



READINGS THROUGH THE TEXTS OF RIGOBERTA MENCHÚ AND DAYAMANI BARLA

A comparative study

Saket Suman Saurabh



Serie
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AND DAYAMANI BARLA**

Saurabh, Saket Suman

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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*My name is Rigoberta Menchú. This is my testimony.
I didn't learn it from a book and I didn't learn it alone.
I'd like to stress that it's not only my life. It's also the
testimony of my people. What has happened to me has
happened to many other people too: My story is the
story of all poor Guatemalans. My personal experience
is the reality of a whole people.*

- I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala

INTRODUCTION

Saket Suman Saurabh*

The present project proposes to look at two “texts” from India and Latin America; Dayamani Barla and Rigoberta Menchú. I use the word “texts” as a generic term referring to all their activism through life experiences, struggles and their writings. I submit that each of these elements complement each other to comprise what I state as a “text”. Rigoberta is from Guatemala and belongs to Maya Quiche community, and had suffered a lot along with her community members at the hands of ‘Ladinos’ (The landlords of white skin “from native Indians and Spanish colonizers,” who exploited local native people in their cotton, sugarcane and coffee farms in the high lands) because they were being exploited in terms of low wages and the worst working conditions. When these native workers were being transported to the farm lands, they had to sit for long hours, without putting any ear to the natural call. As said by Rigoberta:

I remember going along in the lorry and wanting to set it on fire so that we would be allowed to rest. What bothered me most was traveling on and on and on, wanting to urinate, and not being able to because the lorry wouldn't stop. The drivers were sometimes drunk, boozed. They stopped a lot on the way but they didn't let us get out. (Burgos 1983: 24)

* Jawaharlal Nehru University, India.

These native people had also suffered from the Guatemalan dictatorial regime and many thousands were perished due to the atrocities committed by the Guatemalan soldiers. In India, since time immemorial the “adivasi” people were marginalized and not being provided the constitutional rights as such. They are the original inhabitants of India/ Bharat for the reason that before the advent of Aryans these people were living on the land in the harmony with nature. The Aryans were having ‘fair’ colored skin and called themselves superior to these dark colored people in the main land India. The Aryans chased them to an extent that the native inhabitants had to run into forests and mountains leaving behind their land as they were of no match in front of better armed Aryans, their horses and chariots. And since then those original people were called as “adivasi” because of their living aloof to the main land. That was the beginning, which led to the “adivasi” people to embrace the forest, river and the gift of nature. But the story does not end there because the people turned greedy that even in the forests these people were made alienable by “dikus” (outside people) in the state of Jharkhand in particular. That is why Dayamani Barla is propagating the issue of land, forest and water. As rightly said by V. Venkatesan:¹

The Indian Forest Act, 1927, the Wildlife Protection Act, 1972, and the Forest (Conservation) Act, 1980, have been premised on the misconception that any human interference in a forest ecosystem would lead to its destruction. The National Forest Policy, 1988, which outlined a policy statement on national conservation strategies, challenged this traditional view. It preferred to recognize forest-dwelling communities as primary stakeholders in forests and involve them in the conservation process. The recognition of forest rights is an acknowledgement that forests and forest-dwelling people are inseparable. One may wonder why the country took so long to enact the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act. The answer has to be found in the evolution of the Act itself.

Thus, first of all, making issue of their life experiences, I would like to point out that both these women Rigoberta Menchú and Dayamani Barla are indigenous tribal women in their respective parts of the world. Their communities have always lived on the fringes of society since times immemorial eking out a living of modest means. An entire civilization, the Mayans, were destroyed completely and reduced to being called as “indigenous” peoples. Their histories were attempted

1 Venkatesan, V. “On the Fringes” *Frontline*, Volume 25, Issue 04, Feb. 16-29, 2008. <http://www.frontline.in/static/html/fl2504/stories/20080229500401500.htm>

to be destroyed by burning their religious icons and their written records. The peoples were mass- murdered and very few survived the European diseases which they were inflicted with thereafter.

Similarly, in India, the Government by not providing decent education and health care has dishonored its constitutional guarantee to provide the “adivasis” (there are many different endogamous communities-more than five hundred at last count-that come under the label ‘Scheduled Tribes’. However, despite this internal differentiation, taken as a whole the tribes of central and eastern India share certain attributes-cultural, social, economic and political-that allow us to treat them as a single segment. Usually, what they share is denoted in cultural or ecological terms-namely that these adivasis generally inhabit upland or wooded areas, that they generally treat their women better than caste Hindus, that they have rich traditions of music and dance, and that while they might occasionally worship some manifestation of Vishnu or Siva, their rituals and religion centre around village gods and spirits) equal opportunities for social and economic development. On the other hand, the policies of the government have more actively dispossessed very many adivasis of their traditional means of life and livelihood. This is basically for the reason that the tribals of the mainland live amidst India’s best forests alongside many of its fastest flowing rivers and on top of its richest mineral resources. As the pace of economic and industrial development picked up after Independence, the adivasis increasingly had to make way for commercial forestry, dams and mines. Often, the adivasis are displaced because of the pressures and imperatives of what passes as ‘development’. Sometimes they are even displaced in the name of ‘conservation’. Thus, apart from large dams and industrial townships, tribals have also been rendered homeless by national parks and sanctuaries. The sociologist Walter Fernandes estimates that about 40% of all those displaced by government projects are of tribal origins. Since adivasi constitute roughly 8% of India’s population this means that a tribal is five times as likely as a non-tribal to be forced to sacrifice his home and hearth by the claims and demands of development and conservation.

Colonization had left the maximum impact on the indigenous people both in Latin America and India under the Spanish and English colonizers respectively. The Mayan civilization flourished throughout much of Guatemala and the surrounding region long before the Spanish arrived. However, The Spanish conquistadores led by Pedro de Alvarado destroyed this civilization in 1523-24 (“Spanish Conquest”). The Spanish world, thereafter, established Ciudad Vieja as “capital city” and few Mayan people who survived were left

to marginal and trivial lives. In the twentieth century Globalization has been most difficult for Mayans as they have had to fight corporate interests, state's indifference, displacement and destruction of their natural surroundings leading to the loss of their means of livelihood etc. Central America has always remained under the hegemonic influence of the United States which controlled not only its governments through their politics and economy but have also plundered them geopolitically and militarily, turning them into 'Banana' Republics. The plight of the indigenous peoples may be imagined! Post Globalization the scenario changed into 'internal and soft colonialism', where the government of the day was facilitating everything from land to water to the outside agencies and big corporate houses; indigenous communities suffered and were on the verge of losing whatever still remained of their old ceremonies, language and culture because of alienation from their land and forests. Thus Rigoberta asserts in a recent online write up that "people are integral part of nature and not masters of it". (Menchú "Somos parte...").

Similarly, English Colonizers had made role of written word when it comes to question of relationship of tribes to their means of production through 'land use' in India. As a consequence of the forests laws introduced by the British, and continued by the governments of independent India, 'the tribal who formerly regarded himself as the lord of the forests, was through a deliberate process turned into a subject and placed under the forests department.' Tribal became alien to their own land. Several revolts and protests like in 1789 revolt led by Tilka Manjhi happened to escape from the clutches of colonizers in the then Chhotanagpur region, but all were not successful ("A Portal for Santals' Freedom Struggle"). The Chhotanagpur Tenancy (CNT) Act enacted in 1908 after the Birsa Movement to govern land issues and prevent land alienation, is supposed to be the Magna Carta for tribal peoples ("Chhotanagpur Tenancy Act"). But after the economic reforms of 1991 and then advent of Privatization, Liberalization and Globalization, the socio-economic profile of many tribal communities changed as they continued to be displaced from their land. After this they have been forced into migration towards the cities for work. Their skills in peasantry and sharecropping, which are no longer utilizable due to forceful land grabbing and displacement, were rendered useless and eventually these peoples came to form part of dispersed unskilled labor in the cities. As R. Ramachandran Says:²

2 Ramachandran, R. " saga of survival" Frontline, Volume 23, Issue 13, July 1-14, 2006. <http://www.frontline.in/static/html/fl2313/stories/20060714003411000.htm>

Ostensibly, the new State was created for the welfare of the indigenous population. But this political process has been hijacked by vested interests. Political parties that were opposed to the creation of Jharkhand are now ruling the State. Contravening the constitutional provision under Schedule V, the State government has entered into several MoUs for mining operations (for four steel plants and six coal mines) without the real stakeholders, the Adivasis, having a say in the matter. There are land and forest rights granted to them under various Acts and laws, many of them enacted during the colonial period. They are unaware of these provisions, or do not have a full understanding. There are also contradictions among the various laws. They are often the victims of prolonged land disputes and litigation, and are forced to spend hard-earned money on fighting these cases to protect their rights. To preserve the unique cultural identity of the region and restore to the Adivasis their rights the time to act is now.

Both in Jharkhand and Guatemala this changed their lives because now these indigenous and tribal communities had to thus sacrifice their land, forest and water resources for facilitating the “development” for the whole country as unpaid unskilled labor. The question was that such development did not serve any purpose to the indigenous people of India and Central America and led, instead, to their complete pauperization. Rigoberta’s people had to shift to other forms of work, and mostly shifting to cities and towns to work, so in a way on the verge of losing their ‘indigenous’ identity. Dayamani’s Munda people are also losing their source of livelihood and are on the verge of collapse.

The author of this paper is fully capable of reading, understanding, writing and speaking Hindi and Spanish. Since born and brought up in India, the author has been fluent in Hindi. After opting for Spanish as his academic destination, the author is pursuing his doctorate in Spanish studies only. So, he is fully capable of handling the Spanish language *per se*.

SCOPE AND OBJECTIVE

Rigoberta Menchú, an indigenous women and a prominent member of the struggles of her community in Guatemala is the “writer” of the testimony titled *I Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Women in Guatemala*. It is among the most famous testimonies written by Latin American writers in the last twenty years of the 20th century. In her book Menchú gives us a vivid account of the hardships and exploitations faced by her, reflective of the situation of her community at large. In her testimony she also gives detailed account of the customs and traditions highlighting the unique cultural identity of the indigenous community of Guatemala. Indigenous people have no decisive role in the political-economy of the country dominated by a small number of wealthy elite classes called “Ladinos” (White skinned people).¹

In my research, I propose a reading of this testimony as a document of struggle which I believe, merits to be considered as a Post Colonial one. I also hope to address the problems associated with

1 Today, any Guatemalan- whatever his economic position is- who rejects, either individually or through his cultural heritage, Indian values of Mayan origin, also implies mixed blood. See in. Burgos Debray, Elisabeth. “A Maid in the Capital.” *I, Rigoberta Menchú: an Indian women in Guatemala*. Barcelona: Editorial Argos Vergara, 1983. P. 249.

this text in the context of questions regarding the genre and veracity and reliability of the same. In highlighting cultural peculiarities of the indigenous communities of her country the author questions the notions of “cultural supremacy” of the ruling class which thrives on a politics of cultural homogenization based on values of consumerism, individualism and profit. Post Colonialism is understood to have emerged as a counter-discourse to the Eurocentric notions of history and development articulated and promoted by the ruling class of the newly independent countries of the Third world. In Latin America in general, the ruling elite’s embrace of positivist ideas such as industrialization, urbanization, education based on European and North American models and ignoring the indigenous peoples’ traditions, needs and desires was problematic.

This colonial mindset of the ruling elite was contested in the post colonial writings which articulated the historical agency of the marginalized people in contrast to the imposition of categories like ‘undeveloped’ ‘backward’ ‘illiterate’ by the ruling classes on these people. Thus the post colonial writings also contested the developmental policies of the State which was using the indigenous people merely as ‘labor force’ and displacing and even killing them at its will. Miguel Ángel Asturias’ novel *Men of Maize* is an example of such writings. This research proposal however, wishes to analyze the texts of Rigoberta Menchú as a document of struggle and activism giving voices to people hitherto marginalized in the official discourse of ‘national development’. Menchú as child had to work with her parents in a *finca*, a big estate, where they had to work as laborers under the abusive conditions of whip lashes, foul dirt and language abuse. They were brought en masse, in closed truck, after a long journey where they had no food or water and where they had to sit on their own excreta! The testimony is the memoir of how Menchú survived these horrific realities to be able to help her people to organize their struggle and also to narrativize all this (Burgos 1983: 91).

Similarly, Dayamani Barla used to write in *Prabhat Khabar*, a leading regional newspaper of Jharkhand. Through her writings, she gave voice to the thousands of adivasis/tribals who have been exploited for years. There she writes about the plight of sufferings and related struggle due to displacement of adivasis, the rampant corruption of the State administration, and the environmental degradation due to exploitation of natural resources and construction of dams. She has been a recipient of the Counter Media Award for Better Rural Journalism (2000), the National Foundation for India Fellowship (2004) and Ellen L Lutz prize (2013) an Indigenous Rights Award from Cultural Survival, an international non-governmental organization (NGO) in

recognition of her pioneering grass root leadership for tribal rights. She earns her living by running a small tea stall in Ranchi, Jharkhand. Being an adivasi woman from the poorest section of the society, Barla's struggles were far greater than any of us could imagine. It began as a child when her father, who was illiterate and didn't have the proper paperwork to prove his land rights, was cheated off his land and displaced. Dayamani had to work to support her education throughout, first as an agricultural laborer, then as a house maid and later as a typist. Her poignant childhood stories led to the story of how she started working with an NGO. Later, after joining the Koel Karo dam movement, (which would submerge hundreds of villages and displace thousands of adivasis) ultimately turned her into an activist cum vociferous writer. She completed her education through many hardships. She decided to devote her writings to bring to light the unheard plight of the adivasis. Dayamani was saddened and unhappy at how adivasis were wrongly held responsible for destroying the forests and other resources. Giving a glimpse into *adivasi* life, she talked about how intricately their lives were linked to the forests since time immemorial, to the seasons and more importantly to land. With their strong tribal values and understanding of the environment, they have preserved and survived on forests for centuries.

Talking about the so called "development" programs and policies, she said that even today the people making the policies do not understand their culture and values. Most policies are directed towards exterminating their indigenous ways of living. Rich natural resources of Jharkhand such as iron, coal, copper and wood, have led the government and corporate to displace them on a large scale with almost no rehabilitation, for big industrial projects and dams, many of which are funded by the World Bank. She stated the example of Heavy Engineering Corporation (HEC), the first large scale industrial venture in Ranchi. It displaced around 32,000 adivasis, out of which 22,000 were told they would be employed. Only about 2000 were given jobs, which were the lowest paid ones of manual labour. From the 36 villages which were uprooted, only about 700 people remain today, earning their lives as manual labour, domestic workers or rickshaw pullers. There is a singular failure of successive government both in states and centre government to protect the dignity and the Constitutional rights of the adivasis (to compulsorily acquire tribal land (which is where most of the minerals are) and turn it over to private mining corporations is illegal and unconstitutional under the Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act or PESA. Passed in 1996, PESA is an amendment that attempts to right some of the wrongs done to tribal people by the Indian Constitution when it was adopted by Parliament

in 1950. It overrides all existing laws that may be in conflict with it. It is a law that acknowledges the deepening marginalization of tribal communities and is meant to radically recast the balance of power. As a piece of legislation, it is unique because it makes the community-the collective-a legal entity and it confers on tribal societies who live in scheduled areas the right to self-governance. Under PESA, “compulsory acquisition” of tribal land cannot be justified on any count). Dayamani confronted the wages of the State’s insensitivity and neglect in so far as adivasis are concerned and works concertedly in bringing about an administration that is fair and just, prompt and caring, compelled the State to redress the injustices they have done in the past and pressure the government to be both responsive and responsible. During all these years of activism and journalism, she has faced numerous threats and personal injuries in an effort to silence her, but she remains as strong as ever. While she continues to fight for justice for the poor and exploited, she completely deconstructs questions of what ‘development’ is and who is benefiting from this ‘development’.

