down outside his house. A cycle of violence has gripped Algeria. "Death comes in circles, Olivia! She comes back as a crazed dancer…" writes the narrator in her intimate note to a friend. (Djebar, 2006: 12)

Women in Pieces also hints at this cyclical violence as the image of a dismembered woman exists in a continuum of time and space. The story begins on an autumn night in Haroun el Raschid's Baghdad where at the bottom of the Tigris river rests a young woman's body: "The pieces are wrapped carefully in a veil, the white veil of a city woman. A linen veil, just barely soiled. Just barely bloodied…The body of a woman cut in pieces." (Djebar, 2006: 97) The story of the woman from Baghdad is played out in modern-day Algeria where Atyka, a young teacher who is discussing the story from the Arabian Nights with her students undergoes the same fate. She is brutally murdered by Islamic radicals in her classroom and Djebar here is circling back to the literal and symbolic notion of yet another woman in pieces, and in doing so, brings to

light the violence against women in Algerian society of the nineties. Geesey adds, "According to the late Monique Gadant, women in Algeria are both the "alibis" and "hostages" of all of the political camps battling for the soul of the nation. Women have become targets of sectarian violence since 1992 because they are seen as "guardians of traditional Muslim values" by some and as "agents of modernity" by others. The reports of young women attacked and/or killed because they either were or were not wearing head-coverings and modest dress, or because they worked outside the home, reveal the extent to which women are violently exploited as symbols for various political agendas operating in Algeria." (Geesey) The urgency of the Algerian crisis has meant that often writers use the novel genre loosely and take shelter in the notion of fiction in order to really bear witness and give a journalistic account of the events of the civil war. Benjamin Stora gives an extensive account of the writing produced by Algerian women between the two big wars, the Franco-Algerian War and the later civil war of the nineties. The numbers are staggering and during the first phase itself, 179 works were published by women, either as novels or in the form of autobiographies. The previous war haunts the second, new war and Stora writes, "From a distance of thirty years, the words that come out tell us once more of the grief of departure, the loathing of terrorism as a political weapon, the horror of violences done to women, the doubt over the future of a dearly loved Algeria." (Stora, 1999: 90)

The war and violence looms large in the collective imagination and authors such as Malika Mokadem, Latifa Ben Mansour, Feriel Assima and several others. While victimization of women might often appear to be the main thrust in many of these works, they also aim to represent the alternate reality of strength and endurance in the women's

worlds. Stora writes, “Women writing about wars overturn the image of women confined within the obscure silence of the private, domestic space.” (Stora, 1999: 81) This idea is developed in many of Assia Djebar’s works and also in Hanan Al-Shaykh’s *The Story of Zahra*. Both works privilege acts of transgression. The character of Zahra is one that suffers relentless abuse at the hands of her mother, father, brother, lovers and husband. When Lebanese civil society crumbles due to the war, Zahra finally finds her peace. When she hears that war has escalated, she feels a sense of relief. Zahra thinks, “When I heard that the battles raged fiercely and every front was an inferno, I felt calm.” (Al-Shaykh, 1994: 125) Yet, it is not just refuge she finds but in fact, the chaos of war enables her to transgress the domestic space within which she is imprisoned and venture out onto the streets. She begins a passionate affair with a sniper in a different building. As her obsession with him intensifies, she loses all her fear and finds herself, “walking down from the street of life to the street of death and destruction which the sniper’s block, directly next to my aunt’s, overshadowed.” (Al-Shaykh, 1994: 157) As the affair and the war simultaneously progress, Zahra observes, “This war has made beauty, money, terror and convention all equally irrelevant. It begins to occur to me that the war, with all its miseries and destructiveness, has been necessary for me to start to return to normal and human.” (Al-Shaykh, 1994: 161) The fact that it takes something as devastating as war for Al-Shaykh’s character to spring to life becomes a particularly strong critique of a woman-hating society. War thus offers an inchoate collapse of centers, frames and structures. More importantly, the domination exercised by men over men de-centers itself. In *The Story of Zahra*, the men have either fled to the mountains or are busy fighting each other. About her violent and extremely abusive father, Zahra says, “My

father's leather belt no longer holds any fears for me. The war has made it powerless." (Al-Shaykh, 1994: 173) Ann Marie Adams claims that, though Zahra finally finds a connection with society that might be predicated on the war, "It is of no small import that Zahra's most intimate wartime relationship would be with a sniper, perhaps the most feared and demonized figure in the war." (Adams, 2001: 6) More importantly, her obsessive and single-minded desire to build a family unit with this sniper while the war rages around her becomes a particular form of resistance. Her insistence upon carving herself a private space or her "valorizing of the private" is a way of resisting the public, masculine discourse of war and nationalism. Thus, here, the "maternal" notion of peace is placed against the "masculine" and patriarchal virtue of war. The theme of transgression and individual awakening through war can also be seen in women's accounts of the Biafran war. Buchi Emecheta's *Destination Biafra* depicts a young woman, Debbie who comes from wealth and has been leading the bourgeoisie colonial lifestyle. But her studies in London, affairs with Englishmen and western fashion undergo a complete shift as Debbie heretofore lacking any political agency, decides to join the struggle. Because of her desire to play a role in shaping the new nation and narrating the violence around her, Debbie crosses over from being the traditional elite Nigerian woman obedient to her father's wishes to a militant revolutionary.

In Djebar's work about the first Algerian war, *Children of the New World*, seven women transgress their respective spaces to enter new zones of discomfort, courage and exposure to the public eye. For example, Cherifa, a cloistered housewife transitions from an inner domestic space to an outer public space since the war puts her husband's life in danger. But in Djebar's later work, these transgressions undergo a reversal. While the

anti-colonial war becomes an impetus for women to participate and engage, the civil war is more repressive. The very woman who was given a voice and agency through the first becomes a stifled creature in the second one. In an Algeria of the nineties, Djebar puts a strong focus on women's role as educators. Teachers, professors and maternal pedagogues abound in the story collection. Almost all characters have jobs, degrees and freedom of movement that is slowly becoming scarce. In an atmosphere of war, where educated women are being targeted, they live in a climate of furtiveness and disguise. In her story entitled, *Burning*, the first person narrator is an oral historian who records the sayings of Algerian women. She writes, "Will they find out, that like a hundred or so others in this putrid city, I've changed my neighborhood, my appearance, that I've varied my style of dress, my name, my way of wearing my glasses, of inflecting my voice, modifying even my accent, the rhythm of my dialect?" (Djebar, 2006: 46) Thus, the civil war is forcing this character to change her appearance from an emancipated middle-aged woman to a more stereotypically older, matronly woman. As the narrator finds her erudite, educated friends being murdered or blown up, her lifestyle as a transgressive, free woman needs to be reversed. She observes the change in herself,

> "Now I walk down the street slowly, almost mechanically. I, who used to rush ahead or suddenly stop in an esplanade to admire the panorama, the facades, the immense bay. And I'd throw my head back to slake myself with the blue sky. I couldn't get enough of it, the feeling of light enveloping me. I'd soar, I'd swim in the azure. So recently. No, it's not fear. I simply feel diminished. There have been attacks in the city for six weeks now, and when I want to go out, I make myself into an anonymous passerby…I keep my joy muzzled within." (Djebar, 2006: 46)

This muzzled state reflects a transition that this society has undergone from having had an anti-colonial war in which women participated eagerly to a discordant civil war where,

"The violence that has specifically targeted women includes physical and verbal harassment in public, acid attacks against unveiled and veiled women, arson attacks against the homes of women living alone, and numerous kidnappings of young women, whose bodies are later found after the women have been raped and then decapitated." (Geesey, 2000) While the same observation cannot be made about other postcolonial civil wars, the Algerian situation does deserve a mention due to the magnitude of women victims and the equal magnitude of women writers documenting these daily tragedies.

War narratives written by women project the female body as the battlefield upon which an unjust history is inscribed. Adnan's *Sitt Marie Rose* portrays a beautiful, and fearless character who "frightens" the kidnappers, who try to make an example of her by punishing everything she stands for: modernity, feminism, blasphemy and courage. As she terrorizes her kidnapper with a lecture on love and war, Adnan links her to various goddesses from the region: "Feminine symbols tear at them with their claws. For seven thousand years, the goddess Isis has given birth without there being a father. Isis in Egypt, Ishtar in Baghdad, Anat in Marrakesh, the Virgin in Beirut. Nothing survives the passing of these divinities: they only loved Power, their Brother or their Son. And you expect Marie Rose to hold her head up to this procession of terrible women, and find grace in the eyes of the males of this country?" (Adnan, 1982: 69) Foster claims that Sitt Marie's story is linked to the fate of this nation, "whose phantasmatic unity is figured as the maternal body, to women's claims to self-determination." Since Sitt Marie resists these imposed social relations, "the militiamen attempt to erase Sitt Marie Rose's claims to being the subject of her own desires and to narrating her own body, for example, by choosing to live with a Palestinian doctor." (Foster 1995: 69) She thus joins the long line

of women upon whom violence is constantly projected and their very histories are marked by the persistence and endurance of a war being waged on their very gender.

