

ISSN: 2278-9529



GALAXY

International Multidisciplinary Research Journal

July 2015 Vol. 4. Issue IV

www.galaxyimrj.com

Editor-In-Chief- Dr. Vishwanath Bite

About Us: <http://www.galaxyimrj.com/about-us/>

Archive: <http://www.galaxyimrj.com/archive/>

Contact Us: <http://www.galaxyimrj.com/contact-us/>

Editorial Board: <http://www.galaxyimrj.com/editorial-board/>

Submission: <http://www.galaxyimrj.com/submission/>

FAQ: <http://www.galaxyimrj.com/faq/>

Sovereignty and Violence: Reading Sunil Gangopadhyay's *Purbo-Pashchim* (East-West)

Arindam Ghosh

U.G.C-Junior Research Fellow

Department of English

University of Calcutta

Abstract:

In this article I will try to discuss that how in addition to violence sovereign ambitions have also been negotiated in the context of representational politics. In the subcontinent, that politics too is marked by violence partly because sovereign concerns are at stake. But, even apart from the linkage with violence, representational politics and sovereign identities have shaped each other. It is the domain where the sovereignty in its aspect as popular will most visibly comes into play. In this paper I will look at the political vagaries of the sovereign subject in modern Bengali politics as vividly portrayed in eminent Bengali novelist and poet Sunil Gangopadhyay's renowned partition-novel *Purbo-Pashchim* (East-West).

Keywords: Violence, Sovereign, Partition, Bengali, Political.

Violence on the part of the state in the name of the sovereignty is not uncommon. Civilians have in many situations challenged the state's monopoly on violence. This challenge has taken both the exhilarating form of popular resistances to unjust regimes, and the tragic murderousness of civil violence. In the subcontinent, states have been less able to assert their monopoly over violence than their counterparts in Europe did. In the resulting vacuum, communal violence has played a big role in the sovereign dialogue. Arguably, communal violence has been a principal determinant of sovereign identities in the subcontinent. But, it is not the only determinant. In addition to violence, sovereign ambitions have also been negotiated in the context of representational politics. In the subcontinent, that politics too is marked by violence partly because sovereign concerns are at stake. But, even apart from the linkage with violence, representational politics and sovereign identities have shaped each other. It is the domain where the sovereignty in its aspect as popular will most visibly comes into play. In this paper, I will look at the political vagaries of the sovereign subject in modern Bengali politics as vividly portrayed in eminent Bengali novelist and poet Sunil Gangopadhyay's renowned partition-novel *Purbo-Pashchim* (East-West), published in 1989. The novel tells the parallel story of the two Bengals from a little before the partition to just after the independence of Bangladesh. Both the time frame and the setting of this novel are well chosen for exploring the long aftermath of the partition in the Bengal region. This kind of exploration can obviate the old binary of nationalism and communalism, and point to fresh theoretical concepts in light of which the partition may be understood.

The history of Bengal is uniquely rich in divisions, and as such it affords a vantage to the partition experience that may not be available from the experience of Punjab alone. Two facts in particular stand out. First, Bengal is the only region of the subcontinent which was partitioned not once but twice - first in 1905 (repealed in 1911) and then again in 1947. Second, it is also the only region where a new nation-state was born not only due to the partition of 1947, but again in its aftermath in 1971. The partition of 1947 and the independence of 1971 mark for the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal, respectively, radical

changes in their subject positions. These changes are excellent indicators of the multiple and contingent nature of sovereignty.

True to the title of the novel, *Purbo-Pashchim* (East-West) tells the parallel story of the two Bengals. (Parts of the story in the second volume of the novel take place in London and New York, and so the title may be taken as a reference to the global East and West as well. But, despite the diasporic forays in this novel, the story remains crucially grounded in the modern history of Bengal). The novel traces the story of two generations of East and West Bengalis from the time of the partition through the Naxalism of the late 60s and the Liberation War of Bangladesh in 1971. Through flashbacks, however, it also offers snippets of life in pre-partition Bengal. The novel's ambition to narrate the story of the two Bengals in a parallel or connected manner may be less common than one might expect. For West Bengali Hindus, who produced the bulk of the literary and historiographic narratives of modern Bengal, the East Bengali Muslims constituted a "forgotten majority" (Bromfield 196-224). Dipesh Chakrabarty sounded a similar note. In the introduction to his famous critique of Eurocentric history in *Provincializing Europe*, he lamented another sort of ethnocentrism as well: "I am also very sadly aware of the historical gap between Hindu and Muslim Bengalis, which this book cannot but reproduce." Arguably narratives from the East, when they began to emerge, were also equally self-absorbed. Of course, in this mainstream of exclusionism there is also a recurring undertow of recognition. *Purbo-Pashchim* constitutes a bold and deliberate example of this counter-trend. The gap that Chakrabarty feels he "cannot but reproduce," *Purbo-Pashchim* seeks actively to bridge. In the hands of an accomplished novelist like Gangopadhyay, however, this endeavour does not become merely a geographically or demographically sutured chronicle, nor a fantasy of ethno-cultural solidarity. Rather, through its many complexities and contradictions it yields interesting ideas of the subject - forever split and embattled - that resides at the centre of the long narrative and debate about the partition.