Dayamani describes that the indigenous of Jharkhand and working masses have a mother-son relationship with nature. Their social, linguistic, cultural, religious, economic and historical existence continues to live in water, forest and land. These communities will exist so long as they are linked with water, forest and land. When adivasis and indigenous society get displaced from their land, forests and water, they not only get displaced from their dwellings and livelihood but also from their social values, language & culture, economy and history.²

If we look at the global history of indigenous people, it becomes clear that indigenous communities remain alive only in those places where there is water, forest and land, mountains and waterfalls. Indigenous society is a part and parcel of nature. By separating them, we can neither conceive of adivasi-indigenous society nor of forests, rivers, waterfalls and mountains. After the formation of the Jharkhand state, within 12 years, the state government has signed Memorandum of Understandings (MoU) with 104 Corporates. Out of these, 98% are mining companies. Each and every company wants a dam for water, land for the plant, and complete destruction of ecology to advance on infrastructure, transportation, urbanization and market for their coal, iron ore, bauxite and mica mines (Barla “Ellen-L-Lutz-indigenous-rights-award-speech”). Now that mining licenses have been is-

2 We have seen earlier on page 3 that Barla also says the same thing about her understanding of her relationship with nature.

sued with the urgency one can associate with a knockdown distress sale, and the scams that are emerging have run into billions of dollars, now that mining companies have polluted rivers, mined away state borders, wrecked ecosystems and unleashed civil war in eastern and central India the home of the adivasis. But let's take a brief look at the star attraction in the mining belt—the several trillion dollars worth of bauxite. There is no environmentally sustainable way of mining bauxite and processing it into aluminum. It's a highly toxic process that has been exported out of the own environments by most western countries. To produce one tonne of aluminum, one needs about six tonnes of bauxite, more than a thousand tonnes of water and a massive amount of electricity. For that amount of captive water and electricity, one need big dams, which, as one know, come with their own cycle of cataclysmic destruction.

Dayamani Barla is the first tribal journalist from her state and is considered as the “voice of Jharkhand” for her powerful storytelling, community organizing, and writings. Together with her colleagues from the *Adivasi Moolvasi Astitva Raksha Manch* (Platform of Indigenous Adivasi People to Defend their Existence), Barla has stopped Arcelor-Mittal, a global mining giant, from plundering the rich natural resources of Jharkhand. The proposed steel plant, a \$9.3 billion planned investment, would have seized 12,000 acres of land and displaced 40 villages, additionally harming the surrounding ecosystems and by extension the livelihoods and survival of Indigenous communities. *Loha nahi anaj chahiye!* (“We want grains, not iron!”) was a rallying cry of indigenous communities protesting this project. She says <<We will not allow the Arcelor-Mittal company to enter into the villages because one cannot be rehabilitated once displaced. The lands which we cultivate belong to our ancestors; therefore we will not leave it>> (Barla “World listens to ‘Iron Lady of Jharkhand’ in the Big Apple”).

Similarly, Rigoberta Menchú has won 1992 Nobel Peace Prize for her work in Guatemala and expressed her state of mind during the ceremonial speech.

I consider this Prize, not as a reward to me personally, but rather as one of the greatest conquests in the struggle for peace, for Human Rights and for the rights of the indigenous people, who, for 500 years, have been split, fragmented, as well as the victims of genocides, repression and discrimination. It is also a tribute to the Central-American people who are still searching for their stability, for the structuring of their future, and the path for their development and integration, based on civil democracy and mutual respect (Menchú “Nobel Peace...”).

Therefore, Dayamani Barla and Rigoberta Menchú have left us with many questions, notably the need to make the choice of whose side we are in, in this fight for human rights, justice and equality. The rich tribal culture, language, festivals, deities, birth and marriage ceremonies etc. are at stake and have to struggle to be kept alive. Dayamani is struggling for the revival of cultural identities of several endemic adivasi tribes and their languages, against the government onslaught in the process of making 'development' in the state, and pushing them further on to the brink. So, breaking the bondage of literature as 'fiction' and/or 'non-fiction' category, this project will make issue of all of the above through paradigms of Cultural Studies.³

Finally it will look at how these "texts" continue to inspire and incite newer horizons. Both Menchú and Barla have continued with their struggles and in the process, their "texts" have extended well beyond the limits of their material form. They continue to "write" through blogs, interviews and the social media to engage with people across the globe. Their stories of despair and triumph have impacted governments and have begun to touch upon their own lives in terrific ways as could never have been imagined before.

3 it is interesting to note how Stuart Hall situates himself and also absolves himself of what he calls a "black man's burden" and/or "the dirtiness of a semiotic game" to return "Cultural Studies from the clean air of meaning and textuality and theory to the something nasty down below." P. 29.

HYPOTHESIS

The existing similarities between Rigoberta and Dayamani pave the way of comparativeness in terms of their early life struggle and background context related to it. The most famed work *I Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Women in Guatemala* reflects all of the above mentioned issues from perspectives of Menchú's experiences. She portrays all the circumstances which led her to take part in the struggle of her people against their dispossession, their rights as citizens etc. Similarly, Dayamani Barla's *Ek Inch Bhi Jameen Nahi Denge (We will not Part with even an Inch of our Land)* was the fuel against anti - Mittal movement in Jharkhand. So, through these studies the present thesis proposes to enquire both "texts" and identify common hopes.

It explores the movements to fight against the corporate-bureaucratic-politician complicity to expose all their atrocities through the texts of these writers. At the same time, it would also study carefully the social dimension of the lives of the indigenous peoples as reflected in these texts of Menchú and Barla. This study thereof will serve to explore an alternate social order which will put in crisis the so called "normative" givens in terms of development. Rigoberta Menchú has used the language of their oppressors - *Spanish*- to speak against them and preach her community people in Maya-quiche itself. Likewise Dayamani wrote first in Mundari language for her tribesmen but then

she started writing in *Hindi* to appeal all folks. Hence, language plays a major role in mobilizing the whole affected lot because both activists had not only adopted local language prevalent over there but also took part actively and led from the forefront with usage of forms of the mainstream languages as well. The present thesis will also look into the role of language and the metaphors used in local sayings, the importance of forest/nature and its resources which give them from timber to fruits and livelihood to shelter as reflected in their poetry, songs and literatures. It hopes to thus make issue of how the indigenous habitat and their lives are intrinsically woven together. The exploits of the corporate-politician nexus thus also destroys this ecological balance which had been sustained through ages until now. And it is in their songs and rituals where fossils of these interwoven interdependencies can be still found.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

I am using both sources available in the public domain like primary and secondary sources where books written by both “texts” of my research, including the interviews, newspaper reporting, pamphlets, lectures in various places, YouTube videos, social networking pages and more importantly their blogs. Apart from that I would visit Jharkhand and meet Dayamani Barla directly in her area of struggle, where she works at the ground level to know better the problems at the first hand basis. I am planning to have some detailed interview with Dayamani Barla about the whole methodology of her struggle and her people, “collect” more of their songs, stories, festivals, cultural practices and different ceremonies. If resources permit, I would also explore the possibilities of visiting Guatemala in Central America and meet Rigoberta Menchú and get to know her part of struggle and vision on the whole issue, apart from her testimony and books; through interviews.

I am following the writers who have written a lot for the marginalized populace and the demonizing effect of globalization on all, more importantly on the indigenous and tribal population. Some such names would include Prof. Kancha Ilaiah, Sharmila Rege from Dalit/ Tribal Studies in India and John Beverley and George Yúdice from Latin American studies.

My Readings will include critical texts on minor literatures, transatlantic connections, new social movements as well as literature dealing with indigenous movements, *testimonio*, *zapatism* and contemporary global mobilizations. In the Indian context, I would use the texts, blogs, reportage, pamphlet, interviews etc. written by Dayamani Barla, which would serve as the primary text. However, I would also refer to many similar movements taking place not only in India but also in Latin America as such which are going to serve as my secondary source of reference in the proposed research. Likewise, I would conduct extensive field research in Jharkhand, where Dayamani is actively involved in tribal welfare and opposing anti *adivasi* projects and their implementation. I would undertake deep study of prevalent songs, festivals, socio-religious, cultural and community activities through first hand observation and interview not only of Dayamani Barla but also those who are with her.

Kancha Ilaiah's works come here handy which explain how the 'dalit' community not only includes the scheduled castes but the scheduled tribes also comes in the definition of this broad term. He propagates that whole lot of forest dwellers, sharecroppers and poor peasants were made to alienate from their ancestral lands, earlier through 'British Colonialism' and now through 'Globalization led colonialism'. He says:

The occupying of their lands by government, changing of the entire climate in which tribals are used to live in, is making fish out of water. The so called other alternatives' like planting of 'community forests', 'social forestry' all have nothing to fetch tribals. In fact, with these programmes only businessmen who go into the tribal areas, but even labour is taken into tribal areas from plains only to destroy the tribal identity. In order to uproot tribals from their natural habitat, the state has other mechanism too like reservation of forests, creation of wildlife sanctuary and establishment of national parks (quoted by Ilaiah 1990: 2773).

Sharmila Rege who was an Indian sociologist, has expressed her opinion regarding women activists who are coming from 'dalit' and tribal communities who, despite being doubly marginalized, are displaying extraordinary courage to thwart Government's unsocial and discriminatory moves with their community people. They also use popular culture to give potential to their collective actions, and Savitribai Phule, Jyotiba Phule and Bhim Rao Ambedkar are their light houses. Recollecting the Lower caste women in India, Prof. Rege said in her one of the paper that:¹

1 Rege, Sharmila. "Caste and Gender: The Violence against Women in India." *EUI Working papers*, European University Institute, San Domenico: 1996. P. 10.

In the case of the lower caste women of the fact that their labour outside the family is crucial for the survival of the family, leads to the lack of stringent controls on their labour, mobility and sexuality and this renders them 'impure' or 'lacking in virtue.' In several instances the rape of lower caste women may not be considered as rape at all because of the customary access that the upper caste men have had to lower caste women's sexuality. In almost all regional languages in India the work for 'rape' is equivalent to the phrase 'stealing the honour of' and since lower caste women by the virtue to their double oppression have not 'honour' to speak, the right to redressal is often denied.

The similar story goes around in the Rigoberta Menchú's friend life in *Finca*, where the landlord's son raped her and she was not able to complain. Hence, in Dayamani and Rigoberta's struggle I would try to locate these theories. One of the interesting things to be noted is that both are not any 'writer/journalist' by training but started giving interview and writing, and taking part in the protests etc. just by coincidence, which paved the way for governing authorities to recognise the legitimate demands put forwarded by them. However, they are following these protest methods like daily routine. These come also in the light when they get the support of other similar groups, civil societies, press and national and international organisations. Different prizes were given to them, which in a way get them noticed in the international arena and create a kind of psychological fear in the minds of governments to restrain itself; this is a positive sign of triumph for the poor and displaced people.

Similarly from Latin American studies, I will dwell on Beverley's position regarding Latin American Subaltern studies. He says <<Subaltern studies is about power, who has it and who doesn't, who is gaining it and who is losing it>> (Beverley 1999:1). As described by Jon Beasley-Murray:

The importance of Beverley's book about power is that it derails nostalgic celebration of subaltern cultural production and forces us to reconsider the political theory of the state. As such it is a significant engagement with cultural studies and promises to redefine the boundaries of Post Colonial theory from some time to come (Murray 2001: 144).

Henceforth John Beverley is relying on the development of Latin American Subaltern Studies as an academic project which is centrally concerned with the antagonistic relation between the people and the state.

I will also dwell on George Yúdice's proposal of how culture is managed by localized resistance groups to deconstruct narratives of globalization. Yúdice explains in *The Expediency of Culture*, as a

pioneering theorization of the changing role of culture in an increasingly globalized world. Yúdice explores critically how groups ranging from indigenous activists to nation-states to nongovernmental organizations have all come to see culture as a valuable resource to be invested in, contested, and used for varied sociopolitical and economic ends.

This project would be premised on all of the above mentioned theorists and their pioneering work to understand the writings of Rigoberta Menchú and Dayamani Barla. Theory, after all is the link which help mediate between the text, the reader and the writer. Hence the present proposal will draw the common tropes of their (Menchú and Barla) “writings” (which include their activism and their use of social media) to see how they cope with their ongoing struggle.

CHAPTER I

COLONIZATION AND ITS IMPACT: EXPLORING THE COMPARATIVE SCOPE THROUGH THE TESTIMONIALS OF RIGOBERTA MENCHÚ AND TEXTS OF DAYAMANI BARLA

Here I am going to analyze the histories of the state of Jharkhand in India and Guatemala in Central America with reference to the impact of English and Spanish colonisations. Here, all writings of Menchú and Barla, along with other sources will be studied to understand their struggle. At the same time the nature of this historical idiom will be explored in the context of Central America and India, taking into account the interface between multilingualism, transcription/translation culture and related aspects. How this idiom comprise resistance, will be addressed thereafter.

1.1 SPANISH COLONIZATION IN LATIN AMERICA

Due to the discovery of the “New world” by Columbus in 1492 led a new beginning through which the Spaniards made their way to a place which was exotic to them and was full of minerals and natural beauty. When they reached in different parts/countries of the Continent they found that there were different indigenous kingdoms already ruling in the vast tract of land for example in the north, where there is Mexico situated now were under the rule of Aztec civilization under the overhead rule of Moctezuma with the capital of Tenochtitlan, south of this civilization was Maya civilization which is today Guatemala and southern Mexico; further down in the South America as such in the region of today’s Peru was the well known Inca civilization.

But the Spaniards and other European colonizers started their conquest to the “New World” with the name of educating poor indigenous people to whom they wrongly called as “Indians” taking into account they were in India, as Columbus was trying to discover; who were in their so called “European” terms not educated and they are barbarians and forest dwellers.

Latin America has seen wars, despots, starvations, financial blasts, remote intercessions and an entire arrangement of fluctuated catastrophes throughout the years. Every single time of its history is vital somehow to comprehension the present-day character of the area. Indeed, even in this way, the Colonial Period (1492-1810) emerges just like the period that did the most to shape what Latin America is today. Here are six things that we have to think about the Colonial Era. Some gauge that the number of inhabitants in Mexico’s Central Valleys was around 19 million preceding the landing of the Spanish: it had dropped to 2 million by 1550. That is just around Mexico City: local populaces on Cuba and Hispaniola were everything except wiped out, and each local populace in the New World endured some misfortune. In spite of the fact that the grisly victory took its toll, the principle offenders were infections like smallpox. The locals had no regular guards against these new ailments, which murdered them significantly more effectively than the conquistadors ever could. Under Spanish standard, local religion and society were extremely quelled. Entire libraries of local codices (they’re not the same as our books in a few ways, however basically comparative in look and reason for existing) were blazed by enthusiastic ministers who believed that they were the work of the Devil. Just a modest bunch of these fortunes remain. Their antiquated society is something that numerous local Latin American gatherings are right now attempting to recapture as the district battles to think that its character. Conquistadores and authorities were conceded “encomiendas,” which fundamentally issued them certain tracts of area and everybody on it. In principle, the encomenderos should care for and secure the individuals that were in their consideration, however actually it was frequently simply legitimized subjugation. In spite of the fact that the framework did take into consideration locals to report misuses, the courts worked solely in Spanish, which basically avoided the vast majority of the local populace, in any event until late in the Colonial Era. Prior to the entry of the Spanish, Latin American societies had existing force structures, generally in view of stations and honorability. These were broken, as the newcomers murdered off the most intense pioneers and stripped the lesser respectability and ministers of rank and riches. The solitary special case was Peru, where some Inca honorability figured out how

to clutch riches and impact for a period, however as the years went on, even their benefits were disintegrated into nothing. The loss of the privileged societies contributed straightforwardly to the minimization of local populaces in general. Since the Spanish did not perceive local codices and different manifestations of record keeping as real, the historical backdrop of the district was viewed as open for examination and translation. What we think about pre-columbian human advancement comes to us in a scattered chaos of inconsistencies and enigmas. A few authors grabbed the chance to paint prior local pioneers and societies as bleeding and overbearing. This thusly permitted them to depict the Spanish victory as liberation of sorts. With their history bargained, it is troublesome throughout today's Latin Americans to get a grip on their past.¹

1.2 BRITISH COLONIZATION IN INDIAN SUB CONTINENT

India is the land of many Civilizations which have flourished here, taking the support of primitives since time immemorial. When we look back to the history of race and creed associated to the Indian sub continent, we would find that the original inhabitants were those people who are now called as "adivasi" (those people of India, who are still living in the larger parts of Central India, inside the deep forests, where the rivers are serene and land is full of minerals). These people were subject to abject discrimination since the beginning with the advent of the Aryans (those people who came to India from the Central Asia through the Iranian side, when they were facing the scarcity of food and security in their homeland).