In its very title, Djebar's *Woman in Pieces* evokes the shattered, mutilated female body that become symbolic of her fragmented voice and a fragmented history. In her epilogue, the author connects the act of writing to the body when she writes, "Fiction's head shatters." (Djebar, 2006: 212). Like the long line of women whose experiences she embodies, Atyka is not merely murdered but sacrificed. Four men circle around her zooming in for their kill and when she dies, "This highly shrill plaint of a madwoman, of a disconsolate cat, accompanies Atyka's long martyrdom." (Djebar, 2006: 122) In order to solidify the deliberate, ritualistic form of the murder, the hunchback murderer "slits Atyka's throat." (Djebar, 2006: 123) Murdering women in the fashion of "halal" generally used for animals is, "seen as both an attempt to ritualize the slaughter and to annihilate the human dignity of the victims." (Geesey, 2000) The death of Djebar's heroine does not annihilate her storytelling abilities. Her role as a historian and chronicler continues but with a severed head and pool of blood on the table. It is upon her now fragmented body that the suffering of women is inscribed, and it is through this body that Atyka persists in her duty towards all womankind, the duty of narrating what she has witnessed. As her body fuses with the woman in pieces of Scheherezade's tale, the universality of woman's body as a battlefield upon which war, abuse and violence wreak havoc becomes a reality.

In Hanan Al-Shaykh's *The Story of Zahra,* the female protagonist is an anti-heroine in every sense – unattractive with acne on her face which she picks until it bleeds, prone to obesity and overeating, devoid of any feminine guiles or coquetry and a

complete social misfit. She is the very image of a repressive religious patriarchy that birthed her. The focus on her body's imperfections is acute and it has been forced through many trials and tribulations from electric shock therapy, severe depression and multiple abortions. In the end, at a time when Zahra is leading a more unfettered life, she is shot dead by her lover, the sniper. The last two pages of the story describe the unbearable pain that her body is experiencing and as she falls dead in broad daylight, she explains, "They are trying to drag me away. Someone tugs at my body." (Al-Shaykh, 1995: 215) Her body is at the center of this narrative about a gendered nationalism, which violates, mutilates, tugs and drags a woman's body. Ann Marie Adams has claimed that there is, in fact, a "fatalistic overdetermination of Zahra's body," and she adds, "Although Zahra attempts to achieve a new life within the societal upset of the war, her constant identification with and as the country causes her to be the ultimate battleground on which the war is fought. Only when she is gunned down in the street (and perhaps not even then) does Zahra begin to realize that she cannot resignify her role in life without consciously rejecting the mimetic representations of the country that others have projected upon her." (Adams, 2001: 207)

It is also noteworthy that in both the stories of murdered women (Djebar and Al-Shaykh), the spirit of the women protagonists continues to narrate the tale. This extended subjectivity manifested through the spirit, is almost calmer and more confident than the original character. "Atyka, her head severed, the new storyteller. Atyka speaks in a steady voice," writes Djebar. (Djebar, 2006: 123) Until then, the young teacher had a girlish innocence that cherished the love stories being spun by Scheherezade. She walked with "light steps" and was prone to daydreaming. While Al-Shaykh's Zahra was far more

burdened as a person, she was shot at the very point when she had found peace, self-affirmation and passion. The last event of death contains a defiance, a dismissal of the corporeal aspect of their being. The narrator must live on to privilege the act of testimony and witness. In the case of Atyka, a young student, Omar, watches her die but then wonders, "The body, the head. But the voice? Where has Atyka's voice taken refuge?" (Djebar, 2006: 125) The young boy thus inherits Atyka's duty as a storyteller as he goes in search of this voice. Mildred Mortimer claims, "The martyred teacher's words will live on…Bequeathing this legacy to a male narratee, Djebar assures us that the record of Atyka's political struggle will find its place in the public forum. In Algeria, where men still have significantly more power than women, their participation is crucial in the struggle to free woman's voice and bring it into public space." (Mortimer, 2005: 64)

Another element in the women's narratives of war is that it does not merely comprise of the violence enacted by the patriarchy but also by mothers. The matrilineal violence in the domestic, private sphere often mirrors the violence raging in the outside, public arena. In Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's epic novel of the Biafran war, *Half of a Yellow Sun*, the figure of the mother is depicted as cruel and non-nurturing. The socialite, liberated mother of the twins, Olanna and Kainene, is disapproving of her daughters' intellectual and emotional interests. She demands that Olanna submit to the life plan mapped out by her father and marry the man of the family's choice. Odenigbo's mother is the second negative portrayal of motherhood in the book. Opposed to her son's relationship with an urban intellectual such as Olanna, Mama (as she is called) takes it upon herself to reclaim the domestic territory of their home and also tries to change the moral fabric of it's inhabitants. Mama is an ultimate reactionary opposed to any kind of

progress for women. She rants, “Too much schooling ruins a woman; everyone knows that. It gives a woman a big head and she starts to insult her husband…These girls that go to university follow men around until their bodies are useless. Nobody knows if she can have children.” (Adichie, 2006: 124) Mama becomes the ultimate non-maternal figure when she finally destroys her son’s relationship by getting him drunk and forcing a young girl upon him. Adichie is focused on developing the bonding between sisters and emphasizes the violence embedded in the matriarchs. Samira Aghacy observes, “Female writers may find fault with the law of the father, but they are no less critical of their mothers. Many of these texts contain references to women as agents of men’s domination and as true signifiers of masculinity in their confirmation of male domination. Female characters manifest a strong awareness of the debilitating effect of patriarchal society on their own mothers.” (Aghacy, 2001: 516)

In the case of Zahra, her mother is as much the perpetrator of abuse and domination as her father. This is illustrated from the smallest to the greatest of moments in the family. Zahra is never served a morsel of meat since all the best pieces are reserved for the errant older brother. The mother never tries to forge a sympathetic bond with her daughter and mostly uses her as an alibi to meet her lover. She also wholeheartedly endorses the electric shock therapy that Zahra is forced to endure and which eventually leads to her daughter’s crippling depression. Zahra’s aversion to her matrilineal heritage is really revealed in her ability to succumb to marriage to Majed and it is emphasized through her reproductive politics. She indulges in secret sexual liaisons yet rejects sex in marriage and has several abortions throughout the story. When she finds out that she is pregnant with the sniper’s child, she becomes hysterical and desperate in the doctor’s

clinic. She screams, “Doctor, I don’t want to have this child. Please give me an abortion.” When he explains its too late, she pleads, “Give me something to poison the child then.” (Al-Shaykh 193) Zahra categorically refuses to become a mother multiple times in the novel. Al-Shaykh’s eventual choice to have the pregnant Zahra murdered is indicative of a desire to discontinue the cycle of maternal oppression and violence.

A noteworthy development in the narratives of war is the way in which bonding between women increases, and women’s worlds formed due to war become spaces of refuge, contact, healing, counseling, emotional and political expression and reflection. Leading up to the Biafran war, Adichie shows how the two main protagonists, twin sisters Olanna and Kainene have grown apart over the years. The sisters used to be close until their adolescence but they are always being compared for their looks and characters, the chasm widened over the years. At the start of the novel, Olanna ponders over their relationship, “Nothing had happened – no momentous quarrel, no significant incident – rather, they had simply drifted apart, but it was Kainene who now anchored herself firmly in a distant place so that they could not drift back together.” (Adichie, 2006: 46) During peacetime, the sisters long for each other but keep a polite detachment from each other. When the war finally breaks out, Olanna loses everything she possesses and struggles to keep the household going. Kainene, on the other hand, finds her philanthropic side and uses her money for charity and humanitarian missions. War gives Kainene a purpose and takes away the strain and pettiness of her daily life as a stiff businesswoman. Everyone observes, “She laughed often these days.” When she re-unites with Olanna almost four hundred pages later, “the weight of the memory and regret that would come with seeing Olanna again in her presence, were absent.” The sisters are more amicable now as the

war rages outside. Before Kainene disappears towards the end of the book, both of them spend a loving afternoon dabbing an imported pink cream on their faces, a novelty during wartime.

Djebar captures the unceasing death during war as women hang around in the cemetery waiting for cadavers of their loved ones to be brought to the gravediggers. In such a time, the bonding between women intensifies. The narrator writes of the most precious gift that her aunt ever gave her, "…there is a moment when, in this tribe of women, the one who is closest to you crouches down before your knees for a private moment, and not knowing how to express her tenderness for you, her attachment to you (she struggles with her sense of propriety), she wants to dispossess herself of something for you, usually a precious ring or a pair of antique gold bracelets. Sometimes she holds nothing in her hands but a silk scarf with florid, faded colors and heavy fringe, which you will wear as a shawl." (Djebar, 2006: 19) Djebar here depicts an irony; of death as breathing life into a bond between women. Her novels from the earliest to the most current are profoundly concerned with the way in which women form a community to steel themselves from in a situation of crisis and it is here that a silence about the suffering finds voice.