The partition of 1947 forms the contextual ground upon which the epic length of Gangopadhyay's novel unfolds. In the first volume, the novel narrates the story of two friends, Pratap and Mamun. They are both originally from East Bengal, but in keeping with the communal logic of the times, Pratap (a Hindu) comes to settle in Calcutta, whereas Mamun (a Muslim) moves to Dhaka after studying in Calcutta. Pratap is arguably the centering consciousness of this novel, especially in the first volume. (In the second volume, this role is taken over to a great extent by his son Ateen; though Pratap remains a substantial presence and the novel ends with his dying thoughts.)

An exemplary account of this sensibility is contained in *Chhere Asha Gram (The Abandoned Village)*, consisting of sixty-eight pieces by East Bengali refugees. It has been compiled and edited by Dakshinaranjan Basu and published from Jugantar, Calcutta in 1975. These pieces were first serialized in a Calcutta paper in the 1950s, and then collected as a book in 1975. These pieces are marked foremost by a "stunned disbelief" that something like the partition could actually come about. One of the authors in the collection writes, "Who would have thought the country would be engulfed in such a fire?" (Basu 122). Apart from shock the pieces are also marked by a pervasive sense of nostalgia and mourning. These are natural reactions to loss, and part of the process of grieving through which one arrives at acceptance. While most of the emotions expressed in these pieces are heartfelt and the opinions understandable, they also present a "discourse about value" that warrants unsentimental critique. Dipesh Chakrabarty has provided such a critique in his essay *Memories of Displacement*.

In Chakrabarty's reading, the valuation of home in *Chhere Asha Gram (The Abandoned Village)* is related to the prevailing Hindu idea of Bengali nationality. Muslims have a troubled presence in this conception of the Bengali home and nation. This is not to say that the conception is overtly intolerant of Muslims. Rather, Muslims are an integral part of the idyll imagined in these recollections. The Muslim is ever present in these pictures, usually in a subordinate position, but they are absorbed into the idyll in a language of kinship. Such incorporation of the Muslim is crucial to the creation of the idyll as a place of communal harmony. But, it is of course marked by fundamental limitations. As Chakrabarty observes, no thought is given in these essays to "what it might mean for a Hindu to be a guest in a Muslim home similarly constructed, one embodying Islamic notions of the sacred." (*Habitations of Modernity* 130) Both communities had failed at more inclusionary imaginations of nationality. In this particular case, this meant that the "Muslim of the Muslim League," for most of the authors in *Chhere Asha Gram*, "erupts as a figure of enigma" (*Habitations of Modernity* 130).

If the pieces in *Chhere Asha Gram* bear heart-rending testimonies of dispossession, they also embody in a vivid manner a certain failure of Hindu popular imagination. These pieces are unable to recognize that the Muslims may have claims similar to their own. As a result, an East Bengal devoid of a vibrant Hindu community is imagined as an empty land. One of the authors writes: "The villages, markets, settlements, of East Bengal today are speechless and without life, their consciousness wiped out by the horrors of the end of time." For these authors life itself ceases to exist in East Bengal without the Hindus! Nothing could express better how their conceptions of nationality ended at the limits of the Bengali Hindu self. I outline the ethos of the Hindu East Bengali refugees here at some length, since it is a subjectivity that Pratap, the centering consciousness of *Purbo-Pashchim*, both shares and eschews in important ways.