Indian Sub Continent was flourishing at that time of Indus Valley Civilization in 2500 BC, when it was concentrated in the Mohanjo Daro, Harappa (in today's Pakistan) and many places including Banawali, Kalibangan, Lothal etc (Located in many adjoining states of India). With the passage of time and due to factors like climate change, the Indus Valley Civilization doomed either due to drastic flood in the Indus River or may be due to the attack of Aryans on the people of Indus valley; to establish their part of regime in Indian sub continent; as there are differing views expressed by scholars on this subject. The Aryans who were fairer as against to those people who were originally inhabiting on the main land before their advent; started impounding upon them with race superiority and "Varna" system. With the aid of better weaponry, horses and chariot, they started plundering the whole main land in the western and northern part, pushing the people to the verge of the Vindhyanal Mountains and that adjoining deep

1 <http://latinamericanhistory.about.com/od/coloniallatinamerica/p/colonialera.htm>

forests. The Aryans needed the land for cultivation and pasture, so as put those original inhabitants at the fringe of the society created by them. Even putting them to the rank of “Dasa” and “Dasyu”. Those who fled to the forests and climbed to the high mountains became “Dasyu” and those people who were captured during the plunder and war became the “Dasas”. These “Dasas” were put to the services of Aryan masters, giving new cradle of caste hierarchy, where the Aryans remained at the top class and subjugating those “Dasas” to serve the remaining other people of the class and caste hierarchy. These people were called as ‘untouchables’ during time and ‘dalit’ in recent times.

Going to the history of “Dasyus” who fled to the forests and mountain tops, got their reference as “adivasi” and were treated as the demon because they were living outside of the main society built by Aryans. These adivasi people became very close to nature such as praying to the forests, mountains, rivers and nature in a holistic way to keep the evil spirits away; with these they became the ardent preserver and conservator of forests, land per se because they were totally dependent on nature for all their needs of life.

No one cared for them afterwards, Kings and Queens came and went, Emperors were made and lost, and wars were won and doomed. In due course of time, the infringement started with intrusion of people into the forest to fetch wood and land for cultivation because now and then ‘the civilizations’ were growing at faster pace. The state of Jharkhand got its individual name and fame after its bifurcation from the state of Bihar on 15th November 2000. Here also the same part of the story was prevailing since the time immemorial. The intruders made their way to the forests to plunder and for private gains, were called as *dikus* (outside people) by those “adivasi” / tribal people. With the advent of English Colonizers the whole situation changed drastically justifying the phrase *upside down*.

British people came to the Indian sub continent with the intention of doing business first, British East India Company was the flagship organisation of few Britons who were very much interested in doing business with Indian textiles, dyes, spices, silk and many other raw materials which were not as such available in England or if available in scarce which cost more to them. So, the first advent of these businessmen were in the 1600 B.C. with the opening of many factories in the western and southern part of India, they started taking part in the business process more vigorously but due the presence of other European powers in India especially the French made their way little bit tougher in the Indian subcontinent. While French businessmen were busy in the South of India with the intention of taking the advantage of internal conflict between the kingdoms under the overall control of

Duplex, the Britons were feeling at the edge because of the success of French who adopted the technique of helping one against the other with the arms and superior techniques of warfare. Due to this reason especially British East India company officials thought that until and unless French were thrown out from the India, their wish to control Indian business would not be materialised in the near future so under the leadership of Sir Eyre Coote, who was an able officer, hatched a plan to defeat French who fought under Count de Lally, which was successfully done in the Battle of Wandiwash in 22 January 1760.

This war established the British East India Company as a kind of monopoly in the trade and the winning of other two battles simultaneously with other rebel Indian kingdoms made them the undisputed leaders in Indian sub-continent: the battle of Plassey in 23 June 1757 and battle of Buxar in 23 October 1764. The battle of Buxar gave them the Diwani rights, which means that they were free to collect the tax in the Bengal Province. In this way, the British colonization had been started in India and with many ups and downs they established the rule which lasted till 15 August 1947.

1.3 IMPACT OF COLONIZATION IN RESPECTIVE PARTS AND COMPARING THE WORKS OF BOTH ACTIVISTS

When we analyse the impact of both Spanish and British colonisations in the Latin America and Indian Sub Continent, it becomes very clear that both these parts of the world had suffered a lot under brutal force, which eventually changed their own way of looking history and demography as such. In the Latin American context it demonstrates more vigorously when we look into within the context of oral and written form of history.

Valerie Raleigh Yow² says:

Oral history is the recording of personal testimony in the oral form. But what is the oral history? Is it the taped memoir? Is it the typewritten transcript? Is it the research method that involves in-depth interviewing? The term used here – such as *in-depth interview*, *life history*, *life review*, *recorded memoir* etc. – imply that there is someone else who is also involved, frames the topic and inspires the narrator to begin the act of remembering, jogs memory, and records and presents the narrator's words.

After analyzing the above fragment, it is very much clear that how oral history functions in general and in the context of Rigoberta Menchú in particular and her testimony is a form of oral history. Taking into ac-

2 Yow, R. Valerie. Recording oral history: a guide for the humanities and social sciences. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Oxford, UK 2005. Pp. 3-4.

count the tedious task carried out by Elisabeth Burgos- Debray as the interviewer of the protagonist and compiling all answers in the written form, to give an output in the book form *Yo Rigoberta Menchú y así me nació la conciencia*, is highly commendable. Here, in this chapter I want to verify the truthfulness of oral history and compare it to the written history, and see the veracity of these two forms. As rightly said by Yow, oral history very much depends on the interviewer, like on which agenda she/he is working? What exactly wants to take out? Which kind of ideology she/he is following? What message wants to spread to the world? And who are the consumers of the final packaged product?

So, it is very natural that in which direction the interviewer wants to take the debate of the protagonist, as happened in the case of Menchú, who struggled with her own family and other community members and now she is a human rights as well as social rights activists for her country. She puts all her oral account in the book form, which now a days we call it the *Testimony*. Likewise, many other marginal activists said many things about their struggle in Latin America, in which Domitila Chungara is also quite known, says about the conditions of the Bolivarian mines through the same method of oral history in *Deja me Hablar*. Nevertheless this conserves the form of oral history which is in today's world a kind of endangered species because the biggest threat is posed by the written history, which has very deep relation with the colonial regime.

Coming back to our discussion which is just in the initial stage related to the oral history, I can remember here Valerie Yow³, who says:

Oral history reveals daily life at home and at work- the very stuff that rarely gets in to any kind of public record. It is through oral history that the dimensions of life within a community are illuminated. Oral history research thus becomes crucial to obtaining a picture of the total society because the viewpoints of the non-elite who do not leave memoirs or have biographies are presented. Oral history testimony is the kind of information that makes other public documents understandable.

So, the views presented by the author point towards a system where the downtrodden and the most marginalized people can also say their past histories and happenings in the oral form. Any interviewer can record the statements of the protagonist and frame the questions in such a way so, that the voice of the voiceless could be heard in a best

3 Yow, R. Valerie. *Recording oral history: a guide for the humanities and social sciences*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Oxford, UK 2005. Pp. 11-12.

possible way and the desired goal of the author must be achieved. Analyzing the inbuilt situation, where all the information provided and explained by the protagonist cannot be verifiable every time, because these small records are not possible to find out each and every time. Record keeping may not exist in that society because of their own maintenance type or quite possible they remember those entire incidences orally and pass on, to generations after generations. Hence, oral history becomes a valid account here to obtain information pertaining the community life and past histories, where the poor ones try to say whatever they have to say to the society at large. They are not affluent enough so that their plight and past community life can be presented in the form of memories and biographies nevertheless their testimonies are becoming the research topic and are very frequently added in the syllabus of the various universities. Hence, it is a very good opportunity for me to put the testimony of Rigoberta Menchú in this frame where the intellectual community can go through meanings and happenings of her life, her family life and her community life. Her testimony reveals the Maya history, culture and civilization through the original inhabitant of that great civilization only, not through the lens of the colonisers. I want to clarify that those colonisers were the outside element, who could be any historian/ researcher/ anthropologist/conquistador, want to write all these through her/ his understanding and research and more importantly their own thought process. Therefore, I want to go through the real account provided by the native inhabitant and daughter of the Maya civilization, Rigoberta Menchú, who is presenting her community life, culture and struggle onwards.

I consider her testimony as a document of struggle and unheard story which not only , she is saying but all other community people wants to say, but unfortunately they are not getting enough opportunity to present their respective plight. That's why Rigoberta Menchú also says "I know that millions of people would like to speak the words I speak, but they do not have the chance. They know their own reality, and I know the things I have related. I stand as a witness and, if I do not speak out, I would be a party to great injustices." (Wright 20) She has got the idea to present her narrative in the book form through a friend only and to present her life history, Menchú's friend Elisabeth Burgos Debray ; who is also the author of this particular testimony, had taken the help of in- depth interview method. This method is very useful in collecting all related information in totality. I agree with Valerie R. Yow⁴ here, who says:

4 Yow, R. Valerie. *Recording oral history: a guide for the humanities and social sciences*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Oxford, UK 2005. Pp. 9-12.

Whatever the particular approach or discipline, the recorded in-depth interview can offer answers to questions that no other methodology can provide. The in-depth interview can reveal the informal, unwritten rules of relating to others that characterize any group. Interview method permits questioning of the witness. The limitation of this method is that narrative is strength of oral history, but considers also the limitations of the life review and how to use these limitations. Individual testimony may indeed contain references to the larger group and articulate a shared reality.

Here, we can see that this particular method is very much guided by the interviewer's intention, to know and direct the thought process of the narrator, to search, answers related to the all aspects of narrator's life. So, it depends on how the interviewer frames the questions and tries to find out the hidden agenda of the narrator and can help in this as well. I want to say that a major factor related to the interviewer and the attitude attached to the life history of the protagonist, because he/she also sees that the target audience of the book must get the desired input as suggested by the narrator.

I agree with Stuart Hall very much in this context, who says "We must recognise that the discursive form of the message has a privileged position in the communicative exchange (from the view point of circulation), and that the moments of 'encoding' and 'decoding', through only 'relatively autonomous' in relation to the communicative process as a whole are *determinate* moments (Hall 508). Referring this I can imagine the conditionality followed by the interviewer of Rigoberta Menchú during the recording process and questions followed by her. She had a task at her level which was encoding the oral history of the narrator in a such a form that comes directly in a raw form and directly thrown in the consumer domain for the decoding. Since, both are not autonomous in absolute but are relative, means to say that the encoding language affect the decoding also, however there would be variations in the different societies . My point of concern is Rigoberta and her testimony which has used the oral history, as a launch pad to encode her community sufferings and the atrocities committed by the influential Ladino people and the Guatemalan army.

Continuing this thought process, Menchú says in an interview that the responsible were those elite ladino and the Guatemalan army, who were working with a hidden agenda of snatching the land from the indigenous people and pushing poor to the margins, committed many crimes during their rule and the irony was that they said, they are working for the welfare of the people, but where is the *welfare*; they say that this indigenous population are a kind of threat in front of the state institutional structure. Menchú's father and other community members had started the revolutionary struggle to get back

their land, which they consider as a sacred entity and with the maize. I want to quote Miguel Angel Asturias⁵ who says:

Sown to be eaten, it is the sacred sustenance of the men who were made of maize. Sown to make money, it means famine for the men who were made of maize....those who sow maize for profit leave the earth empty of bones, because it is the bones of the forefathers that give the maize, and then the earth demands bones, and the softest ones, those of children, pile up on top of her and beneath her black crust, to feed her.

Therefore, the maize and the land are very important in the life of every Guatemalan. The protagonist had pointed out this thing very frequently during her interview session with the Elisabeth, who sets questions accordingly to encode nicely at her level so that the message desired by Menchú, to be conveyed. Also, at the level of decoding everything is dependent on the consumerist behaviour; how one wants to pursue it, as I pointed out earlier also that the encoding and decoding is not total autonomous but are relative. Packaging is also very important, means to say that how one wants to put the story/history in the consumer world; its veracity and truthfulness is the secondary thing. First of all one should be very careful at the presenting and packaging level, which has been done very nicely by Elisabeth Burgos and then she put in the public domain.

Coming back to our discussion once again which, which was related to the Oral history and its related ramifications on the society, I think that the oral history used to be a source bigger than anything else since time immortal and is still continuing in many parts of the world. Remembering Yow⁶ words:

Oral history is inevitably subjective: its subjectivity is at once inescapable and crucial to an understanding of the meanings we give our past and present. To reveal the meanings of lived experience is the great task of qualitative research and specifically oral history interviews. The in -depth interview offers the benefit of seeing in its full complexity the world of another. And in collecting in -depth interviews and using the insights to be gained from them as well as different kinds of information from other kinds of records, we can come to some understanding of the process by which we got to be the way we are.

Oral history in the form of testimony is very much related, as literature is related to the society and depicts in the form of black and white

5 Asturias, Miguel Angel. *Men of Maize*. trs. Gerry Martin, Verso, London 1988.

6 Yow, R. Valerie. *Recording oral history: a guide for the humanities and social sciences*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Oxford, UK 2005. P. 23.

means printed one and its reality is like the sun and the shadow, where some portion are brightly illuminated and others are not. The form may be different and keep changing during the course of time, from oral narration to written expression and saying the same thing again and again. We have seen many civilizations and the same story is continuing, in which the poor and the downtrodden and marginal people are suppressed, oppressed and kept at the periphery of the society. The power relation in the society is always in the favour of the elite and the powerful. I remember Foucault who has talked about the power relation in the society, where he says knowledge is power. If anybody has the knowledge then she/he is powerful among his people in the society and the knowledge comes from the education, which makes human beings aware of rights available at her/his disposable.

Rightly, explained by Lynda Marin about the testimonial literature and its relation to the 'others' of the society, who are in majority in population but still ruled by the minority of the population. All they live at their peril and what they can only do is to obey the orders issued by that particular minority and live in the same conditions from generations to generations without raising the voice. So, the testimonial literature is a kind of challenge to all other forms available, to present the story through the medium of oral history. Marin⁷ says:

After all, the testimonial is not usually produced by great writers and often not by writers at all. Besides, the testimonial almost always raises issues about genre which remain irresolvable. Its legitimacy as a field of study is never directly questioned, but lurking behind much discussion about it is just that. Although the testimonial has a long and varied history, it has always been seen as a kind of writing from the margin. The testimonial has been seen as the means by which those who are not privileged tell about themselves and particularly about their struggle against the powers that claim privilege over them.

So, it is very fascinating to see that the 'other' side is also writing back now and putting their side of history in front and pointing towards those who are/were, so called in the authoritative position per se. Hence, testimony of Rigobetra Menchú and like her many others in the Latin American circle, is a kind of manifestation of atrocities committed by the ruling class in the most uncivilized form. That is why my common sense points towards a kind of situation where you (power-

7 Marin, Lynda. Speaking out Together: Testimonials of Latin American Women, *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 18, No. 3, Voices of the Voiceless in Testimonial Literature, Part I (Summer, 1991), pp. 51-52 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2633739>. Accessed: 06/02/2012 02:02.

ful elite people) suppress a majority of population to the fullest, for decades and decades and not expecting that they will strike back in any form; is a kind of misunderstanding committed on your (powerful elite people) side.

The History is a testimony in itself, where there have been incidences which put a kind of revolution either in the form of violent or non-violent struggle which had wiped out completely the authoritative structure in whatever form it was present. If we want to see the Indian freedom struggle led by Mahatma Gandhi, was non-violent in our country and in the Russia it was Lenin, who led the violent mass struggle to wipe out the Czar regime; both had followed the different methods but their idea was the same to liberate country. However, one was from the foreign colonial domination and other was from their country authoritative ruler.

My desire to elaborate this particular point is that, history never remains the same; it keeps moulding its surroundings where time and space keep giving a kind of push to complete the cycle. It is very difficult to say, how, when and where it would take place. Through my knowledge of research I can point that poverty and illiteracy always play a very important lacuna in those societies where the minority is controlling all, and the majority has nothing to dispose off. Same thing had happened with Rigoberta Menchú, who learnt how to read and write, also she learnt colonial language 'Spanish' and she worked in this regard very positively so that all her community people must have the knowledge about their rights. Financial inclusion can only be possible when they have not's demand their share of economy and raise voice in this regard, which can only alleviate the poverty and illiteracy in true sense.

So, the historical happenings always complete itself in the form of a cycle, which can be expressed through the oral history or the written history, when put in the public domain. Now, what is written history and whose history is this, is explained by Ranajit Guha⁸:

For some discrimination is quite clearly at work here - some unspecified values and unstated criteria- to decide why any particular event or deed should be regarded as historic and others. Who decides, and according to what values and what criteria? If these questions are pressed far enough, it should be obvious that in most cases the nominating authority is none other than an ideology for which the life of the state is all there is to history. It is this ideology, hence forth to be called statism, which is what authorizes the dominant values of the state to determine the criteria of the historic.