Women's narratives about war certainly offer a counterpoint to the masculine war story. Gender roles do not intensify during times of war but come under duress and this leads to a strong critique of and intervention into society during peacetime. Apart from novels about child soldiers, women authors rarely represent women as perpetrators of violence or crime. Any acts of violence are played out on the symbolic level in the domestic realm. While the women might become transgressive, bolder and stronger, they

rarely take up arms and join the battles. War thus remains a man's perverse prerogative and writing about it through the perspective of gender undercuts any patriotic, nationalist or heroic sensibilities that war writing often glorified. It is through this specific paradigm of gender that the imperious framework of war can best be confronted and analyzed.

VII Children at War

Amnesty International reports that, "Approximately 250,000 children under the age of 18 are thought to be fighting in conflicts around the world, and hundreds of thousands more are members of armed forces who could be sent into combat at any time. Although most child soldiers are between 15 and 18 years old, significant recruitment starts at the age of 10 and the use of even younger children has been recorded."[23] In his work, *Armies of the Young: Child Soldiers in War and Terrorism*, David Rosen argues that while chronological age has no fixed meaning in different cultures, the agency of youth has been used by virtually every culture in several wars. Child soldiers are not a new phenomenon. They have been used by the British from the Middle Ages onward, by Americans in the Civil Wars almost all the anti-colonial wars in Africa and the Zionist youths were mobilized during World War II. Now more than ever, child soldiers have become almost synonymous with postcolonial civil wars due to an influx of news about the violence in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Sri Lanka and Palestine, and due to the fact that novels about African child soldiers in particular, have entered a more public, mainstream discourse.

Coming of age narratives have been an enduring theme in early anti-colonial and decolonization and even contemporary postcolonial novels where the figure of a child advances to adulthood as parallel political events mark his or her development. The genre of the Bildungsroman played a significant role in the European literature. Though originally attributed to Goethe's *Wilhem Meister*, this novel of personal development or education became a widespread narrative form in eighteenth century Europe. It generally

[23] http://www.amnestyusa.org/children/child-soldiers/page.do?id=1051047

consisted of a young person's individual growth as he or she attempts to understand the meaning of life and their role in society. Often a clash was portrayed between the societal framework and the individual's desires, which is eventually resolved towards the end of the narrative. In his comprehensive study of the genre, Franco Moretti traces the interest in the genre to the development of a modern bourgeois civilization and writes that, "we seek to indicate with it one of the most harmonious solutions ever offered to a dilemma conterminous with modern bourgeois civilization: the conflict between the ideal of *self-determination* and the equally imperious demands of *socialization*." (Moretti, 1987: 15) He claims that Western societies have attempted to promote the ideology of the individual's right to choose one's own ethics and happiness, though paradoxically, by declaring the idea in constitutions. This conflict of contrasting aspirations between society and individual demands, "agreement, homogeneity, consensus." (Moretti, 1987: 16) Modern bourgeois society thus requires that the free individual in not a fearful person but someone who is convinced that social norms are one's own. The values and ideals must be internalized in a way that the external and internal impulses fuse together and are no longer discernable from one another. Moretti concludes that, "If the Bildungsroman appears to us still today as an essential, pivotal point in our history, this is because it has succeeded in representing this fusion with a force of conviction and optimistic clarity that will never be equaled again." (Moretti, 1987: 16) Thus the bildungroman becomes a way to solidify the progress and values of society as well as the individual's participation in and consent of this society.

In a postcolonial novel about a child's development into adulthood, the overall social atmosphere is antithetical to that in Europe and colonialism creates a rupture

between the parallel transitions of child and society. Instead of fusing together harmoniously, the characters' processes of self-determination and socialization are interrupted in colonial society. Albert Memmi emphasizes the destruction caused by an imposed colonial language and education. He claims that the worst blow suffered by the colonized is their removal from history and from a political community. This lack of political agency does nothing to suggest to the young colonized the self-assurance or pride in his citizenship. Rebelling against the family becomes the only way to get out of this education void and social inadequacy. But this only leads to yet another void since, "The colony's life is frozen; its structure is both corseted and hardened. No new role is open to the young man, nothing is possible." (Memmi, 1991: 97-98) The colonized adolescent's rebellion, "far from resolving into mobility and social progress, can only sink into the morass of colonized society…" (Memmi, 1991: 99) The postcolonial Bildungsroman mirrors this particular dilemma. A smooth evolution of the character's personality and education is undercut by the parallel experience of oppression that affects psychological, economic, social, cultural and linguistic realms.

In the novels of developments focused on male characters such as Oyono's *Houseboy* and Ngugi's *Weep Not Child*, the adolescent males are torn between the binaristic universe of colonizer and colonized, native or master language and pre-colonial or colonial religion and culture. In *Houseboy*, Toundi chooses to learn the master's language and religion and even goes as far as giving up relations with his own family. But his progress into adulthood is brutally cut short when he is held responsible for spying on his Madame's adultery and tortured to death. The character's choice and attempts to actually adapt to colonial culture lead to nothing. On his deathbed, he

ponders, "What are we blackmen who are called French?" (Oyono 4) Instead of exploring the processes of self-determination and socialization, Toundi in fact, suffers a loss of identity and his adult life is aborted violently. In *Weep Not, Child*, the Kenyan anti-colonial revolt completely overtakes the young Njoroge's adolescent life. As a bright kid destined for bigger things, Njoroge's main dilemma is also brought on by colonialism. As opposed to Toudi who chooses to usurp the master's identity and culture, Njoroge is torn between the two cultural and religious selves inside of him. His urban education and social development are also cut short after his father is tortured and Njoroge is falsely accused of being a collaborator in the Mau Mau war. At the end of the novel, he is unable to go through the planned suicide, he hears a voice resonating through his head, "You are a coward. You have always been a coward. Why didn't you do it?" (Ngugi, 2005: 136) The young hero's life indeed sinks into the morass of colonized society where he is rendered impotent and incapable of being in charge of his own destiny.

The women's experience of childhood in postcolonial society varies considerably from the male. Tsitsi Dangeremgba's *Nervous Conditions* was the first work published by a Zimbabwean woman, as late as 1988 whereas Chimamanda Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus* is part of a growing trend of Nigerian male and female authors representing the coming of age experience in Nigerian society. Both texts belong to a firmly feminist tradition as they attempt to de-center the dominating and violent patriarchy which threatens the development of young adolescent women. Dangaremgba's heroine Tambudza tries to come to terms with a seemingly benevolent uncle, Babamukuru, who gives his rural niece a great education and a good home, yet retains a repressive hold over all elements of sexuality, religion and social interaction. Adichie's Kambila similarly struggles with a

violent and dominating father whose mimicry and appropriation of the colonizer's lifestyle, language and religion clash wildly with the adolescent girl's timid foray into finding her own native Nigerian roots. All of the above novels engender spaces of resistance against colonial history and the women authors add an extra layer by exposing gender hierarchies in postcolonial society and the malaise of masculinity and patriarchy. The specter of colonialism looms large in both these works since the two adolescent women are forced to battle the oppressive male figures who have chosen the path of neocolonialism, and even in independent society, choose to impose and revive colonial values to the point of crushing the spirit of the young women.

The preoccupation with an interrupted and difficult coming of age narrative continues in contemporary postcolonial literature through works that focus on children's involvement in civil wars. The transition signifies a complete shift in the representation of children and their engagement in the local community as well as the nation-state at large. Odile Cazaneve completed a quantitative study on children, youth and violence in Francophone novels and finds that, "In the nineties (and especially toward the end of the nineties and into the twenty-first century), violence is more central to the narration than ever, introducing a new feature in its representation: children and youth no longer only as the objects of violence but, at times, as the agents of violence." Children's participation in civil wars and genocides has become, more and more, the subject of novels and memoirs from war-fraught postcolonial regions. Works such as *Allah in not Obliged* (2003) by Ahmadou Kourouma from Ivory Coast, *Sozaboy* (1994) by Ken Saro-Wiwa in Nigeria, *Johnny Mad Dog* (2002) by Emmanuel Dongala in Congo, *The Oldest Orphan* (2000) by Tierno Monenembo set in Rwanda, *Charly en Guerre* (2001) by Florent

Couao-Zotti from Benin, *A Long Way Gone* (2007) by Ishmael Beah of Sierra Leone and *Gorilla* (2001) by Shobashakti set in Sri Lanka reveal the diversity of regions exploring the same phenomenon.