Pratap is the son of a prosperous East Bengal landlord, Bhabadev, who refuses to leave his properties and native soil to start over on the other side. So deep is Bhabadev's denial of the partition that to him "Hindustan-Pakistan seemed unreal." (*Purba-Paschim* 132) Bhabadev does not represent merely an atavistic attachment to land, but a deeper ontological disbelief at the propositions of history: he buys off the properties of the migrating Hindus promising to sell them back when they return. In a less dramatic way Pratap too feels "as if Partition had not yet become real" (*Purba-Paschim* 132). Like the authors of *Chhere Asha Gram*, Pratap shares the bewilderment and pain over the loss of his childhood home. It is easy enough to see Pratap's chagrin at the loss of a home that he had left to settle in Calcutta, since he still maintained vital connections with it. Income from the lands allow Pratap to live above the means of his middling government job, and he chose it every year over famed vacation spots like Kashmir or Goa, to "gather energy for the rest of the year" (*Purba-Paschim* 42). It is possible that Pratap, like other refugees, feels his loss so acutely, for a more psychological reason: unlike his father he knows this loss is permanent. Several authors in *Chhere Asha Gram* too use the term "forever" to describe the irreversible nature of their loss. This is also how the protagonist, an East Bengali refugee, of Sunil Gangopadhyay's first novel *Atmaprakash* (Coming Out), describes his loss (My Translation):

The place where I was bom, I have had to leave behind. Next to our village was the wild Arial Kha river - forever I have lost that river, right next to the house was an old pomegranate tree - even that I have lost for this life...my aimless adolescent roamings in the jute fields stretching to the horizon - I can never go back there. (*Atmaprakash* 42)

These anguished memories derive an extra charge from the fact that Sunil Gangopadhyay, himself a refugee gave his protagonist the same name as himself. This post-modern gesture was quite an innovation in Bengali literature of the 1960s, but its effects were as much political as they were literary. Gangopadhyay effectively gave the refugee, a silence subaltern, not only a voice but in a site that was jealously guarded by the elites: literary fiction. This combativeness is shared by his protagonist, who says about himself (My Translation)

I am a stranger to this city [Calcutta], but no one must recognize me as a country bumpkin - I must be careful about that. I must see that this city doesn't just squash me to death thinking I'm a harmless idiot. I am was never sure from which angle the attack will come, so I wanted to get to the know the city thoroughly. (Atmaprakash 42)

As his comments show, nostalgia was not the only possible reaction for the refugee, however, deep, painful and abiding the nostalgia might be. For most refugees, the challenges of the new life were also critical in shaping their attitudes and identity. A collection like *Chhere Asha Gram* is of course by its nature not positioned to represent the changes that could and did occur over time. A writer like Sunil Gangopadhyay, who returned to the theme again and again, was much better positioned to treat these long-term changes. (Starting with *Atmaprakash (Coming Out)*, in a number of his works, Gangopadhyay has treated the theme of the partition, and especially the fate of the refugees. Often it exists as a leitmotif, but in many of his other works too, such as *Arjun* (1971), it becomes a principal theme.) Of all his works, however, it is in *Purbo-Pashchim* that the theme finds its fullest treatment.

Pratap remarks on how among middle-class Hindu migrants from the East, all talk begins with an invocation of desk before any other topic can be broached. But, soon enough Pratap's nostalgia finds a companion in bitterness. In contrast to the authors of *Chhere Asha Gram*, however, the target of Pratap's bitterness are not the Muslims of the East. This may mark to an extent the fact that such feelings subsided in many people as time went on and new challenges, even new adversaries, presented themselves. But, it also shows an attempt on the part of Gangopadhyay to keep the central figure free from the taint of communal sentiments. Separated from the buttress of the old home, Pratap falls into a life of steady decline, and this is the real source of his bitterness. The event only reminds Pratap that once he too could once offer such hospitality, whereas now he can only receive it. This realization prompts him to remark, "The price of independence is different for each person" (*Purba-Paschim* 300). This moment marks Pratap's awakening to his new identity fundamentally as a supplicant. I use this term in the same sense that Michael Dillon has used it in his essay, "The Sovereign and the Stranger," where Dillon argued that no figure is more the "other" of the sovereign than the supplicant. All refugees are supplicants, and as supplicants they have no share in the sovereignty of the place where they seek or find shelter. Someone like Pratap is really more an exile than an outright refugee, but even exiles are to an extent supplicants. This supplicatory status, with all its implications of impotence and humiliation, is the source of Pratap's increasing alienation and embitteredness. While this psychological toll cannot be minimized, it is also not as brutal as the fate of those who were refugees in the stricter sense.