8 Guha, Ranajit. *The Small Voice of History*, p. 1.

Hence, Guha here gives us a view of the historicity and even questions, whose history? It is a kind of tip of ice berg which is not fully visible to our fellow countrymen and the community men of Rigoberta Menchú. They did not realize this in great detail but whosoever she had thought in this regard, tried to inform to other fellow comrades. There is a whole ideological apparatus working behind this notion, patronised by the state, which is very powerful; crushed its underneath, the marginal population since the time immortal. That's why it always negates the voice of the voiceless, their oral history and everything related to them. With this notion only American Anthropologist Davis Stoll went ahead to Guatemala to see, whether Rigoberta's testimony has any validity or not? I want to ask why this question comes to his mind first and he could not rely hers presented form of history, which is an oral form of history. Why Stoll hadn't questioned the authenticity and veracity of Columbus navigational journey to the new world which was happened in 1492, as claimed by many. Why is this double kind of attitude? My point of discussion here is that one should be more answerable to both sides as well because if David is asking about the authenticity about the killing of Menchú's brother, which she mentioned in her testimony; he went to Guatemala to conduct the in - depth research to find out the veracity of the whole text. Why David Stoll had not shown enough interest to find out how many poor people were killed by the Guatemalan army in the country side and Rigoberta's community members? Most important question is as to why not Stoll or any other enthusiast went ahead to see the ground reality during those worst days of repression and brutal killings which took place in the field of Guatemala?

Authenticity of which history they are talking about, of which Rigoberta Menchú or Domitila Chungara is the active protagonist or the mass genocide committed by the Spanish conquistadors in the new world in the name of teaching the indigenous population how to live and behave. The exact figure was never put by any colonisers in their so called 'written history'; here I am pointing toward the diary written by Colon and other successors in the new world. How could one believe those accounts also? If you are verifying the veracity of the oral history then there must be a mechanism applied to the written history also. But it seems difficult to the other way round, because a whole set of state mechanism is patronising the written history, as pointed by Ranajit Guha as well. Since, written history is written by them, that's why they validate it only and reject the oral history, which is a language of the 'others' and questioning its veracity as happened with Rigoberta Menchú testimony. Here, comes state and its ideological apparatus which controls all institutions of the state and one has

to pass through them daily mandatorily, where they all suffer in the systematised manner in the form of rules and regulations; which are made by the state in the name of people and given a name *the constitution* but they serve a minority section of the population.

This whole ideological apparatus of the state is very well explained by Louis Althusser⁹, who says:

The state is explicitly conceived as a repressive apparatus. The state is a 'machine' of repression, which enables the ruling classes to ensure their domination over the working class, thus enabling the former to subject the latter to the process of surplus- value extortion. The state apparatus not only the specialized apparatus (in the narrow sense) whose existence and necessity I have recognised in relation to the requirements of legal practice, i.e. the police, the courts, the prisons; but also the army, which intervenes directly as a supplementary repressive force in the last instance, when the police and its specialized auxiliary corps are 'outrun by events'; and above this ensemble, the head of State, the government and the administration.

Now, I can surely relate the definition given by Althusser to the same structural pattern operating in any country in general and to the Guatemala in particular, which is following the same *state apparatus* to nail down the 'others'. I can describe the situation in our country where the society is divided in the strata/class wise which are The Brahmins, The kshtriya, The Vaishya, and The Shudras ; where the Brahmins were made in charge of the knowledge related activities, the Kshtriya were the custodian of security of the state , the Vaishya were the engaged in the business related and the most importantly the Shudras were the most deprived. They were also untouchables, who had to do all menial works of all three other classes and were at the whim of the state; which was controlled by the other three upper classes. I see that this system was made with the intention that for doing all menial work, there must be someone in the society, for which they made the Shudras deliberately as the untouchable, the poor, the illiterate and the downtrodden. It is also true at the same time that in every three above described classes there were poor also, which presents a kind of strange thing. This shows that the power structure is confined in between the minority of people and they make sure that there must not be any share in their power structure, so they exercise every possible way to sustain this power structure and never want to lose at any cost. Therefore, they maintain a kind of institutional structure to keep 'others' at bay and they maintain the police, the courts, the

9 Althusser, Louis. Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus (Notes towards Investigation), Essays on Ideology. London: Verso, 1984, p. 11.

prisons, the educational intuitions and also the army. Hence, we have seen how the authoritarian regime had used the army against their innocent civilians in the many parts of the world; Guatemala is not the only exception where the atrocities were committed by them with the open arm even without fear. And still they talk about the veracity of *Yo Rigoberta Menchú y Así me nació la conciencia*, how one should react to this whole notion of the Imperialism, the Capitalism and Anarchy. Menchú published her autobiography at the age of 24. I see this book not an autobiography in the traditional sense; it is a very personal testimonial to the persecution and injustices suffered by the Guatemalan Mayan indigenous population during the country's protected civil war.

Menchú¹⁰ keeps telling her testimony likewise:

When General Kjell came to power, he set the agrarian reform in motion. He began to divide the land into small plots. What happened was that the struggle had previously been between the *finca* owners and the communities. I already told the story of how they took our land away. But Kjell solved our problem by dividing our lands into small plots and saying we were owners. But, with the Establishment of INAFOR (Instituto Nacional de Forestacion de Guatemala), which was looking after trees and forest, We could not cut trees because we each had our own plot and no one could go outside his plot. Each tree costs five *quetzals*, we had no stoves, no gas, nothing but we have to dependent on trees for our livelihood. So, in *altiplano*, CUC (comite unidad de campesina) was born, most of the peasants began to unite and protest against INAFOR and pitch for agrarian reforms.

The movement to save the land and other common properties of the community was started by Menchú's father with other fellow comrades in the rural landscape; it was a kind of speaking against the dictatorial regime, who was there to snatch everything at their end. The poor peasants had already suffered too much at the hands of *finca* owners, where Rigoberta's family used to work with the community and lost everything. Hence, it was another blow to them, left with no other choice; they gathered and pledged for the reform, their own agrarian reforms by themselves. Even, I explained earlier that when the 'others' decide, they can change the regime or try resist the existing system, that's the same was happening at *altiplano* in Guatemala.

Rigoberta also says "It is unfortunate that we Indians are separated by the ethnic barriers, linguistic barriers. It is typical of Guatemala: such a small place but such huge barriers that there's no dialogue between us. We Indians say: "This is my group and this is where

10 Burgos – Debray, Elisabeth. *Me llamo Rigoberta Menchú y Así Me Nació La Conciencia*. Barcelona: Editorial Argos Vergara, S.A., 1983. Pp. 157-158.

I must be'. The government takes more and more advantage of these barriers" (Burgos 143). Here, she is referring the kind of separation exist between different communities, which gives the perpetrators to commit the crime because of not prevailing unity among themselves. Continuing with this plight it is very difficult to establish contact with other and mobilise in a group. That's why she had also started taking part in the activities not as an activist first but a kind of helping hand to her family but later she started taking interest more vigorously and came to the forefront with other activists to mobilise all for the same concern.

As put into the book form, whatever had happened with her, using oral history, Menchú is in the dock because she wants to put this all in the mainstream. She tries to enter the fortified structure, which is manned by those powerful, who only validates the written history, as I explained earlier occasion as well. Kavita Panjabi¹¹ says:

One of the central features of all narratives, and especially oral narrative, is that the narrator's sense of self and relation to society become bases for the epistemic process. They determine what is considered to be valid as knowledge, and what the possibilities of representing or challenging a specific reality may be. My own experience of working with oral narratives of women of the Tebhaga movement in Bengal taught me that while narrative imposes a structure on experience, how this experience is first structured as knowledge is determined by the narrator's specific sense of self in a particular context. The epistemic process itself is limited or enabled by the relationship between self and society.

I can see in the fragment that Panjabi, here describes the epistemological verification of the oral historical narrative, working with very close to the Tebhaga revolutionaries and listening to them and their testimony; likewise Rigoberta is on the same pedestal where there two things converge. One is related to herself and connecting to the society and the other is related to the those who are unheard and their relation in the society; means to say that, Is the testimony of Rigoberta applies to others in the Mayan society equally or if not equally then to what extent? Specificity here matters a lot because in the oral history, which is converted into testimony in various occasions, has narrator's specific sense in a particular context and how one describes them; totally depend on the narrator. So, where and how the things could be moulded, nobody knows, it creates a situation where any foreign element enters and questions the incidences

11 Panjabi, Kavita. *Aesthetics and Politics of Women's Testimonios. Reading "culture" in Spanish & Luso- Brazilian studies*, CSPILAS, JNU, New Delhi: 2003, p. 82.

of the narrative. As, David Stoll is asking through his research, in which he claims that, particular incidence was exaggerated and he even questions that who had given the authority to a particular person to speak on the 'others' behalf.

If we analyze the written history by the Spanish colonialists in the new world, we would surely confront a situation where the colonialists were not in the habit of recognising the oral history of Amerindians and their depiction of pictographically represented history. Correctly said by Walter D. Mignolo¹² in his book *The darker side of Renaissance*:

Their concept of history (historiography) implies the dominant Ciceronian definition of it, which was forged on the experience of alphabetically written narrative accomplished by Greek and roman historians, as well as the rhetorical legacy of imperial Rome. It was the belief in the accurate preservation of memory and the glorification of the past by means of alphabetic writing that resulted in a powerful complicity between the power of the letter and the authority of history. So, concerned was Nebrija in taming the voice that the consequences of his effort went beyond the first level connection between the oral and the written to reach a second level of cultural literacy, in which taming the voice impinged upon the control of memory. From such a philosophy of language and writing, it should come as no surprise that Spanish men of letters appointed themselves to write down the history that Amerindians could not properly write because of their lack of letters.

So, we can see that how the Spanish colonisers were influenced by their knowledge of letters and writing history, even they said to the extent that history was composed of words and things. That's why to negate this characterization of colonizers and their rhetoric of representing history only they can; the Postcolonial theory came into the fore, which was to counter this argument. Many writers from the south Asian region which formed the subaltern studies group presented a critique of this, in which Ranajit Guha, Gyatri Spivak were the prominent names and they start pondering the believe that why should we concentrate on the history written by colonisers but we should write whatever our history is, by ourselves only. They wanted to highlight the importance of our own history, looking back at our own cultural legacy and realizing its importance. Looking back again to Mignolo's¹³ observation:

12 Mignolo, D. Walter. *The darker side of Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality and Colonization*. University of Michigan Press, USA: 1995. Pp 128- 129.

13 Mignolo, D. Walter. *The darker side of Renaissance: literacy, Territoriality and Colonization*. University of Michigan Press, USA: 1995. Pp. 133-134.

Father Acosta (a Jesuit living in Peru) made two inferences: 1) man (humankind) has three different ways of recording memories: by letters and writing (primary examples are the Greeks, Latin, and Hebrews); by painting (primary examples Acosta found in almost every known civilization); and by ciphers and characters; and 2) none of the civilizations of the Indies used letters, but they did employ both images and figures. The complicity between alphabetical writing and history, applied to Amerindians cultures, elicited Acosta's typology of writing. He concluded that anybody can keep records of the past, but history can only be written with letters.

Hence, the idea presented by Acosta was in the contextualization of the same discourse which Spanish colonisers were commemorating since the beginning of their footprint in the new world. They had totally declared the pre Columbus oral historical narratives as of no use, because of not compatible in the frame work of the written records. As, I explained earlier also, Columbus's daily diary, which he was preparing for los reyes catolicos Isabel y Fernando in Spain, was *carta de Colon*; a kind of written historical text. So, there were many other theorists, historian, priests, who propagated the colonial agenda in this peculiar form and started writing the indigenous people whim and their civilization at their own name and seal and presenting to the outside world. They even brought the notion of *civilizacion y barbarie*, to prove their judgement and presenting 'others' as the illiterate, forest dweller etc.; so in the name of civilizing them, what they did, the world realized very late. The point which I am trying to make since the beginning is now becoming clearer a bit, which was based on the discussion of the Oral history and the written history.

I want to move the discussion and debate presented by the authors of subaltern studies during the postcolonial paradigm in the concluding phase of this chapter, who are focussing on the heroization of the subaltern group and try to give them voice. It is the effect of colonialism has had on the development of literature and literary theories, challenged the earlier ways, to point out lack of voice of colonised. It was voicelessness of the colonised. They have propounded the essentialist approach, hybridised approach etc. in which they say; don't disturb them and these people (marginal) have to come in the main stream respectively. Through the course of time it was the rise of 'indigenista' literature in Latin America to portray its dominance, where white culture was predominating on non- white, they had no option but to obey and the colonised 'others' has to learn all value system of white that is enforced. Nevertheless that was followed by testimonial literature in Latin America which had given an opportunity to speak out against the powerful and oppressors using their own oral history and memory, in which Rigoberta Menchú, Domitila Chungara, etc. are few well known names.

Following the postcolonial theory, we see that it was based on that notion where the vanguards say, our culture does not need any definitions, we should start producing our own knowledge and challenging the knowledge of the west. Here, those who were silenced earlier, getting voice, we can say empires are back; colonised subjects, repressed subjects now getting 'self' from 'others'. People who do not have voice, called as subaltern, must invent their own history; it is not about relocating the past but renewal of the past because it will renovate the present. So, the subaltern history is now because of the postcolonial approach.

Hence, we have seen how the fierce debate between oral history, which is based on observations, memory, orally transmitted incidences, history, used mostly by the downtrodden subalterns as in this case by Latin American indigenous population. Whereas the written history which was put in the public domain by the colonisers who were carrying the European cultural baggage. They were riding on the superiority complex and falsehood of the written history claims, rejecting all other forms of history. With this preoccupation in their mind only, want to check the veracity and reliability of the oral history and the testimonial writings.

Dayamani Barla is also denouncing the same colonial preoccupations through her writings where through this notion opines that today's ruling Government is no different than the colonizers of India. The Government is taking away land from poor tribal people for establishing urban utilities, dams, mining and other things in the name development of the region; and the poor tribal people who would be affected by all these, they say people are misinformed on the whole issue.

Barla says all these through her celebrated work of *ek inch bhi jameen nahi denge* where along with her the affected tribal community has expressed the concern about to be given the land for the million dollar company Arcelor Mittal to open a factory in Jharkhand. Due to so much of protest and repression of tribal people first, the Government finally relented which made the ouster of Mittal company. Here, she cites the importance of tribal history and culture, which have been neglected since centuries in their own motherland. As said William J. Lockhart in *The Hindu*:

“[I]ndiscriminate contamination of rivers and of groundwater has led to a deterioration of the quality of water resources and to an acute shortage of safe drinking water for millions of people in several parts of the country.”

The World Bank in 2007 stated in a report titled 'Country Environmental Analysis': “Rapid economic growth and the resulting changes in consumption patterns are drastically changing the nature and scale of impact on

the country's environment and natural resources, thus testing the carrying capacity of the natural ecosystems upon which much of the country's economic growth depends... The result is a visibly deteriorating environmental quality in many industrial townships... highlighting the importance of stepping up efforts to manage the externalities of accelerated growth.”

While these studies are less current than the Committee report, nothing offered by the Committee suggests that the environmental threats have diminished. Instead, the admittedly high rate of project approvals strongly suggests further expansion of these threats. Such apparently irrational conduct from officials responsible for protecting a nation's people from serious harm demands that we seek an explanation. This is all the more necessary when the unexplained conduct comes from hard-nosed industrialists who would surely refuse to invest even a paisa in any industrial or technical development that received such poor reviews.¹⁴

Now with this expressed view we can realize that Dayamnai Barla is fighting and making her voice heard in different for a, is having the same echo as pointed by various authors, environmentalists and conservationists. Here, it must be noted that she alone is making her mark in the state with the help of her community people. It has always been said that nobody will help until and unless you make your mind to do so.

Here, Barla and Rigoberta Menchú are on the same side when we discuss the environment protection and human rights issues. Both the protagonists of this work have seen as well as suffered so much hardship in their own life which had made them to raise voice for the same people like themselves like poor marginalized peasants, land less laborers, tribal people who are living in the forests and indigenous people and many more.

14 <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/the-ministry-of-magic-tricks/article7126839.ece>

CHAPTER II

THE MAYANS OF GUATEMALA AND THE MUNDA TRIBALS OF JHARKHAND: RACE, RITES AND RITUALS AND UNDERSTANDING GLOBALIZATION

Here, testimony of Menchú would be analyzed in detail as a document of identification of her language and culture which would serve to go deep and explore the Maya quiche traditions, songs and rituals. Likewise, Barla's Munda community rituals and celebrations would be analyzed and explored with my firsthand experience, which I have found while interviewing her peoples and through her writings. These practices link these lives with the eco-system and remnants of their lost past. They also often archive their experiences with the atrocities of racial and ethnic marginalization since colonization.