In Kourouma's work, the author writes in an oral style of a cynical and semi-literate character from rural West Africa. The young Birahima begins his story with an embittered view of the world, "The full final and completely complete title of bullshit story is: *Allah is not obliged to be fair about all the things he does here on earth.* Okay. Right. I better start explaining some stuff." (Kourouma's italics, 2006: 1) He describes himself as a little "nigger kid" who "can't talk French for shit," as someone who dropped out of third grade, is rude and disrespectful and doesn't need to follow village customs, "cos I've been in Liberia and killed lots of guys with an AK-47 (we called it 'kalash') and got fucked-up on kanif and lots of hard drugs." (Kourouma, 2006: 3) One of the main shifts within this literature is the death of a phase of childhood. Instead of going from childhood to maturity, Kourouma presents a generation of lost children. John Walsh claims that *Allah is not Obliged* is an "anti-bildung" and thus regresses in a movement of anti-development or unbecoming. Walsh writes, "The pattern is the following: child of the family [*enfant de famille*] > child of the street [*enfant de la rue*] > orphan/bastard [*orphelin/bâtard*] > condemned child [enfant *maudit*] > child-soldier [*enfant-soldat*]." (Walsh, 2008: 191) In the novels about this subject, two trajectories emerge; the first is the development of a character that is prone to roaming the streets, neglecting education and eventually ending up on the wrong side of society such as Birahima and Johnny of *Johnny Mad Dog*. The second trajectory consists of a young boy who loses his family in the chaos of war and ends up unwittingly forced into fighting a war. Ishmael Beah's *A*

Long Way Gone falls into this category. In either trajectory, the all-encompassing framework of war appears to find its victims amongst the lowest classes of society and for the most part, among children in rural areas. All child-soldier novels show the disintegration of self-sustaining units of village life and the way in which it creates a chasm between the unit of family. The children however, find an alternate unit and enact the need for familial life there. For example, Birahima becomes an adoring disciple of Colonel Papa Le Bon who pretends to be the father of these lost children. With his violent form of patriarchal justice, the hoards of looted food and goods and his penchant for Christian rituals, the self-named "Papa" exerts an emotional and abusive control over the young boys yearning for an adult figure.

It is no coincidence that every single one of the child soldier novels have been written in a first-person narration giving it a semblance of memoir or autobiography. While Ishmael Beah and Shobhashakti were in fact child soldiers and thus present their first-hand experiences, the remaining authors attempt to simulate the language of an oral testimony to represent composite characters of child soldiers. The child soldier bears witness to the subaltern experience of history and the years of civil wars. Integrated within Kourouma text are sporadic "orations," which are essentially eulogies of child soldiers that have been killed. The young Birahima drops his cynical view of the world to whole-heartedly tell the story of these young deceased kids. He explains,

> "According to my Larousse, a funeral oration is a speech in honor of a famous celebrity who's dead. Child-soldiers are the most famous celebrities of the late twentieth century, so whenever a child-soldier dies, we have to say a funeral oration. That means we have to recount how in this great big fucked-up world they came to be a child-soldier. I do it when I feel like it, but I don't have to." (Kourouma, 2006: 83)

Birahima's orations provide a compassionate and humanizing account of young children led into a life of drugs and violence. Kourouma uses this trope to expand his narration from Birahima to a more collective tale of West African children. Birahima's involvement and intensity towards these orations belie his generally blasé and dispassionate attitude. In fact, after a particularly brutal battle, which leads to a large death toll of child soldiers, the narrator confesses, "I cried for their mothers. I cried for all the life they never lived." (Kourouma, 2006: 110) The orations thus function as ways to soften and humanize not just the other kids' experience but also of Birahima, who is projected as a violence-loving, insensitive and materialistic character for a majority of the time.

All of the present novels on this subject are focused on young males but subordinate characters of female child-soldiers are very prevalent in most of the texts. In Kourouma's work, there emerges a theme of gender being blurred due to the circumstances of war. As Birahima becomes more and more involved in the life of the militia, he witnesses the behavior of a female child-soldier named Sarah. He narrates: "One of the child-soldier was a girl soldier, her name was Sarah. Sarah was unique, she was very pretty as four girls put together and she smoked enough hash for ten…We had hash and grass in abundance…And she smoked and munched incessantly…She went completely crazy and started touching her *gnoussou-gnousou* in front of everyone and asking Tête Brûlée to make love to her in public in front of everyone." (Kourouma, 2006: 82) She thus becomes the sexual aggressor and when refused, "she fired a whole clip of cartridge at Tête Brûlée." (Kourouma, 2006: 82) Birahima later explains that the child, Sarah had been mistreated by an aunt and run away from her only to fall into the hands of

a man who lured her with his compassion. After being viciously raped him, she lands in an orphanage run by nuns. After the civil war breaks out, the orphanage is dismantled and Sarah ends up prostituting herself until she eventually finds herself an equal position in the militia. Being handed a gun and treated like the males, Sarah's character displays a liking for hash and violence that surpasses even the males. At a different point in the text, Birahima talks about Fati and claims, "Like all the girl soldiers, Fati was really cruel." (Kourouma, 2006: 88) Sarah's and to some extent, Fati's behavior illustrates their complete rejection of previously sanctioned gender roles confusing Birahima completely.

In a different example, Kourouma appears to make a similar point of blurring genders. During the scene when Liberian warlord Prince Johnson meets the character of the nun, Sister Marie-Béatrice, an eerie doubling takes place between the two. When she was within ten meters of him, he was shocked to find, "that the mother superior looks exactly like him, Johnson, just like another him." (Kourouma, 2006: 146) After a thorough examination, Johnson observes, "There was nothing he could say: they were identical as two drops of water. He had one of his men rip her cornet off and the resemblance was even more disturbing." (Kourouma, 2006: 146) This bizarre episode of an androgynous mirroring shows Kourouma's preoccupation with the question of gender in the chaos of war. The fact that Johnson and the nun have been fused into one identical, almost genderless being reveals that instead of an intensification of gender roles, they have actually conflated into one identity. In the case of girl soldiers, it is not as if a 'genderless' person emerges but instead, there is a hyper-masculinization of the young girls. Their aggression, sexual frivolity, love of weapons and cruelty, lack of any feminine trait makes them indistinguishable from the boys involved in the war.

The many novels and memoirs of child soldiers show that the child eventually ends up on two paths – one is the path of a bleak daily survival even after the wars have ceased and the second path leads to healing, rehabilitation and the eventual entry into society. Ken Saro-Wiwa's *Sozaboy* ends on a note of great destruction and the sozaboy comes back to his village to find that it is wrecked, abandoned and his family killed by a bomb. The villagers refuse to acknowledge his presence as real and he is considered to be a ghost wandering through the vicinity in search of his family. The war and his participation in it devastate him and turn him literally into a mere ghost of what he used to be. Kourouma's ending is no less hopeless. Birahima and his mentor Yacouba become hardened, unrepentant criminals. They join a militia which survives solely on a system, "based on exploiting refugees, ripping off NGOs…And we insisted the NGOs route everything that was supposed to go to the refugees through us." (Kourouma 209) Birahima eventually does find the aunt he set out to look for but she is deathly ill. After dumping her in a mass grave, Birahima inherits the precious dictionaries that allow him to narrate his life story. However, in terms of life path, the novel ends with the child-soldiers and his cronies piling into a four-by-four with looted money stuffed in their pants and roaring off towards Abidjan. Birahima might learn to read, write and tell his tale but it is unlikely that he will clean up entirely. In Abidjan, he intends to live the life of a hustler and is excited to be part of a group of men who will work as "money-multipliers" in the big city. Though the novel ends on an excited, happy note for Birahima, the reader is aware of the fact that he will remain an outcast trying to survive illegally on the margins of society. Ishmael Beah's *A Long Way Gone* and Uzodinma Iweala's *Beasts of No Nation* diverge significantly from the above authors. In both cases the young boys are

rescued by Western humanitarian agencies and make a new clean start in society. Iweala's Agu ends up in a hospital with a room of his own, books, a sunny window, art supplies and a priest who speaks to him about turning to God. In addition he writes, "And every day I am talking to Amy. She is a white woman from America who is coming here to be helping people like me." (Iweala 140) Amy is an American psychologist who is gently making Agu tell his life story and probing him into discussing his feelings. The books ends with Agu confessing that he is no beast or devil and Amy sits next him with "water shining in her eye." (Iweala 142) Beah's experience is no different. After a long healing process in a United Nations' rehabilitation centre, the young Ishmael becomes a model of recovery and goes on to speak at the United Nations in New York about his experience as a child soldier and his gratitude towards the Western NGOs that rescued and revived him.