Purbo-Pashchim (East-West) is by no means primarily a narrative inspired by a subaltern sensibility. As I have already noted, the centring consciousness of this novel is supplied by a figure such as Pratap, not Harit. Pratap represents a resolutely middleclass, liberal, modernist position (for his context) - a position that the text too largely shares. This kind of position,

which for the sake of brevity I will designate as modernist, does not usually lead to a sympathetic vantage on the subaltern. Yet, as I have suggested, *Purbo-Pashchim* is able to throw an interesting light on the interrelations of the sovereign and the subaltern. There are both formal and ideological reasons which make this possible. At a formal level, in its verisimilar sweep of great swaths of society, the novel is able to include subaltern subjects to an extent that the other novels in this study do not. However, what lends interest to this text is not just the qualities of mimesis and inclusivity, but also its ability to register the complexities and contradictions of the many positions it represents. In addition to this formal capaciousness, the novel is also aided by a certain ideological individuality, especially in its handling of nationalism.

The novel's preoccupation with the fate of Bengal as a culturally contiguous region is made even more explicit in a remark as East Bengal becomes East Pakistan:

On this side, if they could merge West Bengal too with Bihar, then the Bengali nation could be eliminated from the face of the earth. The Bengali language would stick around for a while, but no one would be able to identify themselves as Bengali. After all, people are known by the name of their country! (*Purbo-Pashchim* 186)

Whether such existential anxieties are justified is highly debatable. What they do express keenly, however, is a belief in the naturalness of the ethno-linguistic conception of the nation, and the desirability of the continuing existence of the particular nation in question, Bengal. It is interesting, however, that the narrator uses the term for country (*desk*) to designate the national idea, not the terms for nation or state. So, while the narrator is partaking, on the one hand, of a familiar conception of ethno-linguistic nationalism, on the other hand, he is also signaling a certain disjunction with statist models of that idea. For the narrator, it is sufficient if West Bengal continues as a province of India, as opposed to an independent state, for the perpetuation of Bengali cultural identity. This de-emphasizing of the statist dimension of nationalist conception marks an accommodation with the larger federation that the narrator has no pragmatic choice but to accept. However, the latent but enduring appeal of the statist conception too will emerge again when the narrator turns to chronicling East Pakistan's transformation into Bangladesh.

In *Purbo-Pashchim*, the story of East Bengal is represented most extensively in the figure of Mamun, who is Pratap's East Bengali counterpart and friend. The two of them become friends while in college in Calcutta in the 1940s. Mamun becomes involved in politics, supporting Fazlul Huq initially. As time passes though, his views begin to change. He tells Pratap at one point:

Look Pratap, in education and jobs, Hindus have had many privileges for a long time now, this you must admit? What have the Muslims got? If Hindus and Muslims do not become equally qualified, they won't be able to live together. You must be patient now while Muslims gain some grounds. (*Purbo-Pashchim* 65)

In the case of the Bengali Muslims, the communal-secular tension already inherent in the Pakistan demand was complicated by an additional factor: cultural identity. If the Bengali Muslims' overwhelming support for Pakistan marked an assertion of their communal identity as Muslims, misleadingly it also concealed the depth of their attachment to their cultural identity as Bengalis. This is why even as Mamun accepts Pakistan as a political necessity, he deeply rues the division of Bengal. He can hardly accept that the cultural capital of Bengal,

Calcutta, where he spent his college days, will now be in another country. The West Pakistanis who quickly established hegemonic control over Pakistan were incredibly oblivious to such cultural feelings. The consequences of this gap between the two wings of Pakistan is noted in *Purbo-Pashchim* through certain historical highlights of the next two decades, as they touch of the lives of Mamun and other characters.

During the period that the Bangladeshi struggle took shape, West Bengal too succumbed to what is arguably the most convulsive political period of its post-independence life in the form of the Naxalite movement. *Purbo-Pashchim* chronicles it as a parallel story to the Bangladeshi Liberation struggle. The roots of this movement go as far back as the 1950s to the peasant struggles in the Naxalbari area, from which it derives its name. But it attained an entirely new level of organization and militancy as it linked up with the struggles of tea garden workers in neighbouring districts in the late 60s. Clashes with the police in May 1967 marked a decisive moment in the career of this movement, which thereafter spiralled into ever greater violence. The leader of this movement, Charu Mazumdar proclaimed: "Only through the annihilation campaign can the new man be created, the new man who will defy death and will be free from all thought of self-interest" (Bannerjee 145). The appeal of such rhetoric to certain idealistic or romantic youth is not hard to imagine. The result of it, however, was a devastating cycle of violence that terrorized West Bengal for the better part of a decade.