2.1 MAYAS OF GUATEMALA

Indigenous people of Mayan descent in Guatemala comprise almost 40% of the population. The most traditional Maya populations reside in the western highlands in the departments of Quiché, Totonicapán, Huehuetenango, Quetzaltenango, and San Marcos; where their inhabitants are mostly Maya. Many Guatemalan Mayans, especially women, continue to wear traditional clothing that varies according to their specific local identity which is locally called as *hupil*.

Catholicism is the major religion of Guatemalan people because of advent of Spanish colonizers who had introduced here to make

people “civilized”. Rigoberta Menchú says “Our people have taken Catholicism as just another channel of expression, not our one and only belief” (Burgos Debray 1983 : 9). The unique religion is reflected in the local saint, Maximón, who is associated with the subterranean force of masculine fertility and prostitution. Always depicted in black, he wears a black hat and sits on a chair, often with a cigar placed in his mouth and a gun in his hand, with offerings of tobacco, alcohol, and Coca-cola at his feet. The locals know him as San Simon of Guatemala.

Regarding birth ceremony Rigoberta says “When baby is born, the mother mustn’t have other children round her. The people should be her husband, the village elders and the couple’s parents” (Burgos Debray 1983 : 8). In the community, there is an elected representative, someone who is highly respected. He is not the king but someone who the community looks up to like a father figure. Rigoberta explains about *Nahual* “Every child is born with a nahual. The nahual is like a shadow, his protective spirit who will go through life with him. The nahual is the representative of the earth, the animal world, the sun and water, and in this way the child communicates with nature. It is usually an animal” (Burgos Debray 1983 : 18).

About Marriage, Rigoberta Menchú says:

We have four marriage customs to respect. The first is the ‘open door’. It is flexible and there is no commitment. The second is a commitment to the parents when the girl has accepted the boy. This is very important custom. The third is the ceremony when the girl and boy make their vows to one another. The fourth is the wedding itself, the *despedida* (Burgos Debray 1983 : 61).

Regarding *fiestas* she says:

The fiestas which take place in the towns are more than anything a mixture. The actual fiestas that our ancestors celebrated probably no longer exist, and they are being replaced now by celebrations of some Saint’s days. In the schools they often celebrate the day of Tecun Uman. Tecun Uman is the Quiche hero who is said to have fought the Spanish and been killed by them. There is a fiesta each year in the schools. They commemorate the day of Tecun Uman as the national hero of Quiches. But we don’t celebrate it, primarily because our parents say that this hero is not dead. So, we don’t celebrate (Burgos Debray 1983 : 204).

The Popul Vuh is the most important book in Guatemalan literature written in the Kiche language. It is also known as *Libro sagrado* means the sacred book in which there is explanation given about origin of men and his relation with the earth. Due to its combination of historical, mythical, and religious elements, Popul Vuh is often called the Maya Bible.

Regarding death, Rigoberta says that:

Among Indians, the phenomenon of death is something that we prepare ourselves for. Coffin is built a long time ago and person get to know his coffin. At the point of dying person tell all what she/he want to covey. The death ceremony is performed in the house of the dead person. The body is not left for so long, respects are paid quickly and the body is buried within twenty four hours. When he's buried, all the objects he most loved in his lifetime are put in his coffin (Burgos Debray 1983 : 201-202).

Today¹ in Guatemala, two dozen Maya languages are spoken, belonging to five main language groups: Quiché, Mam, Qanjobal, Chol and Yucateca. These language groups are believed to have evolved from a "Protomaya" language that was spoken in the mountainous Cuchumatán region of Guatemala 4,000 years ago.

For a large percentage of Guatemala's inhabitants, Spanish is a second language, and in some areas of the country, many people do not speak Spanish at all. About 40% of the population, more than 4 million Guatemalans, speak a Maya language. One of the goals of the 1996 Peace Accords is to provide educational and legal services in both a native language and Spanish for this population. In town markets, buses, restaurants, and streets throughout Guatemala, visitors will frequently overhear conversations in one of Guatemala's living Maya languages, spoken for millennia by the country's inhabitants.

No matter what native language they speak, Guatemala's Maya people share a number of other cultural traits. One of the most remarkable of these is the faithful count of days according to the Maya calendar. For the Maya, their calendar was, and still is, inseparable from daily life, guiding them in making decisions such as when to plant, harvest, pray or sell their products. The ritual calendar, called the Cholq'ij, consists of twenty named days preceded by numbered prefixes from one to thirteen. The combination of the twenty days and 13 numbers gives a ritual calendar of 260 days. In disparate communities of Guatemala and Mexico, this calendar is perfectly synchronized, like a heart that has never missed a beat, a remarkable testament to its importance for the Maya people.

Corn was the crop that allowed civilization to develop in the Americas, and many experts place the origin this all-important food-stuff in Guatemala. Maya life was, and still is, intricately linked to the planting and harvesting of corn, a staple in the Guatemalan diet for thousands of years. In the months of February and March, just before the beginning of the rainy season, Guatemalan farmers will be

1 http://www.questconnect.org/guat_heart_mayan_world.htm

seen hoeing their milpas, or corn fields, and planting seed carefully saved from the last harvest. In October and November, mounds of husked yellow, white and blue-black corn dry in the sun outside houses, awaiting storage and its eventual use in making tortillas. The corn is cooked, according to an ancient formula, in water with limestone to soften the kernels, ground into dough and patted by hand into soft tortillas, which are cooked on an iron griddle and served with virtually every meal, accompanied by other traditional American foods, such as beans and chile.

Other traditions conserved by the Maya include preparation of cotton threads and the weaving of their own clothing using back-strap looms. Everywhere in Guatemala, visitors will see women (and, in many regions, men) wearing colorful, hand woven clothing in a beautiful array of designs and colors. In every market, these unique textiles can be purchased, along with an incredible assortment of other hand-made crafts. Many other Maya traditions persist among Guatemala's native people, which visitors who travel to highlands towns such as Santiago Atitlán, Chichicastenango and Quetzaltenango will have ample opportunity to observe.

Guatemala is the place where corn was first cultivated, where gods made the first men from corn dough, where Maya languages developed and where the Maya's greatest cities flourished. In Guatemala, the Maya live on, speaking languages that have endured for thousands of years, keeping their faithful count of days in the Cholq'ij calendar, and tilling ground that has provided sustenance for innumerable generations. Historically, culturally, archeologically, Guatemala is the center of the Maya universe and the heart of the Maya world.

2.2 MUNDAS OF JHARKHAND

Whatever their origin and wherever they may have come from, there is no doubt about the fact that the Mundas have been living in Chotanagpur for more than two thousand years past and that probably they are, barring the Asurs, the most ancient settlers in the land. The name Munda appears to have been given to this tribe by their ancient hindu neighbours. The mundas call themselves Horoko (men) and their race Horo (man). Their dress is very simple and scanty. Their men ordinarily wear a loin cloth called Botoi. This is from six to nine cubits long and has coloured borders at the two ends. The Young men of the tribe also wear around the waist a sort of belt called *Kardhani*. These are sometimes made of cocoon silk and called *lumang kardhani*. Old sit-at-home men wear only a small piece of cloth called *bhagoa*².

2 "Life and Times of Birsa Bhagwan" *Bihar Tribal Research Institute*, Ranchi: 1997.

Munda population are approximately 10, 49767 which comprises of 14.80 per cent of tribal population of Jharkhand. The literacy is one among the good which is 39.22%. They are mainly habitating in Ranchi, Lohardaga, Gumla, Hazaribagh, Chatra, Giridih, Bokaro, East and West Singbhum. They speak Mundari language. They live in mixed village with other tribes and caste where they are having similarities and differences in the common rituals likewise.

The most important occupation of the Mundas is agriculture. They use large variety of agricultural implements. The mundas manage their own carpentry. Women spin cotton thread on spinning wheels called *charkha*. The staple food of the munda is boiled rice. However, maize is also eaten. The favourite drink of the Mundas is rice-beer or *ili*. Each family brews its own drink.

As in most important societies, the Munda life cycle also is marked by a number of important ceremonies at birth, marriage and death. The Hindu influence is quite apparent in munda marriages along with many other spheres of their life. As and when pregnancy is detected the worship of *Gharasi-Bonga* takes place to ensure the future well being of the expectant mother and the baby in her womb. Birth of a child makes a household ritually impure for eight days. On the close of the period, the *Chati* or purification ceremony is performed. The function is marked by feasting.

Some of the important places of munda tradition include Sarana which is the sacred grove where village deities reside. Akhara is the open space where panchayat takes place and Sasan serves as the burial ground.

Munda family is based on belief and cooperation. The Munda families are basically nuclear type of families and are also Patriarchal. Inheritance, lineage, descent are patriarchal and are traced through father's side. Monogamy is prevalent; usual way of acquiring marriage mate is by bride price.

The sole objective of Munda worship is believed to avert disasters which their deities delight in afflicting upon mankind. The Mundas believe in a supreme deity whom they call *sing bonga*. Sing stands for day and Bonga for deity. At one time singbonga was identified with Sun god. But the Mundas deny this emphatically. He neither is the Sun god nor dwells in the Sun though he is the Heaven. He alone, of all the gods, is not in need of food. When he harms people it is only to punish them for evil acts. But now when the men have become sinners he has become invisible. He is the only one whom the Mundas regard as truly God to whom sacrifices are offered simply and solely to venerate him without any consideration of self interest. He accepts sacrifices only of things that are white such white goat or white fowl.

He is prayed before any new venture and before all sacrifices. He is remembered before every meal and a few grains of rice are put on the ground in his honour. He is a sort of moral God and the other deities and spirits are represented to be his servants or subordinates.

The village head is called 'munda' and he is also the religious head. The post is hereditary. The parha panchyat settles cases between two villages; parha head is called 'manki'. Singbonga is the supreme deity, his consort is mother earth. The ancestral spirit is called "Ora Bonga". The village priest is 'sarna'. The important festivals celebrated by them are Maghe parab, Phagu parab, Karam parab, Sarhul, Sohrai etc. The dead is cremated according to the munda tradition and rituals. This is basically because the mundas are aware about death reality.

The longevity of mundas is lower as compared to rest of India. Minimum basic health facilities and education are far reach for this tribe. This leads to lack of knowledge about health issues and suffer from malnutrition. These people lack nutritious food. Their endeavour to cure diseases through local indigenous means sometimes meet dead end. The problem of alcoholism is prevalent owing to local customs and traditions.

Despite being superstitious the Mundas are a cheerful folk and engage in numerous varieties of games and dramatic plays. They also beguile their leisure hours in folk tales, riddles and proverbs. Their love-lorn songs, soaked in tenderness and pathos, sung to the accompaniment of instrumental music and artistic dances adds zest and relish to their jungle living. Thus, the integration of various strands in the Munda culture pattern has made indeed a life worth living.

2.3 UNDERSTANDING GLOBALIZATION

Globalization is a gradual process of integration of systems across the world, in multiple dimensions like in political, social, administrative and economic etc. This process has resulted into intense debate among various scholars over its impact on state and administration. The scholars like Samuel Huntington, Francis Fukuyama, Prabhat Patnaik, Jayati Ghosh and many others have expressed their apprehensions. They emphasised on the demise of that state and administration due to Globalization which would result into Global village and Global management. Here, I want to quote Rigobarta Mechu who is afraid of Globalization perpetuating through many of its tentacles and one of them is Science and Technology, She says³:

Many of the rules of Science and technology tend to undermine people's identity. Many men and women do not serve humanity, they serve technology.

3 Wright, Ann. *Crossing Borders*. London: Verso, 1998. Pp. 220.

It would be disastrous if we did not realise the social conflict inherent in this contradiction. Indigenous peoples believe in their past, in their history and their knowledge. They also believe that they are a fundamental part of the present. There is where the problem of identity comes (Wright 1998:220).

The changes witnessed in era of Globalization in state and administration:

1. The role and significance of supra- territorial organisation has increased that has given rise to the phenomenon of Global Constitutionalism (here, Constitutionalism is based on limited government and based on rules and laws; and global constitutionalism refers to increasingly run by many international institutions) thereby making many laws, rules and regulations binding over the nation state.
2. Systems across the world are increasingly becoming interdependent while dealing with various issues which are becoming international or global. E.g. environment, terrorism, drug, human trafficking etc.
3. Almost all the countries across the world are aware of and are moving towards information exchange advantages. However this movement is not uniform. There is a wide gap witnessed between wealthier nations and poorer nations.
4. The states across the world have moved closer to the market. So, there has been an effort by systems across the world to be associated with a non state institution like market institutions.
5. A move towards the marketization of the state or a corporate state or a government by market etc is witnessed.

CHALLENGES:

1. Loss of Sovereignty: Due to increased role of supra- territorial organisation and their number of rules, regulations and norms will become binding in nature. Sovereignty relates to supremacy of the government. It is considered as the traditional perspective and government has the supreme control and other institutions enjoy this supreme power. And the government decides all rules and regulations and public policy. But today under Global Constitutionalism, there are number of norms, rules which are binding and it compromises the Sovereignty of the state. So, it is no more absolute rather it is relative.

2. **Loss of Democracy:** Globalisation project is a top down project and which is defined by few and it is followed by the rest. This project is directed towards universalization. There is loss of public sphere or space (arena of public discourse, dialogue, negotiation, public action), which is critical to democracy. But due to Globalization, it is a threat to democracy.
3. **Loss of Community:** Existence and belief in diversity is called community, and when diversity is threatened then we can say community is in danger because Globalisation is to bring universality. Under Globalization, there are developments in developed and developing countries which led to loss of community or groups. Any community sustains on economic activity. In the industrialized country, many factories were shut down so to operate in developing countries; there itself it affected large number of community and in developing country also, they cause to loss of community because of displacement of population.
4. **Concentration of power towards global, political and economic elites:** In the era of globalization, it is increasingly understood that major decisions are taken in Global Legislature and the implementing arm of these decisions are International financial institutions and thereby through aid conditionalities and MNC's. So, in the era of globalization, informally a globally monochromatic structure is being put in place and 'oligarchy' is thus seen.
5. **Subordination of developing countries over the developed countries:** Today in the era of globalization; knowledge and technology provides the power. Developed countries have more resources and becoming more powerful. So, they are trapped in the 'vicious cycle'. Due to resource constraint they become dependent.

As described by Navine Murshid⁴, the cause of globalization on Migration:

The logic of globalization requires that labor be freely mobile across markets for efficiency reasons, at least theoretically. Yet, despite high economic integration, labor migration is often criminalized, creating an inherent contradiction between the incentives to migrate and immigration laws that

4 <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/rohingya-migrants-and-ethnicitybased/article7275533.ece?homepage=true>

limit migration. What this means is that there are profits to be made from migration that governments restrict artificially, which then incentivizes “illegal migration.” When the workers are desperate, unskilled and willing to pawn off their lives’ worth of assets to access job markets abroad they become easy targets of extortion, exploitation and trafficking. As the many interviews of rescued migrants in the past weeks indicate, these migrants often have no idea that what they were doing was illegal; after all, many had paid huge sums of money for migration services — often by selling land/assets, taking on loans, or mortgaging future earnings.

Citing the example of Rohingyas in the Myanmar and their deploring conditions in the sea waters of Malaysia and Indonesia today, remind us about the whole nefarious agenda of so called “Development”.

Here it would be inappropriate if we would not talk about the concept of Development, from where it emerged and other related connotations. Development as a term can be traced back to 17th and 18th century Europe primarily in the background of industrialisation. Europe was witnessing chaos and disintegration and therefore development was referring towards moving away from chaos and towards orderliness achievement.

Development gained its meaning in Post World War period in the background of US President Truman’s address towards the developing societies. He brought about dichotomous approach while referring to developing societies, he created a contrast with the developing societies and emphasised that West is modern, scientific, rational and civilized while rest is ancient, superstitious, barbaric and archaic. He identified the concept of Development as West and Rest as underdeveloped. But in due course of time this westward development phenomenon failed which was resulted into Great Depression of 1929 where the so called Adam Smithian Capitalism *Wealth of nations* (1776) failed to sustain the development agenda and given birth to Keynesian economy where it based its hypothesis on the increasing role of the state. Because he questioned the nature of ‘invisible hand’ and said that this hand itself is strangulating the poor. So, advocated for strong government intervention to provide equilibrium in the market. This period also witnessed the success of Russian economy which included the centralized planning, state led approach.