It is noteworthy that the two kinds of endings have led to two kinds of receptions of the books. While *Sozaboy* and *Allah is not Obliged* are relegated to the obscurity of academic readership, *A Long Way Gone* and *Beasts of No Nation* are distributed and displayed at all the mainstream bookstore chains and have made their way into book clubs. Beah was interviewed on Oprah's radio show and was picked by the Starbucks book club, something that ensures the book selling at a rapid speed.[24] More and more conference panels are also appearing signaling the end of violence in Africa and a discourse of healing. Last year at SAMLA, the regional MLA for South Atlantic states, there was a panel titled, "African Literature in the Wake of Violence" inspired, in part, by Ishmael Beah's work. This call for papers from Emory University went as follows:

[24] http://www.oprah.com/article/oprahradio/gking/gking_20070216
http://gawker.com/239220/starbucks-better-at-pimping-books-than-bn-oprah

"Africa's violent history frames much of its fiction and film, but many writers and filmmakers are turning their attention toward the more complicated process of moving past violence to the task of rebuilding. We seek papers on literature and film that deal with issues that emerge in the wake of violence, such as truth commissions, public and private forms of grief, refugee camps, and the reinstatement of order."[25] Here, the violence is considered a thing of the past focusing already on rebuilding and healing though wars continue to rage in many regions of the postcolonial world. This brings us back to the complicated problem of institutional reading practices and the various agents involved in disseminating knowledge and information about these civil wars. There is no doubt that the depressing realities of Kourouma or Saro-Wiwa's accounts written in a challenging linguistic hybrid are no match for the sweet simplicity of Beah or Iweala. The uncritical validation given to the Western agencies engaged in a humanitarian intervention abroad becomes an added bonus for the Western publisher and reader. In conclusion, the dual dissemination tracks of the child soldier novels illustrate yet again the neocolonial and Eurocentric leanings of the academy as well as of mainstream literary culture, proving yet again, that knowledge about these postcolonial wars is sure to remain lopsided and biased in a particularly difficult and problematic global economy and culture.

[25] http://www.africa.upenn.edu/africa/jua020408.html

Conclusion

Today, civil violence in previously colonized regions has only become worse. Congo remains a vast battleground as the Rwandan civil war has spilled into its borders rupturing the state at its core. Conflicts between various groups with excessive international meddling is exacerbated by the fact that Congo has not just eighty percent of the world's supply of coltan, a mineral which is required to manufacture video games, cell phones and computers but also vast quantities of gold, diamonds, copper and cobalt. In the recent months, a coup in Madagascar forced the resignation of its President and has led to violent civil unrest in many regions. In India, Hindu extremism and caste politics is destroying the fabric of secular society as religious violence continues to target Muslims but now there have also been widespread attacks against the Christian communities in the Eastern states. The death toll is Sudan has reached terrifying figures as interethnic violence is still rampant and has displaced over three million people.

Mahmood Mamdani claims about Sudan that, "At the heart of the crisis of Sudanese nationalism has been the failure to think through the colonialism crafted divide, at once conceptual and institutional, that counterposes modernity to tradition and racializes the discussion of (tribal) identity." (Mamdani, 2009:15) My dissertation links the spaces of Africa and Asia through their experience of these civil conflicts in the later half of the twentieth century, which are precisely the result of the colonially crafted divisions based on false categories of citizenship, race, ethnicity, religion or territory. These false categories are further reiterated by the specifically European paradigms of nationalism that were adopted by anti-colonial movements in all the colonies. While my

work acknowledges the malevolent legacy of colonialism, it also investigates the dynamics of decolonization. For example, nationalism was the most problematic and destructive of colonial legacies and this dissertation exposes the way in which this paradigm of nationalism was theorized and advocated by thinkers and leaders of decolonization. Being an ideological concept that was more suited to the rhetoric of anti-colonial unity rather than actual distribution and development of the society, nation-building became an impossible task in the independent postcolony. This was compounded by the dependence upon economic, legal and political structures left over by colonial governance and by the violent interference from Cold War players. The all-encompassing imaginary of violence also remained a troubling aspect of postcolonial reality. In order to excavate historical and theoretical errors during this potent, short-lived period, I focus on the writings of Frantz Fanon, Mahatma Gandhi and Amilcar Cabral who held a strong intellectual sway over their respective revolutions. Simultaneously, by placing the Bandung conference under a fresh analytical lens, the many ideological and strategic pitfalls also come to light.

I want to locate this particular dissertation in the field of postcolonial studies since I believe that the civil war phenomenon is strongly tied to European colonialism and the literature that I compiled also engages with that history. New trends obfuscate the actual historical, temporal and spatial function of the term "postcolonial." The current field of postcolonial lacks the imperative and theory to deal with this phenomenon for various reasons mentioned in the introduction. It privileges the category of migrant intellectuals and the condition of displacement thus deflecting from the tangible realities of relentless violence within the postcolony. The field of literature is a dynamic site for expression

about civil violence though there can be no real consensus on the role it plays in each space. In mapping the many phases of postcolonial literature, it becomes clear that the role of writer and his or her position in this society altered considerably after the phase of decolonization. Irrespective of when decolonization took place in colonized places, there was a strong trend towards a writing that critiqued the independent postcolonial nation-state and its political and social manifestations. It is also worth noting that most authors practiced a resistant and engaged form of writing from within the realms of the newly independent nations during decolonization and the period that followed it. By the time that writing about postcolonial civil violence begins to emerge, the political and literary landscape shifts radically and so does the cultural vessel within which these literatures can be received and understood. It can be said that civil violence had been inscribed into the postcolonial space not just during colonialism but also during the complicated processes of nation-building that came after independence. A re-reading of the period of decolonization offers an alternate technique for mapping the phenomenon of civil violence and emergent literature about it. Thus, one of my main contributions in this dissertation is a new method and framework for approaching studies of postcolonial literature and politics.

In addition, the paradigm of globalization now becomes a key player in the dynamics of civil conflicts not just in the postcolonial world but also in places like Iraq, Palestine and Eastern Europe. The globalizing powers and institutions interfere in these wars in the guise of humanitarian and economic aid thus replicating European colonialism not just in its actual activities but also ideologically. Information about these wars is also received in a Eurocentric and manipulative media and publishing universe. I

would like to conclude by suggesting that the discussion of postcolonial civil wars needs to be opened up further by taking these new-old factors of globalization into account in order to enable a more nuanced and objective study of this phenomenon.

Literature of Postcolonial Civil Violence

[The list includes novels, memoirs, plays and poetry]

Adnan, Etel. Sitt Marie Rose a novel. U.S. ed. ed. Sausalito, Calif: Post-Apollo P, 1982.

Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. Half of a Yellow Sun. New York: Anchor Books, 2006.

Al-Shaykh, Hanan. The Story of Zahra. 1st Anchor Books. ed. New York: Anchor Books, 1995.

Al-Shaykh, Hanan. Beirut Blues. Catherine Cobhaim trans. New York: Anchor Books, 1996.

Assima, Feriel. Une femme à Alger. Paris: Arlea, 1995.

_____, Rhoulem ou le sexe des anges. Paris: Arlea, 1996.

Barakat, Hoda. The stone of laughter a novel. 1st Amer. ed. ed. New York: Interlink Books, 1995.

Beah, Ishmael. A long way gone memoirs of a boy soldier. 1st ed. ed. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007.

Bemba, Sylvain. Le Soleil est parti a Monsieur Pemba. Paris: Presence africain, 1982.

Breytenbach, Breyten. A Season in Paradise. 1st ed. ed. New York: Persea Books, 1980.

Breytenbach, Breyten. Dog heart: A memoir. 1st ed. ed. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1999.

Breytenbach, Breyten. The Memory of Birds in Times of Revolution. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1996.

Brink, André Philippus, and J. M. Coetzee. A Land Apart: a South African reader. Boston: Faber and Faber, 1986.

Burleson, Derick. Ejo poems, Rwanda, 1991-1994. Madison: University of Wisconsin P, 2000.

Chinodya, Shimmer. Harvest of thorns. Harare, Zimbabwe: Baobab Books, 1989.

Couao-Zotti, Florent. Charly en Guerre. Paris : Dapper, 2001.

Couto, Mia. Last Flight of the Flamingos, Trans. David Brookshaw. London: Serpent's Tail, 2004.

_____, Sleepwalking Land. London : Serpent's Tail, 2006.

Courtemanche, Gil. A Sunday at the Pool in Kigali. Patricia Claxton, trans. New York:

Alfred A. Knopf, 2003.

Darwish, Mahmud, and Ibrahim Muhawi. Memory for forgetfulness August, Beirut, 1982. Berkeley, Calif: University of California P, 1995.

Darwish, Mahmud, Samih Qasim, and Adåunåis. Victims of a map. London: Distributed by Zed P, 1984.

Djaout, Tahar, and Marjolijn De Jager. The Last Summer of Reason. Lincoln: University of Nebraska P, 2007.

Djaout, Tahar, and Marjolijn De Jager. The Watchers. St. Paul, Minn: Ruminator Books, 2002.

Djebar, Assia. Women of Algiers in their Apartment. Charlottesville: University P of Virginia, 1992.

Djebar, Assia. Algerian White: a narrative. 1st ed. ed. New York: Seven Stories P, 2000.

Djebar, Assia, and Tegan Raleigh. The tongue's blood does not run dry Algerian stories. New York: Seven Stories P, 2006.

Dongala, Emmanuel Boundzâeki, and Maria Louise Ascher. Johnny Mad Dog. 1st American ed. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005.

Dongala, Emmanuel Boundzéki. The Fire of Origins: N Novel. Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2001.

Dongala, Emmanuel Boundzéki. Un Fusil dans la main, Un Poème dans la poche. Paris: Albin Michel, 1973.