In *Purbo-Pashchim*, this movement is represented mainly through Pratap's son Ateen. Like his father, Ateen is not a deeply political person, and he joins Manikda's study circle initially for social reasons. The other youngsters who come there are much more ideologically driven, but Ateen follows them to a point where he ends up committing a murder in self-defense. This incident changes Ateen's life forever, since to escape jail he leaves for America, an escape facilitated by Pratap's influential friend Bimanbihari. In an ironic twist, Bimanbihari, who helped a Naxalite like Ateen due to his friendship with Ateen's father, becomes a target himself of other Naxalites. This is meant perhaps to highlight the parricidal nature of this conflict, meaning that it possessed a disturbing intimacy. The killers were often at only a few degrees of separation from their targets. It marked a deep breakdown of communication and trust between the generations, where the younger despaired of finding any solution to the suffocating stagnation of the political and economic life of their society.

While *Purbo-Pashchim* is not so damning in its judgment of the Naxalite movement, it is certainly quite critical of it, especially as compared to the struggle for sovereignty next door. The text's most bitter recrimination of the Naxalites is apportioned to Pratap:

The youth on that side are fighting with all their life to preserve national honour, but what are the youth here doing? Only fratricide! The youth here have no enemies in front of them, except one's brother, friend or a peer who must be killed if they belong to another party. Killing for killing's sake!.. Can't they even see the cowardice of their actions? Boys on that side are fighting almost without any arms against soldiers wielding automatic rifles and light machine guns. And boys on this side are stabbing some helpless teacher in the stomach on his way home. (*Purbo-Pashchim* 402)

It is interesting that this view is assigned to Pratap, because given that his own son has become a Naxalite, no matter how deep his disapproval of the movement, he cannot bring himself to condemn the actual youngsters who joined it. Rather he regards them with forgiving bewilderment, and finds it impossible to understand "what blind passion drives

them.” As a small-time judge when he is advised to carry a gun for self-protection, he refuses the idea saying that he could not wield a weapon against his own son, meaning those just like him.

To a great extent the text too shares the ambivalence of Pratap’s attitude. If it exhibits no patience for the Naxalite movement itself, it demonstrates a great deal of sympathy for the youngsters who joined it. To an extent they are all ultimately broken by their actions and their consequences. Ateen becomes an exile in America. Although he becomes a successful engineer, fulfilling the stereotypical American dream of prosperity, at another level he is deeply disenchanted by his corporate-suburban life, and quite lost in terms of an identity or purpose. The fates of his peers stand in some contradistinction to his, though they suffer harsher consequences at physical or material levels. The leader of Ateen’s small unit of Naxalites, Manikda is killed. One of Ateen’s friends, Kaushik, is injured, hunted and forced to live in sub-human conditions in hiding. Another friend, Pompom, is captured and tortured by the police. Although both Kaushik and Pompom, who become partners later, bear the marks of their physical misfortunes for life, at another level they are much more sanguine than Ateen. When Ateen meets them years later during a home visit (after a general pardon of all Naxalites), he finds them working away in quiet anonymity, with non-violent means, towards the same goals they believed in their youth. The kind of sustenance that they seem to draw from their beliefs and from being rooted in a community is meant to contrast with Ateen’s discontented, unmoored prosperity. This contrast seems to mark a certain approval for the goals of the Naxalites (akin to that voiced by Partha Chatterjee), if not their methods.