In due course of time after the Post Colonial hangover, the newly independent countries were facing multiple social and economic problems because these societies were not having robust system to tackle. During this period, the project of development took shape with the centralized planning, Industrialization (Import Substitution), effort to enable the public sector to attain the commanding heights of economy. During this period, approach was to bring modernisation,

urbanisation and industrialization. This project did not lead to good result. In 60's growth rate was very low and during 70's north was developed and south was developing.

International Labour Organisation advocated growth led redistribution and same also resulted in World Bank advocating the concept of Basic Need Approach. This resulted in to programmes and initiatives to address the concern of rural farmers, landless labourers, artisans, poor and other vulnerable sections of the society. Overall, growth based approach continued; emphasis was on direct benefit going to certain people directly. Early 80's witnessed crisis in Latin American countries as well as in South Eastern countries. Also, 80's was known for neo liberalism where import substitution, monopolistic strategy and state led bureaucratisation was questioned. In 90's project of development was redefined through governance and more suitably through Good Governance.

This concept was coined by western developed countries and meant for developing countries majorly by World Bank, IMF though it has been sufficiently supported by OECD, ODA etc. The concept of good governance was emerged as part of aid conditionalities which were imposed on the less developed countries, while seeking loan from international financial institutions. The aid conditionalities started in 1989, Sub Saharan region and subsequently extended to rest of the countries during 1990's. The aid conditionalities were related to the manner of managing social, economic, cultural and administration of the developing countries to attain a sound financial system. Here, we can remember the case of India which had to go to the International financial institutions to seek loan when its Balance of Payment situation was in peril and the country was not having foreign exchange reserve to import more than a week of exports then we had to put our gold reserves in the IMF to seek loan and return but it also dictated few aid conditionalities, which we would be talking in length, in return of the loan. These Aid conditionalities were promoted as agenda for reforms which went on to as the agenda for Governance.

The World Bank has termed it as "Good Governance". It is an instrumental concept; the aid conditionalities have not been static but changed from time to time. In general it referred to sound public sector management and democratization, rule of law and sound legal framework, openness and transparency, people participation, human rights etc. OECD and other multilateral systems have also followed the same.

However, the critics have pointed out that World Bank's view itself is inconsistent and thereby unsustainable because the World Bank's

view is universalizing and intends to bring about Universality, directed towards universalization of particularities (different cultures, identity etc.) and project directed towards non ecological and non contextuality. These things have been discussed without taking into account the culture, environment of these countries. Likewise, South Asian critics said the Good Governance and Democracy are mutually contradictory in operation and conceptually both cannot go with each other. Good Governance is a top down approach, non ecological, exogenous initiative. It is based on dialogue and compromise, means to an end approach and more importantly it is an economic term. While democracy is down to top approach, it promotes diversity, endogenous, ecological, end in itself and more importantly it is a political term. Apart from this, in operational and practical aspects Good Governance and Democracy are contradictory.

So far, we have seen how the development agenda was defined putting the rest in the bag of underdevelopment category and West as the only model of development. In the due course of time the Good Governance paradigm came and then the cover of whole package as widely known as Globalization. As rightly said by Prof. Prabhat Patnaik:⁵

One often comes across a mirror image of this argument of “separability”, which is prevalent in Left-wing circles, especially in Europe, regarding “globalization”. This holds that the “globalization” occurring today is a “good” thing, even though contemporary capitalism is “bad”, so that we should somehow retain this “globalization” even while trying to transcend contemporary capitalism. What this argument does is to detach contemporary “globalization” from contemporary capitalism, and suggesting that we should retain the one but not the other. But the “globalization” that is occurring today is no less a manifestation of contemporary capitalism than the economic measures covered under the term neoliberalism. Just as one cannot get rid of neo-liberalism while retaining contemporary capitalism, likewise one cannot get rid of contemporary capitalism while retaining contemporary globalization. They together constitute an integral unity that has to be transcended.

When we realize the shocks and aftershocks of Globalization which is spreading its tentacles like an hydra and which is taking away the rights of the poor and needy people in one hand and in another aspect making the nation state as dependent category on the world multilateral institutions and their dictated policies they have to apply in one or another way. The problems which arise in the context of work and

5 <http://www.networkideas.org/news/may2015/Misconceptions.pdf>

welfare which is also the theme of this south- south project as well. The categories of interdependence comes under Migration and work, Labour market discrimination, Causes for jobless growth, Employment Promotion Policies etc. I am going to elaborate these one by one; which have been expressed by Dayamani Barla in her latest work *Kisano ki Jameen Loot kiske liye?* She says that “The Land bill in circulation and forcefully tried to implement by the Central Govt., through Ordinance will create a vicious cycle. Since time immemorial, in the guise of development jal jangal jameen have been forcefully acquired since and eventually this has led to the increasing pace and vigor of forceful acquisition. We must remember that in the name of development, approximately 80 lakh people have been displaced. Today they are living as unemployed, landless, displaced and at the marginal section of the society” (Barla 2015: 1).

Citing an example of the Indian scenario where there are multifarious debates have been taking palace on the issue of MGNREGA because of its pro poor agenda, demand driven scheme on one hand and another issue related to wide spread notion of wasteful, ineffective, leaky and other various reasons. *The Hindu*⁶ covered the issue very amicably as:

The studies reveal that, far from being a wasteful expenditure, the works under the MGNREGA have helped create rural assets and infrastructure, ranging from anganwadis, toilets for individual households, crematoria, cyclone shelters, and playgrounds for children, to drought-proofing, flood protection and control, water conservation and harvesting, and rural road connectivity.

Contrary to the claim that it distorts the rural economy, the MoRD’s ‘Report to the People on MGNREGA, 2014’ acknowledges that the scheme has actually boosted agricultural productivity through development of wasteland/fallow land, and construction of post-harvest storage facilities and work sheds.

An Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore study states that MGNREGA works have “contributed to improved ground water levels, increased water availability for irrigation, increased area irrigated by ground and surface water sources, and increased availability of drinking water for humans and livestock.”

The MoRD report also states that the MGNREGA’s works on regenerating the rural ecosystem has “aided workers in moving from wage employment to sustainable employment.” Further, MGNREGA has been a critical source of income for female-headed households, providing as much as 15 percent of the household income in some states. Plus it has given a fillip to

6 <http://www.thehindu.com/sunday-anchor/is-the-mgnrega-being-set-up-for-failure/article7265266.ece>

rural entrepreneurship, with households using the supplementary income to start a rural business.

In many states, up to half of the MGNREGA income was spent on food, which improved health and nutrition — a critical factor in a country plagued by malnutrition. And since only the neediest sought work under this Act, it was an accurate self-targeting scheme, with a major proportion of the beneficiaries — much higher than their percentage in the general population — belonging to Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes and other marginalized communities.

The two biggest complaints against the MGNREGA, however, are ones that are not often aired in public, perhaps because they might show the critic in poor moral light. One, the MGNREGA has altered the power balance between the landless poor and their employers (agricultural landlords, labour contractors), making it less loaded in favour of the latter; two, by raising rural incomes, it has decreased distress migration to the cities, thereby reducing the numbers of the reserve army of labour; and increasing the cost of labour.

Hence the detailed study of MGNREGA shows that those schemes which are working good, yielded results in different front of the problems implicit in the Indian scenario, have been made difficult by the irregularities and delay in payment, fall in allocations. Also due to non regular payment and work, people are migrating from rural areas towards the cities to work even in the exploitable conditions because they have to manage family back home and in the era of sky rocketing inflation has risen to a level of unsustainability which make the conditions even more deplorable.

Likewise, Rigoberta Menchú says⁷ that:

The modern world is often fragmented – divisive, destructive and discordant. Indigenous peoples are always on the periphery. They are never the ones who make decisions. It is our responsibility to see that one day these people become the central protagonists in their own destiny and culture. The power we feel crushing us is the power to buy, to sell and to earn: the power of intolerance, arrogance, silence, indifference and insensitivity. I believe that there are important values, and beautiful things, that can never be bought or sold. They include the memory of indigenous peoples. They include life itself. Awareness cannot be forced on people; it is a process of understanding, identification and commitment. It is something we cultivate. There is a time to sow, a time to grow, and a time to reap (Wright 1998 : 221).

7 Wright, Ann. *Crossing Borders*. London: Verso, 1998, p. 221.

CHAPTER III

THE STRUGGLES OF RIGOBERTA MENCHÚ AND DAYAMANI BARLA AGAINST GLOBALIZATION AND ECOLOGICAL DISASTER

Here, their part of struggle in today's contexts and related theme of Eco-feminism would be explored. In the third world countries and more specifically in their rural areas where class, caste and gender discrimination still prevails; illustrate a lot of contrast among men and women itself. Women are the livelihood earner in the hilly and tribal areas; they have to leave the home early morning after doing the household chores for the paddy field to work as labourer or for the forest to collect fire wood etc. And men keep themselves busy either with boozing or taking away whatever the money earned by the Women. This is one of the various forms of violence done by men towards women, which is prevalent in most parts of India. Women are the one of the biggest conservators of the nature and the forests because of their frequent interactions. As Bina Agrawal quotes Vandana Shiva:¹

Violence against women and against nature is linked not just ideologically but also materially. For instance, "Third world women are dependent on nature 'for drawing sustenance for themselves, their families, their societies.' The destruction of nature thus becomes the destruction of women's

1 Agrawal, Bina. "The Gender and Environment Debate: Lessons from India". *Feminist Studies*, 18, no. 1 (Spring) 1996. P. 124.

sources of 'staying alive.' Drawing upon her experience of working with women activists in the Chipko movement- the environmental movement for forest protection and regeneration in Garhwal hills of northwest India- Shiva argues that "Third world women" have both a special dependence on nature and a special knowledge of nature. This Knowledge has been systematically marginalized under the impact of modern science " modern reductionist science, like development , turns out to be a patriarchal project, which has excluded women as experts, and has simultaneously excluded ecology and holistic ways of knowing which understand and respect nature's process and inter- connectedness as science.

So, it can be observed that how indigenous and adivasi people are involved with nature likewise Dayamani Barla and Rigoberta are involved in their parts of the world. They are mobilizing and educating people for the sustainable development per se.

3.1 DEVELOPMENT INDUCED DISPLACEMENT

Migration has increased in the recent years and it continues to rise. This has had a large scale impact on the economy and environment in many parts. In the recent years adivasi people are forced to migrate towards the cities for work. Their skills in peasantry and sharecropping were rendered useless due to forced land grabbing and displacement. The unjustly acquisition of land from the adivasis have eventually made these people to form part of dispersed unskilled labor in the cities. The poor economic conditions at their original ethnic life compelled the people to migrate to big cities in search of job. Their migration is affected by the induced 'push factor' working in their state and become vulnerable to the city mongers, who are working as *hawk* to grab the opportunity to exploit these innocent people. These hawks decoyed and prompted the innocent people with attractive prospects of better life in cities. Women have to work as domestic help, young girls being subject to exploitation in their employer's home, placement agencies confine them and rape them in the name of arranging employment, young boys have to work in factories etc. as daily wage laborers in not so viable conditions and male folks have to work either as street vendor or rickshaw pullers. These kind of migration meant long working hours, poor living conditions and having poor access to basic minimum necessities.

Hence we can see that due to alienation from their land and other forest produce, the tribal people from the state of Jharkhand have to move out in search of livelihood and get trapped in the 'pull factor' of big cities. Therefore, this employment and security led migration from one of India's backward state to the cities put them at the cross-roads of humanity; where they have to face all odds. Regardless of

the various social sector schemes run by the government, people are trapped in the vicious cycle, making this a problem of acute nature.

Jharkhand has produced many bright people from academes to politicians, from activists to revolutionists. As this paper has discussed that the “adivasi” people were suppressed at the maximum and so forth, here happened the most numbers of struggle against the oppressors. Counting begins from Tamar uprising, Cherao, Ho uprising, Kol, Bhumij, Santhal revolt led by Sidhu and Kanu, Munda uprising in which “Ulgulan” propagated by Bhagwan Birsa Munda is very famous, Tana Bhagat Movement which was led by Jatra Bhagat and many more. Through these revolts it becomes clearer that “adivasi” people were not easily subjected to the enforced oppression in terms of land alienation and deforestation. These days Dayamani Barla is leading the protest against the so called “development works” of the Government in which, in the guise of this, the whole lot of plundering is taking place mercilessly, which this paper has said earlier as well that make the tribal people alien in their own homeland. Here I would refer to Dayamani Barla, who says “Jharkhand is the hard earned state by the collective effort made by all, the ancestors had fought hard in the deep forests to made conditions liveable. Till the point people are associated with *jal jungle* and *jameen* they are surviving because of this our Constitution has also given the rights to the gram sabha to manage the natural resources but the recent Government initiatives have proven all these things detrimental because all these things and its relates history cannot be compensated mere by monetary allowances. The land is giving livelihood to people since time immemorial but the guarantee of job and monetary gain would only serve a generation only with a rider to those who are able (Barla 2015 :18).”

3.2 STRUGGLE PROPAGATED BY RIGOBERTA MENCHÚ

Here this paper would try to look into the case of Guatemala in brief, before taking on to Jharkhand, where Rigoberta Menchú is representing her ethnic Mayan community. By giving a human face to her community struggle, her testimony *I Rigoberta Menchú: An indian women in Guatemala*, got international support and huge sympathy, putting her on the pedestal of Nobel Peace prize in the year 1992. Through her account, she has used the colonial language “Spanish” to raise voice of the voiceless against Ladinos; who were the oppressors of her family, her community and the marginal people at large. Here, I would like to portray the story of *Caliban*, a protagonist in the novel written by Shakespeare in 1612, *The Tempest*; in which he had been represented as a native of that invaded land. Prospero ‘the colonizer’ enslaved and used him as a servant to put his things in order. He made him learn

his own colonial language. During the course of time *Caliban* was portrayed as a Cannibal (Man eater) along with his own community people, in the diaries of Columbus as native of the Caribbean island were referred to. Prospero had given orders to him to do all his menial works but the time saturated and *Caliban* was realizing the situation by his own and started speaking against Prospero- his master, using the same colonial language, which his master had taught him. Written by Roberto Fernández Retamar in his book *Caliban y otros ensayos*, that *Caliban* was now heading against the master, becoming a spokesperson for his community people. Here, I would like to quote *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, written by Paulo Freire²:

This, then, is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well. The oppressors, who oppress, exploit, and rape by virtue of their power; cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. Only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both. Any attempt to 'soften' the power of the oppressor in deference to the weakness of the oppressed almost always manifests itself in the form of false generosity; indeed, the attempt never goes beyond this. In order to have the continued opportunity to express their "generosity", the oppressors must perpetuate injustice as well. An unjust social order is the permanent fount of this 'generosity' which is nourished by death, despair, and poverty. That is why the dispensers of false generosity become desperate at the slightest threat to its source.

In this particular reference Freire said that oppressors not only liberate themselves from the colonizers but colonizers were also given freedom, exactly similar thing had happened with *Caliban* in his own land. Roberto's *Caliban* was published in 1979 after the much talked about book *Ariel* by Uruguayan writer José Enrique Rodo in 1900, who had given all credit to *Ariel* as a representation of Latin America. Rejecting *Caliban*; Rodo says about *Ariel*³:

North American civilization is implicitly presented there as *Caliban* (scarcely mentioned in the work) while *Ariel* would come to incarnate- or should incarnate- the best of what Rodo did not hesitate to call more than once 'our civilization'.

2 Freire, Paulo. "Chapter 1", *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Trans. Myra Bergman Ramos. New York: Continuum, 2006, p. 1.

3 Retamar, Roberto Fernández et al. "Caliban: Notes towards a Discussion of Culture in Our America", *The Massachusetts Review*, Vol. 15, No. 1/2, *Caliban* (Winter - Spring, 1974) p. 19.

Retamar⁴says:

Our symbol then is not *Ariel*, as Rodo thought but rather *Caliban*. This is something that we, the mestizo inhabitants of these same isles where *Caliban* lived, see with particular clarity: Prospero invaded the islands, killed our ancestors, enslaved *Caliban*, and taught him his language to make himself understand. What else can *Caliban* do but use that same language- today he has no other- to curse him, to wish that the 'red plague' would fall on him? I know no other metaphor more expressive of our culture situation, of our reality.