Emecheta, Buchi. Destination Biafra. London ; New York : Allison & Busby ; New York, N.Y. : Distributed by Schocken Books, 1982.

Farah, Nuruddin. Secrets. 1st. ed. ed. New York: Arcade Pub., 1998.

Farah, Nuruddin. Sweet and sour milk. Exeter, N.H: Heinemann Educational Books.

Farah, Nuruddin. Knots. New York: Riverhead Books, 2007.

Farah, Nuruddin. Links. 1st ed. New York: Riverhead books, 2004.

Fawzy-Rossano, Didar. Memoires d'une militante. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997.

Feraoun, Mouloud, and James D. Le Sueur. Journal, 1955-1962 reflections on the French-Algerian War. Lincoln: University of Nebraska P, 2000.

Gordimer, Nadine. The House Gun. 1st ed. ed. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998.

Goytisolo, Juan. State of siege. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2002.

Gunesekera, Romesh. Heaven's edge. New York: Grove P, 2002.

Halpe, Ashley. An Anthology of contemporary Sri Lankan short stories in English. Colombo: English Association of Sri Lanka with the collaboration of the British Council, 1990.

Hove, Chenjerai. Bones. London: Heinemann, 1990.

Hove, Chenjerai. Shadows. Harare: Baobab Books, 1991.

Husain, Intizar. Basti. New Delhi : Indus, 1995.

Ike, Chukwuemeka Vincent. Sunset at Dawn: A Novel about Biafra. London : Collins and Harvill Press, 1976.

Imache. Tassadit. Une fille sans histoire. Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1989.

Iyayi, Festus. Violence. London : Longman, 1979.

Kanengoni, Alexander. Echoing Silences. Harare, Zimbabwe: Baobab Books, 1997.

Kanengoni, Alexander. Effortless tears. Harare: Baobab Books, 1993.

Kesavan, Mukul. Looking through glass. 1st American ed. ed. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995.

Khadra, Yasmina. Morituri. Paris: La Baleine, 1998.

_____, Double Blanc. Paris: La Baleine, 1997.

_____, L'automne des chimeres. Paris: La Baleine, 1998.

_____, Les agneaux du seigneur. Paris: Julliard, 1998.

Khushwant Singh. Train to Pakistan. Westport, Conn: Greenwood P, 1975.

Kourouma, Ahmadou. Allah is not obliged. 1st Anchor Books ed. ed. New York: Anchor Books, 2007.

Kourouma, Ahmadou. Monnew: a novel. San Francisco: Mercury House, 1993.

Kourouma, Ahmadou. The Suns of Independence. London: Heinemann, 1981.

Krog, Antjie. Country of my skull. Johannesburg: Random House, 1998.

Laâbi, Abdellatif, Victor W. Reinking, and Anne O. George. The World's Embrace: Selected poems. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2003.

Lopes, Henri. Tribaliks: contemporary Congolese stories. Portsmouth, N.H., USA: Heinemann, 1987.

Makdisi, Jean Said. Beirut fragments: a war memoir. 1st ed. ed. New York: Persea Books, 1990.

Manto, Sadat Hasan, and Madan Gupta. Selected stories. New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1997.

McLoughlin, T. O. Karima. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo P, 1985.

Mezu, Sebastian Okechukwu. Behind the Rising Sun. London, Heinemann Educational, 1972.

Mimouni, Rachid. Le Malediction. Paris: Stock, 1993.

Mimouni, Rachid. Une peine a vivre. Paris: Stock, 1993.

Mokeddem, Malika. Les hommes qui marchent. Paris: Ramsay, 1990.

_____, Des rêves et des assassins. Paris: Grasset, 1995.

Monenembo, Tierno. The Oldest Orphan. Monique F Nagem trans. Lincoln : University of Nebraska Press, ©200

Moore-King, Bruce. White man, black war. Rev. ed. ed. London, England: Penguin Books, 1989.

Mosteghenami, Ahlam, Baria ahmer Sreih, and Peter Clark. Memory in the flesh. Cairo: American University of Cairo press, 2003

Ngugi wa Thiong'o. A Grain of Wheat. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1970.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o. Petals of blood. London: Heinemann, 1977.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o. Weep not, child. New York: Collier Books, 1969.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o. Detained: A Prison writer's diary. Nairobi: Heinemann, 1981.

Nicol, Mike. Horseman. 1st American ed. ed. New York: Distributed by Random House, 1995.

Nkashama, Pius Ngandu. Le Pacte du Sang. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1987.

Nwapa, Flora. Never Again. Trenton, N.J. : Africa World Press, 1992.

Nyamfukudza, Stanley. The Non-believer's journey. Exeter, N.H, London: Heinemann, 1980.

Osofisan, Femi. Once Upon Four Robbers. Ibadan, [Nigeria] : Heinemann, 1991.

Petela, and Andrew Zankanani. Ngunga's adventures a story of Angola. Harare, Zimbabwe: Anvil P, 1988.

Petela. Mayombe. Exeter, N.H., USA: Heinemann, 1984.

Ramatta, Noel Kodia. Les enfants de la guerre: éteindre le feu par le feu. Paris: Editions Menaibuc, 2005.

Rushdie, Salman. Midnight's children. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1995.

Sahni, Bhisham. Tamas. New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2001.

Sahni, Bhisham. We have arrived in Amritsar and other stories. New Delhi: Orient Longman Limited, 1990.

Samman, Ghada, and Nancy N. Roberts. Beirut '75 a novel. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas P, 1995.

Samman, Ghada. Beirut nightmares. London: Quartet Books, 1997.

Samupindi, Charles. Pawns. Harare: Baobab Books, 1992.

Sebbar, Leila. Le silence des rêves. Paris: Stock, 1993.

Saro-Wiwa, Ken. Sozaboy. Port Harcourt, Nigeria: Saros International, 1985.

Selvadurai, Shyam. Funny boy: a novel. 1st U.S. ed. New York: W. Morrow and Co., 1996.

Shakti, Shobha Gorilla. Puthanatham: Adaiyalam Publishers, 2001.

Shaw, Angus. Kandaya another time, another place. Harare: Baobab Books, 1993.

Sidhwa, Bapsi. Cracking India a novel. Minneapolis, Minn: Milkweed Editions, 1991.

Soyinka, Wole. Madmen and Specialists, a play. New York, Hill and Wang, 1972.

Soyinka, Wole. King Baabu, a play. London : Methuen, 2002.

Soyinka, Wole. A Shuttle in the Crypt. New York, Hill and Wang, 1972.

Tansi, Sony lab. La parenthese du sang. Paris: Hatier, 1981.

Tchichelle, Tchivella. Les Fleurs des Lantanas. Paris, Dakar: Presence africain, 1997.

Tristan, Anne. Le silence du fleuve. Paris: Ed. au Nom de la Memoire, 1991.

Ushie, Joe. Eclipse in Rwanda poems. Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria: Kraftgriots, 1998.

Vera, Yvonne. Without a name. Harare: Baobab Books, 1994.

Villanueva, Michlele. L'echarde: Chronique d'une memoire d'Algerie. Paris: Ed. Maurice Nadeau, 1992.

Wijesinha, Rajiva. An Anthology of contemporary Sri Lankan poetry in English. Colombo: Published by the British Council in collaboration with the English Association of Sri Lanka, 1988.

Bibliography

Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. Half of a Yellow Sun. Anchor Books, 2006.

_____, Purple Hibiscus. Anchor Books, 2004.

Adnan, Etel. Sitt Marie Rose: A Novel. U.S. ed. ed. Sausalito, Calif: Post-Apollo P, 1982.

Adonis, Victims of A Map: A Bilingual Anthology of Arabic Poetry. Trans. Abdullah Al-Udhari. London, Saqi Books: 1984.

Adonis, and Shawkat M. Toorawa. A time between ashes and roses poems. 1st ed. ed. Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse UP, 2004.

Ahmad, Aijaz. In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures. London ; New York : Verso, 1992

Ahmed, Ali Jimale. Daybreak is Near: the Politics of Emancipation in Somalia Literature, Clans, and the Nation-State. Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea P, 1996.

Afzal-Khan, Fawzia and Seshadri-Crooks, Kalpana eds. The Pre-Occupation of Postcolonial Studies. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002.

Al-Shaykh, Hanan. The Story of Zahra. Peter Ford trans. New York : Anchor Books, 1994.

Amin, Samir. Eurocentrism. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1989.

Anderson, Benedict R. O_ Imagined communities; Reflections on the origin and spread of Nationalism. Rev. and extended ed. ed. New York: Verso, 1991.

Ashcroft, Bill, Griffins, Gareth and Tiffin, Helen. Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts, London and New York: Routledge, 2000.

Ashcroft, Bill, Griffins, Gareth and Tiffin, Helen. The Empire Writes Back : Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures New York: Routledge, 1995.

Armah, Ayi Kwei. Fragments. London: Heinemann, 1974.

Armah, Ayi kwei. The Beautyful Ones are Not Yet Born. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970.