The second volume of *Purbo-Pashchim* presents two scenarios - the independence of Bangladesh and a renewed cultural affinity between the two Bengals - that not only defy the original logic of the partition, but also stand in some contradistinction to conditions that obtain in the Punjab frontier. The emergence of Bangladesh is arguably a crucial part of the long aftermath of the partition, yet it has received scant attention in most partition literature and historiography. Even when this historical event is noted, it is done in an empirical manner, with little attention to its theoretical implications. Many Indian scholars will go so far as to point out that the birth of Bangladesh proves the fallacy of Jinnah’s famous “two-nation theory” on which the demand for Pakistan was based. While this is certainly the case, it is also true that the birth of Bangladesh disproves the “one-nation” theory of India as well. Yet, there is absolutely no mention of this possibility in any Indian literature or scholarship of note. This astonishing lack of recognition is one sign of the degree to which even the most liberal critiques of Indian nationalism cannot step out of some of its most basic parameters. Arguably, the existence of Bangladesh points to the fact, as the Bengali leader Abul Hashim had famously asserted, that India might always have been a multi-national country. Whether they might have been best contained within the framework of a single state or multiple ones is a separate debate.

Purbo-Pashchim marks a remarkable break from this kind of conceptual strait-jacketing. It is able to concede a degree of legitimacy to a nationalism on the border that is rarely seen in any Indian English novels. In doing so, of course, it privileges the very idea of sovereignty itself. But, it also complicates this idea in interesting and important ways. In the case of West Bengal it voices the need for a sovereign subjectivity in cultural terms, de-emphasizing statist notions. This points to the possibility of seeing sovereignty in modern times as something that is not absolute, but divisible and negotiable. In the case of Bangladesh, the novel expresses an almost unreserved sympathy for the struggle for sovereignty, but it is also complicated by the question of the subaltern. In this novel, during the war, a contrarian but sage figure asks,

“Now you think, a free country of people who speak the same language will mean that all repressive, exploitative, undemocratic forces will bury themselves underground?” (*Purbo-Paschim* 570) Again, Alam, himself a freedom fighter, tells Pratap, “Uncle only a free country called Bangladesh has been born, but its people have not become free” (*Purbo-Paschim* 570).

Instead of reading the achievement of a nation-state as the ultimate sign of Bangladeshi sovereignty, it may be possible in light of a leitmotif in *Purbo-Pashchim* to read another dimension into their condition. The state they attain is so devastated not only by war but also by almost three centuries of colonial exploitation (first by the British, then by the Pakistanis), that it is hardly a very potent sign or source of sovereignty. Rather, like the vanquished but always fighting refugee leader Harit Mondol in volume one, the Bangladeshis too are marked by both an ongoing need and willingness to keep struggling. This is evidenced in the actions and statements of a great many of the Bangladeshi characters - such as, Mamun, Alam and Monira. This perpetual struggle for a certain dignity and autonomy may indeed be a deeper sign of their sovereign nature.

The novel ends with the dying thoughts of the central protagonist Pratap, which is about his last home in East Bengal: “Oh, isn’t this the private dock of the Majumdars of Malkhangar! It’s still just like that. No visas, no passports, how did Pratap still get here? So you can still come back?” (*Purbo-Paschim* 578). Pratap’s last thoughts reveal their poignancy in their disjunction from reality. They also capture the fundamental wish that drives all exilic lives to a certain extent: an unrenounceable desire for homecoming. This is also the desire that drives *Purbo-Pashchim*. It is a text ultimately of homecoming, although it recognizes that that is not possible fully or literally in a partitioned context. It calls for acts of imagination and compromise with which the text is replete. Any homecoming that can happen, and this may be true for all sovereign subjects, has to happen to a great extent at a realm of inventive interpretation. It involves accepting that perhaps it was not the partition that split the self, but that the division manifested in a crude and visible way what was already true. This truth about the self, meaning its split nature, is suggested in the very title of this novel, *Purbo-Pashchim*. It is suggested less in the two words, East and West, than in the hyphen that separates them. It indicates both a bond that can’t ever be fully severed and a gap that can never be fully closed.

Works Cited:

- Gangopadhyay, Sunil. *Atmopakash*. Kolkata: Ananda Publishers, 1988. Print.
- Gangopadhyay, Sunil. *East-West*. 2 Volumes. Trans. Enakshi Chatterjee. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2000. Print.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. Print.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. “Memories of Displacement”. in *Habitations of Modernity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002. Print.
- Chhere Asha Gram (The Abandoned Village)*. Compiled and edited by Dakshinaranjan Basu. Calcutta: Jugantar, 1975. Print.
- Dillon, Michael. “The Sovereign and the Stranger.” in *Sovereignty and Subjectivity*, Edited by Jenny Edkins, Nalini Persram and Veronique Pin-Fat. Boulder: Lynn Reiner, 1999. Print.