Putting Rigoberta Menchú in this context again, she is doing the same thing, what *Caliban* did in his time to save his countrymen. But the world was not able to see a marginal ethnic Indian women representing a huge population and something uneasy occurred when the image of Menchú was put forward as a liar, with the publication of American anthropologist, David Stoll's *Rigoberta Menchú and the story of all poor Guatemalans*, which contested claims made by Menchú and charged her of giving false information in her above said testimony, which led her to the Nobel Peace prize. It created a kind of sensation in the international arena. Mainstream Newspapers put it like, "Nobel Prize winner accused of stretching truth", "Nobel Prize for fiction?" But Menchú defended her account and countered her critics in her next book *Crossing borders*⁵:

They did not understand that the Nobel Prize was not awarded to Rigoberta Menchú. It was given in recognition of a people's wisdom and of the reading of their lines. I carry that like a precious burden.

So, she had tried to deconstruct the notion of ethnic identity stereotyped by oppressors as someone who cannot climb the ladder, cannot speak against them, cannot raise their voice of their own; because they always need a kind of spokesperson from literate community to put forward their sufferings and struggle but this paper argues that ethnic people are mature enough to take their decision on their own and raise their voice; as Menchú is raising, she says⁶:

My name is Rigoberta Menchú. I am twenty three years old. This is my testimony. I didn't learn it from a book and I didn't learn it alone. I'd like to stress that it's not only my life; it's also the testimony of my people. It's

4 Ibid, p. 24.

5 Wright, Ann. *Crossing Borders*. London New York: Verso, 1998, p. 20.

6 Burgos Debray, Elisabeth. *I, Rigoberta Menchú: an Indian women in Guatemala*. Barcelona: Editorial Argos Vergara, 1983, p. 1

hard for me to remember everything that's happened to me in my life since there have been many very bad times but, yes, moments of joy as well. The important thing is that what has happened to me has happened to many other people too: My story is the story of all poor Guatemalans. My personal experience is the reality of a whole people.

Through this, we can see that knowledge of language or education in general, always plays an important role in putting down words in front of the masses either orally or in the written form. This paper opines that the testimony of Rigoberta would not be so powerful if it had not represented her community or said orally, because it is a question of time and space; how many people she would be able to cover globally and also the language plays a very crucial role, she had dictated her words to a translator who had put them down in the form of a book; 'Spanish', which she had learnt simply to understand and know better the Ladinos, in one of whose house she was working as a maid, to put forward her struggle and sufferings, but also of her community at large. Similar thing had happened to *Caliban*, written by Retamar; who had used the same colonial language imposed on him, to fight against those colonizers. So, here I want to quote Angel Rama who said in *The Lettered City*; put down by Brian Gollnick⁷ in his Essay:

Taking the elitist nature of education in the region as its starting point, *The Lettered city* questions the humanist tradition. Far from being the progressive force of integration and stability which Henriquez Urena had imagined, Rama sees literacy as a crucial form of privilege and domination. However, education, with literacy and literature as its key expressions, has not simply functioned as the servant of power. Instead, Rama suggests that the dominant classes in Latin America have needed men of letters, writers and the like to spread their message to the people. In the light of that mutual need, the educated elite- the *letrados*- developed as a semi- autonomous guild which mediated between the elites and the general population. At the top of this guild, Rama identifies intellectuals with an explicit awareness of education as a mechanism of exclusion. These cultural directors constitute 'the lettered city': the ideologues charged with ensuring the continued interdependence of education and privilege. A large portion of *The Lettered city* traces this sector through its origins in colonial Latin America. However, Rama demonstrates that *The Lettered City's* hold was difficult to overcome, even for radical or revolutionary intellectuals. In contrast to the optimism of *Transculturacion narrativa*, *The Lettered city* thus explores how the relationship between literacy and power remained largely unchanged until the 1960s, when the mass media introduced broadcast forms of communication capable of mediating between the elites and the masses without recourse on the written word.

7 Gollnick, Brian. Approaches to Latin American Literature: Chapter 6, p. 111.

Therefore, here we can have the implication that marginal/oppressed people can also raise their voice, provided that there should not be any repressive force acting from the above. In becoming a spokesperson for indigenous communities of her country and of herself Rigoberta Menchú in her testimony raises many important questions. Some of these questions are concerned epistemologically with the context of testimony as a genre or as source of knowledge and truth. Despite attempts to question veracity of facts documented in the testimony the same has been accepted by scholars and indigenous peoples alike as true documentation of sufferings her communities endure even if she herself has not suffered much. Moreover her testimony written in Spanish, after she chose to learn it considering it a necessity to achieve a more engaged understanding of political system surrounding her, validates what *Caliban* could manage to do. In replying back to colonial masters in his case and to the neo-colonial ones in case of Rigoberta; the utilization of language of ruling class and thus registering their voices in the 'lettered city' people like Rigoberta deconstruct the 'other' imposed on them by ruling classes. Through celebrating cultural peculiarities of indigenous people Rigoberta Menchú unsettles the stereotypes imposed on them and she does it through Spanish.

I remember the observation made by John Beverley where he says about *I, Rigoberta Menchú* that:

The dominant formal aspect of the testimonio is the voice that speaks to the reader in the form of an "I" that demands to be recognised, that wants or needs to stake a claim on our attention. This presence of the voice, which we are meant to experience as the voice of a real rather than a fictional person, is the mark of a desire not to be silenced or defeated, a desire to impose oneself on an institution of power, such as literature, from the position of the excluded or the marginal(Beverley 2004 : 34).

3.3 STRUGGLE PROPAGATED BY DAYAMANI BARLA

In the name of development, new industries are set up; mining and other infrastructure buildings are set up. However these institutions have not done any good to the people of Jharkhand. This kind of development has led only to displacement and dispossession of indigenous tribes from the basic minimum of Jal, Jangal and Zameen, the very source of their survival. According to Dayamani Barla, development has displaced a major chunk of the population of Jharkhand from their land for which there is very less rehabilitation. Many have migrated are roving around in big cities for their survival. Women primarily work as housemaids in metro cities. Most of these women are forced to work as sex workers. The story of displacement and injustice does not end here. The tribals, who agitate, struggle and provide enormous

resistance to the development projects and resist the land acquisition process. These actions irk the government and thus started an onslaught on the tribals who tried to resist these projects. The tribals are tried and arrested on forged cases. They are branded for murder and 'maoist activities' and kept in jail and almost harassed on daily basis on flimsy grounds.

The same thing has been taking place in different parts of the world, for example in Latin America, which was also under the clutches of Spanish colonization, where in the name of "educating people," indigenous population were massacred, oppressed and subjected to alienation in their own land. Focusing to Guatemala, a beautiful Central American country, home to many Native Indians in which Maya quiche is also a community, suffered a lot first at the hands of Spanish colonizers, then Ladinos (people of mixed blood, Spanish and native) and now at the hands of different Governments related "developmental works."

Now coming back to our discussion of Jharkhand situation, where Dayamani is protesting against the forceful land grab, plundering of forests, damming of rivers and other such activities which are putting her Munda people in particular and tribal communities in general at the 'crossroads' of the society; which again hounding them with their past, which this paper has discussed in the beginning itself. Dayamani Barla belongs to Munda community in Jharkhand, she has suffered a lot since her childhood, a small piece of her father's land was taken away with false promises; which led her family members to do odd works to sustain their livelihood. She and her mother used to work as domestic help in Ranchi, the capital of Jharkhand. Amidst these odd circumstances she was able to complete her education, for example working as a typist and many like that. Barla used to sleep at the Ranchi Railway station due to lack proper place to sleep; with these hardships she completed her M.Com. She is a vociferous writer, as she started writing about the problems faced by tribal people due to the political-corporate nexus and their pet project of "developmental works" of Jharkhand as such. Her three books are based on the plight of poor tribals living in Jharkhand viz. *Ek Inch Bhi Jameen Nahi Denge*, *Visthapan ka Dard* and the most recent one *Kisano ki Jameen Loot Kiske Liye?*

Barla says in her blog⁸ that "Gramin arthbewastha hi desh ko vikash ka naya disha de sakta hai. jo samajik sanskriti, arthik bewastha ka muladhar hai..Yahi hamara Etilas our pahchan hai..yahi samu-

8 <http://dayamani-barla.blogspot.in/2011/02/jangal-jaminprayawaran-sampati-nahi.html>

dayik adhikaron ki raksha kar sakta hai..jo Globlaization, Privetaization, Global Warming ko rok sakta hai. Yahi Jangal Jamin hame pidhi dar pidhi khilata hai...Iska Punarwas awam Punarasthapan Sambhaw nahi hai..Na hi kisi Muwaja rashi se ishe nahi bhara ja sakta hai..."

When she had been jailed for fighting for the rights of the people, the whole civil society fought hard for her release.

For example:⁹

CPI(M) politburo member Brinda Karat criticized the arrest of anti-land acquisition activist Dayamani Barla and termed it as "improper". "The arrest of Dayamani Barla, who has been supporting the villagers of Nagri against acquisition of land, on the ground of violating law is improper," Brinda said, addressing a rally organised by the Adivasi Adhikar Rastriya Manch here.

Karat lauded Barla for backing the villagers of Nagri in their protest against land acquisition for setting up educational hub there.

Barla had on October 16 surrendered before a Ranchi court and was sent to judicial custody in connection with an agitation she had led in 2006.

Two days later, she obtained bail from the court, but was re-arrested on a second warrant in connection with "obstructing government work".

As we are going to see her struggle after releasing from jail¹⁰:

Dayamani Barla decided to contest elections soon after her release from jail. In the winter of 2012, she spent 69 days in a small cell in the Birsa Munda jail here. She was an accused in a case related to leading a protest of 400 Oraon tribal people in Nagri, who questioned the allotment of their multi-crop farmland to campuses of elite institutions, such as the Indian Institute of Management and a national law university, when barren land could be found nearby.

Every time she appeared in court, tribal women would bring her fruits. She recounts being able to see only a patch of the sky from the cell window. Her sister-in-law passed away when she was in jail.

"When I came out I felt vulnerable. I needed a formal alliance to back me in this work. Market forces put a price on every human being and institution, and many are drawn to individualism. But there is still a collective spirit in the villages here, even if there is vacuum in leadership," she says.

"Why should we settle for 'compensation' when we should be co-owners?" she raised the question of crushing disparities in mineral-rich Jharkhand while addressing Bokaro farmers, who enforced an "economic blockade" against the plant of Electrosteel Casting Ltd. last September. The speech resulted in an FIR against her.

9 <http://www.firstpost.com/india/brinda-karat-slams-move-to-arrest-land-acquisition-activist-dayamani-517745.html>

10 <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/for-dayamani-the-fight-is-for-mango-mahua-bears/article5845530.ece>

When not travelling in villages, Ms. Barla can be found in a tea shop she runs with her husband, Nelson, near Sujata Chowk here.

At a campaign meeting at Ghorpenda, on an impulse, she trails off to pick a *jharoo* (broom), AAP's election symbol, from the floor of a nearby hut before beginning her speech. "When I go to government offices, sometimes peons ask rudely, 'What do you want, why are you here.' There have been instances when I have waited outside offices for long and watched their reactions change when I say my name is Dayamani Barla and this is why I am here," she says.

At Jabra, she takes time to build the conversation slowly about her election campaign with the villagers who have brought their own mats to sit on. "What is it that we are fighting for? What should we do to take this campaign forward," she asks them and listens as the group slowly comes to a consensus. At the end, the groups of more than 60 people decide to contribute two kg of rice and Rs. 50 each for her campaign.

At Ludru, where people have erected a monolith to inscribe the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996, rules governing the use of community resources in the village, she asks whether these norms are effective. "Sometimes, I act radical with a reason; other times I try to check myself if I am being firm or stubborn," she muses on her way back to Ranchi, 40 km away.

On the evening before her nomination, she visits a Birsait village, where Birsa Munda followers, who avoid meat, alcohol and food from outside and wear only white, live. After listening to her, Jagai Aba, an elderly man, softly warns her: "The party [Maoists] will try to decide whom the village votes for. There is danger and you stay away from the forest." In turn, she invokes an annual rite the Birsaits perform in Singhbhum forests where they declare the forest to be sacred. "Mango, mahua, sal trees, bears, tigers, scorpions — everything is in its place, is it not," she says. "Now is the time to save them."

3.4 FIGHTING DISCRIMINATION AT WORK

Jharkhand has one of the largest mineral reserves of India from metals to non metals, from Coal to Iron and from Uranium to Mica. Such a mineral abundant state is still lying in neglect, there are railways and roads but not to serve the people as such but to transport the minerals from mines to the Port or to the Industries, there is electricity but for the industry, not for the common people, they are still living in the dark near the electricity producing thermal power plants, there is Coal but not for the local people but for the industries and thermal power plants. There are rivers but due to many dams, these rivers are choking and not able to maintain its flow and so the adjoining flora and fauna is dying; which are important life sustaining inputs for the tribal people to survive. In such a scenario when the basic life amenities are not being fulfilled at the local level because of forced land grab and destruction of forests; the adjoining populace has to look for

other possibilities and support system. Here, they become open to the other face of societal realities, where they have to do odd jobs instead of peasantry or sharecropping; they have to migrate towards the cities near to their village and most of the time they move towards the bigger metropolis like Kolkata or Delhi NCR to try their luck, moved by hardships offered back home.

Dayamani Barla is looking at this side of story and putting her words according to that, she puts her emphasis on the corporate - politico arrangement due to which the “developmental works” as illusioned by them and media, is not taking place in reality but a mere utopia. Tribal people have to flee their homes in huge numbers because of paucity of opportunities available in villages as their basic tenant facility has been taken away. Although, there are many laws, first and foremost is the CNT act, which gives ample right to the tribal land holders. According to this act there will be no transferring of tribal land to the non-tribal people, but at the ground situation reality the land grab is taking place mercilessly including the multi crop land that have been taken away from poor farmers.

The forest is also reeling under the same axe, which used to be the *Ali Baba's magical Door*, for “adivasi” people in past, where they used to go and find almost everything for their need accordingly; they had have fire woods, bamboo for various purposes, green fodder, tendu leaves for making *beddi*, mahua, tamarind, beetle leaves, honey, resin, gum, different varieties of fruits and nuts. So, in this way poor people used to have modest amount of income since time immemorial but due to the passage of the Forest Rights Acts 2006, many of the activities of the tribal people have been coming under the supervision of forest officials, who are exploiting them under their own whim and prejudice. As rightly said by Bina Agrawal , when it comes with the relation of Tribal people and their forests:¹¹

Moreover for forest dwellers, the relationship with forests is not just functional or economic but also symbolic, suffused with cultural meanings and nuances, and woven into their songs and leg-ends of origin. Large-scale deforestation, whether or not due to irrigation schemes, has eroded a whole way of living and thinking (Agrawal 142).

These all are making a kind of threshold platform for these poor tribal people of Jharkhand to leave their ancestral homes and move towards the “greener pastures” in to towns and cities, with their family; which

11 Agarwal, Bina. “The Gender and Environment Debate: Lessons from India” *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Spring, 1992), pp. 119-58, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3178217>. 05/01/2015 13:58.

itself is creating a kind of vulnerable situation for female folks in the cities. Tribal women and girls have to work as domestic helps or do menial jobs in various factories, where they become prone to vulnerability in the absence of proper education, life styles and lack of awareness of their rights. Various domestic help placement agencies, in the name of providing employment, lure poor tribal girls from their villages through gangs, and once they are in the vicinity of placement agencies, become objects of sexual satisfaction first, for the placement agency owner or the gang members and then in the houses of employers. There have been many cases where the employer tortured the domestic helps through various means; many were subjected to physical abuse and violent attacks, even locked up in the flat or apartment when the employer is away for days.

As Rigoberta Menchú is making the whole world to know what is happening in Guatemala, using Spanish language as a tool to write besides *maya quiche*; similarly Dayamani Barla is writing in Hindi language apart from her own *mundari* language to make aware the people of Jharkhand and outside. Women are always an active agent in such discussions, referring again to the words of Bina Agrawal, "Women, especially those in poor rural households in India, on the one hand, are victims of environmental degradation in quite gender-specific ways. On the other hand, they have been active agents in movements of environmental protection and regeneration." (Agrawal 119)

The situation depicted through this paper reminds that sooner are days when there would be minimum of forests, cultivable and multi crop land and fresh river water in Jharkhand because all these would be taken over by big multinational companies and corporate houses, setting up their industries and vegetable farms, where there would be monopoly and future markets coming in handy. The minerals would be extracted from the mines in such a way that plundering of mines through open cast and deeper mines, would put a long lasting effect on the state, which would ultimately put the state in deep despair. However, the gender perspective would always lead the way in times to come as a light house.