Bakshi, S. R. Gandhi and Hindu-Muslim unity. New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications

Beah, Ishmael. A Long Way Gone. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007.

Beidler, Philip D. American literature and the experience of Vietnam. Athens, Ga: University of Georgia P, 1982.

Berger, Anne-Emmanuelle. Algeria in others' languages. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2002

Breytenbach, Breyten. Dog heart a memoir. 1st ed. ed. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1999.

Breytenbach, Breyten. The memory of birds in times of revolution. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1996.

Brink, André Philippus, and J. M. Coetzee. A Land apart a South African reader. Boston: Faber and Faber, 1986.

Cabral, Amilcar. Return to the source. New York: Africa Information Service, 1973.

Cabral, Amilcar. Revolution in Guinea. New York: Monthly Review P, 1970.

Cabral, Amilcar. The struggle in Guinea. Cambridge, Mass: Africa Research Group, 1969

Chabal, Patrick. Amilcar Cabral revolutionary leadership and people's war. New York: Cambridge UP, 1983.

_____, The Post-Colonial Literature of Lusophone Africa. Evanston, Ill: Northwestern UP, 1996.

Chatterjee, Partha. Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota P, 1993.

Chatterjee, Partha. The nation and its fragments colonial and postcolonial histories. Princeton, N.J: Princeton UP, 1993.

Chinodya, Shimmer. Harvest of thorns. Harare, Zimbabwe: Baobab Books, 1989.

Cook, David and Okenimpke, Michael. Ngugi wa Thiong'o: An Exploration of His Writings. London: Heinemann Educational, 1983.

Cooke, Miriam, and Rustomji-Kerns, Roshni. Blood Into Ink South Asian and Middle Eastern Women Write War. Boulder: Westview P, 1994.

_____, Women and the War Story. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1996.

Cooper, Frederick. Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present. Cambridge, U.K. New York, NY: Cambridge UP, 2002.

Courtemanche, Gil. A Sunday at the Pool in Kigali. Patricia Claxton, trans. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003.

Couto, Mia. Last Flight of the Flamingos, Trans. David Brookshaw. London: Serpent's Tail, 2004.

_____, Sleepwalking Land. London : Serpent's Tail, 2006.

Darwish, Mahmud. Why Did you Leave the Horse Alone? Trans. Jeffrey Sacks. New York: Archipelago Books, 2006.

Darwish, Mahmud, and Ibrahim Muhawi. Memory for forgetfulness August, Beirut, 1982. Berkeley, CA: University of California P, 1995.

Daniel, E. Valentine. Charred lullabies chapters in an anthropography of violence. Princeton, N.J: Princeton UP, 1996.

Davidson, Basil. No fist is big enough to hide the sky the liberation of Guinea and Cape Verde : aspects of an African revolution. London: Zed, 1981.

Davis, Mike. Planet of Slums. New York: Verso, 2006.

Dangaremgba, Tsitsi. Nervous Conditions. Seattle, WA : Seal Press, 1989.

Djebar, Assia. Algerian white a narrative. 1st ed. ed. New York: Seven Stories P, 2000.

Djebar, Assia. Women of Algiers in their apartment. Charlottesville: University P of Virginia, 1992.

_____, Children of the New World. Marjolijn De Jager trans. New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 2005.

_____, The Tongue's Blood Does Not Run Dry: Algerian Stories. Trans. Tegan Raleigh. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006.

Dongala, Emmanuel Boundzéki. Johnny mad dog, Translated by Maria Louise Ascher.

1st American ed. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005.

Emecheta, Buchi. Destination Biafra. London ; New York : Allison & Busby ; New York, N.Y. : Distributed by Schocken Books, 1982.

Fanon, Frantz and Chevalier. Haakon. Toward the African Revolution: Political Essays. New York: Grove Press, 1964.

Fanon, Frantz, and Richard Philcox. The Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove P, 2004.

Farah, Nuruddin. A naked needle. London: Heinemann Educational, 1976.

Farah, Nuruddin. Close sesame. Saint Paul, Minn: Graywolf P, 1992.

Farah, Nuruddin. From a crooked rib. New York: Penguin Books, 2006.

Farah, Nuruddin. Gifts. Harare: Baobab Books, 1992.

Farah, Nuruddin. Knots. New York: Riverhead Books, 2007.

Farah, Nuruddin. Links. 1st ed. New york: Riverhead books, 2004.

Farah, Nuruddin. Maps. London: Pan Books, 1986.

Farah, Nuruddin. Sardines. Saint Paul, Minn: Graywolf P, 1992.

Farah, Nuruddin. Secrets. 1st. ed. ed. New York: Arcade Pub., 1998.

Farah, Nuruddin. Sweet and sour milk. Exeter, N.H: Heinemann Educational Books, 1980.

Feraoun, Mouloud. Journal, 1955-1962: Reflections on the French-Algerian War. Ed James D. Le Sueur. Trans. Mary Ellen Wolf and Claude Fouillade, Lincoln, Nebraska: Bison Books, University of Nebraska Press, 2000.

Fergusson, Brian R. The State, Identity and Violence. London & New York: Routledge, 2003.

Gandhi, M K., and Anand T. Hingorani, Ed. The Hindu-Muslim Unity. 1st ed. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1965.

Gikandi, Simon. Ngugi wa Thiong'o. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Goldberg, David Theo and Quayson, Ato. Relocating Postcolonialism. Oxford, UK;

Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.

Gordon, Lewis R., Sharpley-Whiting T. D, and White.Renee T. Fanon a Critical Reader. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1996.

Gordimer, Nadine. The house gun. 1st ed. ed. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998.

Goytisolo, Juan. State of siege. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2002.

Gunesekera, Romesh. Heaven's edge. New York: Grove P, 2002.

Irele, Abiola. The African imagination literature in Africa & the Black diaspora. New York: Oxford UP, 2001.

Iweala, Uzodinma. Beasts of No Nation: A Novel. New York: Harper Perennial, 2006.

Halpe, Ashley. An Anthology of contemporary Sri Lankan short stories in English. Colombo: English Association of Sri Lanka with the collaboration of the British Council, 1990.

Harlow, Barbara. Resistance literature. New York: Methuen, 1987.

Hasan, Mushirul. India's Partition Process, Strategy, and Mobilization. Delhi: Oxford UP, 1993.

Hove, Chenjerai. Bones. London: Heinemann, 1990.

Husain, Intizar. Basti. New Delhi : Indus, 1995.

Kahin, George McTurnan. The Asian-African Conference: Bandung, Indonesia, April 1955, Ithaca and N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1956.

Kanengoni, Alexander. Echoing silences. Harare, Zimbabwe: Baobab Books, 1997.

Kourouma, Ahmadou. The Suns of Independence. London: Heinemann, 1981.

_____, Allah is not obliged. 1st Anchor Books ed. New York: Anchor Books, 2007.

_____, Monnew a novel. San Francisco: Mercury House, 1993.

Laabi, Abdellatif, Victor W. Reinking, and Anne O. George. The world's embrace selected poems. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2003

Lazarus, Neil. Resistance in Postcolonial African Fiction. New Haven: Yale UP, 1990.

_____, Nationalism and cultural practice in the postcolonial world. New York: Cambridge UP, 1999.

_____, The Cambridge companion to postcolonial literary studies. New York: Cambridge UP, 2004.

Lazreg, Marnia. The Eloquence of Silence: Algerian Woman in Question. New York and London: Routledge, 1994.

Leach, Neil. Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Le Sueur, James D. Uncivil war intellectuals and identity politics during the decolonization of Algeria. 2nd ed. ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska P, 2005.

Macey, David. Frantz Fanon: A Biography. New York: Picador USA, 2001.

MacAlister, Melani. Epic encounters : Culture, Media, and U.S. interests in the Middle East, 1945 – 2000. Berkeley, California: Univ. of California Press, 2003.

Mamdani, Mahmood. Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism. Princeton, N.J: Princeton UP, 1996.

_____, When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda, Princeton, N.J: Princeton UP, 2002.

_____, Saviors and Survivors: Darfur, Politics, and the War on Terror. New York: Pantheon Books, 2009.

Manto, Sadat Hasan, and Madan Gupta. Selected stories. New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1997.

Mbembe, J. Achille. On the Postcolony. Berkeley: University of California P, 2001.

McClintock, Anne; Mufti, Aamir; Shohat, Ella; Social Text Collective. Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives. Minneapolis : University

of Minnesota Press, 1997.

McCulloch, Jock. In the Twilight of Revolution: The Political Theory of Amilcar Cabral.

Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983.

Memmi, Albert. The Colonizer and the Colonized, trans. Howard Greenfeld. Expanded ed. Boston: Beacon Press, 1991.

Miller, Christopher. Theories of Africans: Francophone Literature and Anthropology in Africa. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Monk, Daniel Bertrand. An Aesthetic Occupation : The Immediacy of Architecture and the Palestine Conflict, Durham, NC : Duke University Press, 2002

Moretti, Franco. Atlas of the European Novel, 1800-1900. London, New York: Verso. 1998.

_____, The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture.

London: Verso, 1987.

Nandy, Ashis. The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism. Delhi:

Oxford, 1983.

Neilson, Jim. Warring Fictions : American Literary Culture and the Vietnam War

Narrative. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998.

Ngugi wa thiong'o. Weep not, Child. Macmillan ELT, 2005.

Nordstrom, Carolyn. A Different Kind of War Story. Philadelphia: University of

Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Oyono, Ferdinand. Houseboy, Translated by John Reed. Oxford and Johannesburg:

Heinemann African Writers Series, 1966.

Patel, Sujata and Thorner, Alice. Bombay: Metaphor for Modern India, Bombay and New

York : Oxford University Press, 1995.

Rushdie, Salman. Midnight's children. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1995.

Romulo, Carlos P. The Meaning of Bandung, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956.

Rosen, David M. Armies of the Young: Child Soldiers in War and Terrorism.

Piscataway, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 2005.

Said, Edward W. Humanism and Democratic Criticism. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

_____, Orientalism. New York : Pantheon Books, 1978.

Sahni, Bhisham. Tamas, India: Penguin Books, 2001.

Samman, Ghada. Beirut nightmares. London: Quartet Books, 1997.

Samupindi, Charles. Pawns. Harare: Baobab Books, 1992.

Saro-Wiwa, Ken. Sozaboy. Port Harcourt, Nigeria: Saros International, 1985.

Selvadurai, Shyam. Funny boy. New York, NY: W.Morrow and Co., 1996.

Sherry, Vincent, ed. The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the First World War, Louisiana: Tulane University, 2005.

Singh, Khushwant. Train to Pakistan. Westport, Conn: Greenwood P, 1975.

Saunders, Frances Stonor. The Cultural Cold War : the CIA and the world of arts and letters. New York : New Press : 2000.

Todorov, Tzvetan. The Poetics of Prose. Translated by R. Howard, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977.

Vale, Lawrence J. Architecture, power, and national identity, New Haven : Yale University Press, 1992

Vidal, D., Tarabout, Gilles and Meyer, Eric. Violence/Non-Violence Some Hindu Perspectives. New Delhi: Centre De Sciences Humaines, 2003.

Wright. Derek. The Novels of Nuruddin Farah. Bayreuth, Germany: Bayreuth University, 1994

Wright, Richard. The Color Curtain. Jackson: Banner Books, University of Mississippi P. 1956.

Young, Robert J.C. Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction, Oxford, UK ; Malden, Mass. : Blackwell Publishers, 2001

Articles:

Adams, Ann Marie. Writing Self, Writing Nation: Imagined Geographies in the Fiction of Hanan al-Shaykh. Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature, Vol. 20, No. 2, Women Writing Across the World (Autumn, 2001), pp. 201-216.

Adam, Ian, The Murder of Soyaan Kenyaan, Emerging Perspectives of Nuruddin Farah, Edited by Derek Wright, Trenton NJ & Asmara, Eritrea, Africa World Press Inc, 2002.

Aghacy, Samira. Lebanese Women's Fiction: Urban Identity and the Tyranny of the Past. International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 33, No. 4 (Nov., 2001), Cambridge University Press.pp. 503-523.

Ahmad, Aijaz. The Politics of Literary Postcoloniality. Race & Class, 36.3, 1995

Alidou, Ousseina D. and Mazrui, Alamin M., Secrets: Farah's "Things Fall Apart," Research in African Literatures 31.1 (2000) 122-128.

Barnett, Clive. Disseminating Africa: Burdens of Representation and the African Writers Series. New Formations, 57, "The Spatial Imaginary," 2005.

Cazaneve, Odile. Writing the Child, Youth, and Violence into the Francophone Novel from Sub-Saharan Africa: The Impact of Age and Gender. Research in African Literatures. Vol. 36, No. 2 (Summer 2005).

Cheah, Pheng, Spectral Nationality: The Living On [sur-vie] of the Postcolonial Nation in Neocolonial Globalization, Boundary 2 26.3 (1999) 225-252.

Francisco, Jason, In the Heat of Fratricide The Literature of India's Partition Burning Freshly (A Review Article), The Annual of Urdu Studies, Vol. 11, 1996.

Foster, Thomas. Circles of Oppression, Circles of Repression: Etel Adnan's Sitt Marie Rose, PMLA, Vol. 110, No. 1, Special Topic: Colonialism and the Postcolonial Condition (Jan, 1995), pp. 59-74.

Geesey, Patricia. Violent Days: Algerian Women Writers and the Civil Crisis. The International Fiction Review. Vol 27, Numbers 1 & 2.

Gikandi, Simon. On Culture and the State: The Writings of Ngugi wa Thiong'o. Third World Quarterly, Vol 11, No. Jan 1989. p 144-158.

Goonetilleke, D.C.R.A. Sri Lanka's `Ethnic' Conflict in its Literature in English. World Literature Today, 01963570, Summer 92, Vol. 66, Issue 3.

Harrow, Kenneth, Nationalism: An Introduction. Research in African Literature, 32.3 (2001) 1-12.

Henderson, Errol and Singer, David J. Civil War and the Post-Colonial World, 1946-92. Journal of Peace Research, Vol 37, No. 3, 2000. pp 275-299.

Hess, Janet Berry, Imagining Architecture: The Structure of Nationalism in Accra, Ghana Africa Today, Vol. 47, No. 2 (Spring, 2000), Indiana University Press pp. 35-58.

Higginson, Pim, Mayhem at the Crossroads: Francophone African Fiction and the Rise of the Crime Novel. Yale French Studies, No. 108, Crime Frictions, 2005, pp 160-176.

Kortenaar, Neil Ten. Fictive States and the State of Fiction in Africa. Comparative Literature, Vol. 52, No. 3. (Summer, 2000), pp. 228-245.

Holquist, Micheal. Whodunit and Other Questions: Metaphysical Detective Stories in Post-War Fiction, New Literary History, Vol. 3, No. 1, Modernism and Postmodernism: Inquiries, Reflections, and Speculations (Autumn, 1971), pp. 135-156.

Lazarus, Neil. Postcolonial Studies after the Invasion of Iraq. New Formations: A Journal of Culture/Theory/Politics, Issue 59, "After Iraq: Reframing Postcolonial Studies." 2006.

Macey, David. Frantz Fanon, or the Difficulty of Being Martinican. History Workshop Journal 58 (2004) 211-223.

Massad, Joseph. Conceiving the Masculine: Gender and Palestinian Nationalism, Middle East Journal, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Summer, 1995), Middle East Institute, pp. 467-483.

McClintock, Ann. "No Longer in a Future Heaven": Women and Nationalism in South Africa. Transition, No. 51 (1991), Indiana University Press, pp. 104-123.

Miller, Christopher. Nationalism as Resistance and Resistance to Nationalism in the Literature of Francophone. Yale French Studies, No. 82, Post/Colonial Conditions: Exiles, Migrations, and Nomadisms, Volume 1,1993.

Mortimer, Mildred. Edward Said and Assia Djebar: A Contrapuntal Reading, Research in African Literatures, Vol. 36, No. 3 (Fall 2005).

Ngaboh-Smart, Francis. Secrets and a New Civic Consciousness, Research in African Literatures 31.1 (2000) 129-136.

O'Gorman, Ellen, Detective Fiction and Historical Narrative, Greece & Rome, Second Series, Vol. 46, No. 1 (Apr., 1999), Cambridge University Press, pp. 19-26.

Sander, Reinhard & Munro, Ian, 'Tolstoy in Africa' Ba Shiru, Vol. 5, 1973.

Stora, Benjamin. Writing Between Two Algerian Wars. *Research in African Literatures* 30.3 (1999) 78-94.

Walsh, John. Coming of Age with an AK-47: Ahmadou Kourouma's *Allah n'est pas Obligeé*. Research in African Literatures Vol. 39, No. 1 (Winter 2008).

Yewah, Emmanuel.The Nation as a Contested Construct. Research in African Literatures 32.3 (2001) 45-56.

Online Sources:

http://www.berghof-handbook.net/

Witaneck, Robert. Students, Scholars, and Spies: The CIA on Campus. Covert Action Information Bulletin, Winter 1989, pp. 25-28. http://www.cia-on-campus.org/witanek.html

http://www.gandhi-manibhavan.org/eduresources/article7.htm

http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,973241,00.html

http://www.kabyle.com/article.php3?id_article=9353

http://www.lib.unb.ca/Texts/IFR/bin/get.cgi?directory=Vol.27/&filename=Geesey.htm

http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/reviews/a-sunday-at-the-pool-in-kigali-by-gil-courtemanche-trans-patricia-claxton-537477.html.

http://www.amnestyusa.org/children/child-soldiers/page.do?id=1051047

http://www.oprah.com/article/oprahradio/gking/gking_20070216

http://gawker.com/239220/starbucks-better-at-pimping-books-than-bn-oprah

http://www.africa.upenn.edu/africa/jua020408.html