CHAPTER IV

BEYOND THE TESTIMONIALS: ONGOING STRUGGLES AND MORE TEXTS

Here this Chapter would address the issues regarding these struggles in some of the later publications, interviews or blogs by Menchú and Barla. This will study how management of local cultures (literature, art and performance) serve to resist the neo-liberal paradigms of propaganda. Here I hope to explore how the lives of their peoples have began to change as their respective governments have been forced to rethink and strategize anew their liberalization agendas, while at the same time seriously engage with the indigenous peoples.

As we all know that what this fragment of speech means to Rigoberta and all other Guatemalans, who are struggling for their land and forest rights and facing brutal repression of the state. Her father Vicente Menchú and mother Juana Tum were, with other community members decided to form their struggle committee in the name of CUC (comite de unidad campesina) to press for their demands which were related to the land rights. First, they were exploited in the highlands of *altiplano*, in the hands of *Ladinos* who were the rulers in the rural terrains and then by the Guatemalan army in the name of civil war.

Before going in to much detail to Menchú's life and struggle, I want to initiate and develop the debate and discussion which I have

already put in to the domain; in one of the earlier chapters in which I just introduced the Post colonial theoretical genre in a very brief note. Since, this present chapter is very much going to relate to the life and struggle of Rigobetra Menchú and others like her in Latin America, and more importantly in other parts of the world. So, keeping this point in to our consideration and moving back to the fore, where I want to keep a vigil on the post coloniality as a genre which is still evolving and posing a question mark on the earlier literature written in the era of colonial rule, which was used to call as a 'universal' literature.

The post colonial literature had tried to break the distributed hegemony of the colonial literature, which was basically happened after the independence of those colonies, who were under the British rule basically and where English was the dominant language. I want to go beyond that English dominant literature and analyze what was happening during the same period in the context of Latin America, where my research area is based. For example, if we see in the epoch of post coloniality in the Latin America, there were many authors, who had made their valuable contribution in this field to name a few; Roberto Fernandez Retamar¹ who has written *Caliban*, in which he tried to show how the European colonizers had hegemonized the whole Latin America. He had started his observation taking in to consideration this simple observation:

Un periodista europeo, de izquierda por más señas, me ha preguntado hace unos días: <¿Existe una cultura latinoamericana?> La pregunta me pareció revelar una de las raíces de la polémica, y podría enunciarse también de esta otra manera : <¿ Existen ustedes?> Pues poner en duda nuestra cultura es poner en duda nuestra propia existencia, nuestra realidad humana misma, y por tanto estar dispuestos a tomar partido a favor de nuestra irremediable condición colonial, ya que se sospecha que no seríamos sino eco desfigurado de lo que sucede en otra parte.

So, we can see that starting from a particular observation, he keep telling us, how the whole question of the Latin American identity is in question in westerns' mind. He has tried to put it in to the public domain. Likewise, Jose Marti and his celebrated article *Nuestra America*, through which Marti said that we must not forget our rich and deep culture and civilization, which was anyway at par to the any civilization of the whole world in that era.

Therefore, we see that Spanish colonisers were the conqueror of the new world, discovered by Columbus and his men and made a

1 Retamar, Roberto Fernández. *Calibán y otros ensayos, nuestra América y el mundo*. Editorial Arte y literatura, Cuba: 1979, p. 10.

prized colony for the Spanish crown. They had taken back home so much wealth, due to which that the Spanish people in the Spain did not want to work almost and just wanted to enjoy the fruit of the colony. Here, they were engaged in the exploitative activities related to all walks of life, wanted to change the indigenous population from their present state to the worst state; in the name of civilizing them, they did atrocities in every possible form. I do remember Frantz Fanon² who put his words likewise:

The colonial world is a compartmentalized world. The colonized world is a world divided in two. The dividing line, the border, is represented by the barracks and the police stations. In the colonies, the official, legitimate agent, the spokesperson for the colonizer and the regime of oppression, is the police officer or the soldier. This compartmentalized world, this world divided in two, is inhabited by different species. In the colonies the economic infrastructure is also a superstructure. The cause is effect: You are rich because you are white; you are white because you are rich.

In this fragment, Fanon points out the crux of the colonial world which was very much prevalent in all over the whole world that time, he is talking about the situation prevailing in the Africa during the French colonial rule. The situation was more or less very similar in the other continents as well which were under the European colonisers like the Britain, the Spain, the Portugal, the Denmark, and the Holland etc. Those colonisers were doing things at their own will, whatever they wanted to do because they had started indulging themselves in the internal activities of the different countries; depending upon how they had established themselves there and for which motive they were there. They had always used the brutal force to spearhead the raising voice of any form. They presented the history of these colonies in their own way and said according to their likings and disliking. In later years, the Post Colonial literature had started taking shape and tried to break that hegemonised notion of the colonists and started presenting their own type of literature, which had taken different shapes during the course of time as it kept progressing.

I remember Peter Barry³, a famous literary critic says about the post colonial literature:

The ancestry of postcolonial criticism can be traced to Frantz Fanon's *The wretched of the Earth*, and voicing what might be called 'cultural

2 Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*, Grove Press, New York: 1963. Pp. 3-5.

3 Barry, Peter. *Beginning Theory: An introduction to literary and cultural theory*, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York: 2007, p. 193.

resistance' to France's African empire. Fanon argued that the first step for 'colonialised' people in finding a voice and an identity is to reclaim their own past. For centuries the European colonising power will have devalued the nations past, seeing its pre colonial era as a pre-civilized limbo, or even as a historical void. If the first step towards a postcolonial perspective is to reclaim one's own past, then the second is to begin to erode the colonialist ideology by which that past had been devalued.

We see that how the post colonial literature rose in the public domain, which had given every possible and very different forms to this genre like resistance literature, subaltern literature etc. which are very a kind of giving voice to the voiceless. Here, means to say that those who were never said anything before now started saying their kind of history using oral history etc. Here authors are more concerned towards preserving their country's lost culture and history; they try to imitate those utterances which were lost during the course of the time. In Latin America, we have Isabel Allende from Chile who occasionally wrote in a style called magical realism or vivid story-telling, also used by Gabriel García Márquez, Juan Rulfo etc. Meanwhile, Doris Sommer says "They apparently burst onto the world literary scene of the 1960s and 1970s; they gave the impression that nothing really notable preceded them in Latin America. That impression was reinforced at home by a regional euphoria created, in part, by Castro's triumph in 1959. Revolution promised immediate liberation after the frustrations and disappointments with the gradual evolutionism of older liberal projects. Together with the mass consciousness industries that spread the celebratory mood, the new politics produced an inflated belief that Latin America had finally come of age. It had finally begun to overcome economic dependency by naming it, and to formulate a cultural independence by cannibalizing the range of European traditions, turning them into mere raw material in purposefully naive American hands. Believing that the new literature, Known as the *Boom*, had invented a truly proper language, it seemed that the Adamic dream had come true. Latin Americans could finally (re)name the world and, in doing so, name themselves. Caliban could at least possess his own kingdom. (Sommer 71). En Cien años de soledad, Márquez nos presenta la historia tumultuosa y sangrienta de América latina a través de contarnos la historia del pueblo recién nacido de Macondo, es precisamente este hecho en que reside el valor literario y además histórico de su gran novela. En realidad, la impresión que nos queda después de leer la novela es la de que esta abarca toda la historia de Hispanoamérica, esta impresión la captamos especialmente en los primeros capítulos del libro.

Coming back to our discussion on the Post Colonial literature, which is a kind of resistance to the hegemonised system. Rightly said by Peter Barry about the Post Colonial critics⁴:

They reject the claims to universalism made on behalf of canonical Western literature and seek to show its limitations of outlook, especially its general inability to empathize across boundaries of cultural and ethnic difference. They examine the representation of other cultures in literature as a way of achieving this end. They foreground questions of cultural difference and diversity and examine their treatment in relevant literary works. They celebrate hybridity and 'cultural polyvalency', where individuals and groups belong simultaneously to more than one culture. They develop a perspective, not just applicable to postcolonial literatures, whereby states of marginality, plurality and perceived 'otherness' are seen as sources of energy and potential change.

So, we can see that how the Post Colonist have tried to portray a new redefined image of the so called third world literature and culture; for example Retamar also said the same thing when he says that Caliban who was presented as a monster creature in *The Tempest*. He says that Caliban is not a monster but a colonised slave in the hands of the colonist and imperialist power; who had captured his native land and forced him to do the work for them. Likewise, comparing him to all Latin Americans, Retamar keeps adding his analysis and presents the conditions faced by Caliban as the same as suffered by all Latin Americans in the hands of Spanish and the Portuguese empire.

I remember Homi K. Bhabha⁵, who was a precursor of the post colonialist theory and explains it in the brief:

Postcolonial criticism bears witness to the unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern world order. Post colonial perspectives emerge from the colonial testimony of Third world countries and the discourses of 'minorities' within the geopolitical divisions of East and West, North and South. They intervene in those ideological discourses of modernity that attempt to give a hegemonic 'normality' to the uneven development and the differential, often disadvantaged, histories of nations, races, communities, peoples. They formulate their critical revisions around issues of cultural difference, social authority, and political discrimination in order to reveal the antagonistic and ambivalent moments within the 'rationalizations' of modernity.

4 Barry, Peter. *Beginning Theory: An introduction to literary and cultural theory*, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York: 2007, p. 199.

5 Bhabha, K. Homi. *The Postcolonial and The Postmodern: The question of legacy, The location of Culture*, Routledge Classics, London and New Work: 1994, pp. 245-246.

In this way, we are very much at the stage of realization and at the onus of the Post Colonial theoretical aspect, where the whole set of preceding discussions are related. I want to present two paradigms in both the colonialist and the colonizer behavior. We are now living in the 21st century, where the world is moving at very fast pace and mingling into each other necessarily and unnecessarily due to the Globalization. So at this juncture of time if we look back and try to capture the perception of human beings of the different continents, we see that, the Empire writes back, and the bulk of authors are from the so called 'colonial' world and they are writing good academic works which are far more comparable to any academe of the western world.

Nowadays, the colonies are the huge base for the western products in every form and they see them as a vast market and rising consumerism, where they want to do business due to the plethora of opportunities and also, because the western markets are saturating enough. So, keeping these points in to the account they are promoting the third world culture also because it is very difficult nowadays to colonize any country likewise existed earlier. So, they are accepting the third world literature in the western educational institutions and classrooms and making them as a part of their syllabus as well. Similar tone set by S. Shankar "Scholars from Africa, Latin America, and Asia are to be found not only in their graduate programmes. Their presence in such numbers has been instrumental in focusing attention in a very immediate sense on the literature and the culture of the "Third World". (Shankar 479)

In the one hand, they are accepting learnt intellectuals in their institutions to teach and synthesize their knowledge and on the other hand they are promoting the brain drain the third world countries. Also, in the economic and monetary terms they are now using the different forms to maintain the hegemony on the 'others', for example it could be the IMF, the World Bank or the other likewise related organisations and intuitions'; which are forcing them to accept the free market economy. They are providing a set of rules and regulations on which these economies have to mark their all activities. These organisations are now playing with the economy and balance of payment related activities of the third world countries. I mean to say that the situation is so much bleak that one cannot imagine even the miraculous escape for the third world countries. Hence, their inhabitants still have to struggle and raise voice for the social justice and human rights. Similarly we can see in the case of universities also, which are including in their curriculum and syllabus "post colonial studies" to canonize them. S. Shankar⁶ rightly points out:

6 Shankar, S. The Thumb of Ekalavya: Postcolonial Studies and the "Third World" Scholar in a Neocolonial World. *World Literary Today*. 3 (68) Summer 1994. Pp. 479-487.

Institution is one term that allows us to formulate *analytically* the inseparable relationship between the field of knowledge and the field of power in the domain of history: the 'Third world' scholar in the elite North American academic institution, engaging in the elaboration of a discourse going under the label of "postcolonial studies", is simultaneously present in a relationship of power whose historicity is captured by such a term as *university*. The history and the shape of an institution reveal the particular bias of the 'relations of power' immanent in it.

Rigoberta Menchú and her struggle, which I am talking about, related to other similar movements of the world even in India as well. The similar thing which I can see and realize is that these types of movements always happened in the developing parts of the world where the country was under the domination of the foreign rule and striving for the independence generally. It has also been the case of those where the foreign rule was over but a self doctoral regime was prevailed, taking decisions in the name of the people. These regimes are the worst in the contextualization of repression of human rights, social security and killing people at their will. Similarly, people of these parts of the world also raising their voice against them as a kind of counter force same as we know that the great scientist Newton has propagated the law in which his third law says "Every action has equal and opposite reaction". In this way, cross examining the prevailing repression and brutal murder of their own countrymen for the cause of benefit which may be either in the name of land grab or setting new housing complex for the rich ones; repressive regime did all. These kinds of activities have always provoked the dissenting voices to gain their rights and march towards the freedom from all shackles of the life at least.

The circumstances which led Rigoberta to fight for the injustice collectively with her people are because the mass has the ultimate power to overthrow any kind of regime. If not, at least pose a kind challenge to them, to make things in order. Famously said in Latin America "El pueblo unido jamás será vencido". One big question which I was going through when I started writing this thesis that, Why not everybody has access to the same kind of facilities, available to them in terms of social-economic and political means? Why every rich has the share of 90 percent and poor the remaining the 10 percent in general? And why every poor and oppressed has taken birth like wretched of the earth? These questions are very disturbing which have no definite answer, because the whole society is fabricated in and around these questions and answers. So, it is likewise that common people would be political in nowadays because as Bertold Brecht said:

The worst illiterate is the political illiterate. He hears nothing, sees nothing, taken no part in political life. He doesn't seem to know that the cost of living, the price of beans, of flour, of rent, of medicines, all depend on political decisions. He even prides himself on his political ignorance, sticks out his chest and says he hates politics. He doesn't know, the imbecile, that from his political non- participation comes the prostitute, the abandoned child, the robber and the worst of all, corrupt officials. The lackey's of exploitative multinational corporations.

Rigoberta has also used the political tool to pave her way in to the system because until and unless you are not in the political framework, your plight nobody will listen. She took part aggressively in the struggle committee formed by her father and other Maya Quiche community members against the atrocities committed by the ruling class; which was named by many as a guerrilla warfare committee. As I have discussed about this in detail in the previous chapter as well.

Menchú⁷ keeps telling her testimony likewise:

When General Kjell came to power, he set the agrarian reform in motion. He began to divide the land into small plots. What happened was that the struggle had previously been between the *finca* owners and the communities. I already told the story of how they took our land away. But Kjell solved our problem by dividing our lands into small plots and saying we were owners. But with the Establishment of INAFOR (Instituto Nacional de Forestacion de Guatemala), which was looking after trees and forest, we could not cut trees because we each had our own plot and no one could go outside his plot. Each tree costs five *quetzals*, we had no stoves, no gas, nothing but we have to dependent on trees for our livelihood. So, in *altiplano*, CUC (comite unidad de campesina) was born, most of the peasants began to unite and protest against INAFOR and pitch for agrarian reforms.

The movement to save the land and other common properties of the community was started by Menchú's father with other fellow comrades in the rural landscape; it was a kind of speaking against the dictatorial regime, who was there to snatch everything at their end. The poor peasants had already suffered too much at the hands of *finca* owners, where Rigoberta's family used to work with the community and lost everything. Hence, it was another blow to them, left with no other choice; they gathered and pledged for the reform, their own agrarian reforms by themselves. Even, I explained earlier that when the 'others' decide, they can revolt against to press for the regime

7 Burgos – Debray, Elisabeth. *Me llamo Rigoberta Menchú y Así Me Nació La Conciencia*. Barcelona: Editorial Argos Vergara, S.A., 1983. Pp. 157-158.

change or try to resist at least the existing system; that's was the happening at *altiplano* in Guatemala.

Rigoberta also says "It is unfortunate that we Indians are separated by the ethnic barriers, linguistic barriers. It is typical of Guatemala: such a small place but such huge barriers that there's no dialogue between us. We Indians say: 'This is my group and this is where I must be'. The government takes more and more advantage of these barriers" (Burgos 143). Here, she is referring the kind of separation exist between different communities, which gives the perpetrators to commit the crime because of not prevailing unity among themselves. Continuing with this plight it is very difficult to establish contact with other and mobilize in a group. That's why she had also started taking part in the activities not as an activist first but a kind of helping hand to her family but later she started taking interest more vigorously and came to the forefront with other activists to mobilize all, for the same concern.

4.1 STRUGGLE IN DIFFERENT FORMS AND DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD

Another famous Latin American activist for her work and testimony, Domitila Barrios de Chungara, was a Bolivian labor leader and feminist. From humble family gave many testimonies about the miners were suffering in their country. She was famous for his peaceful struggle against the dictatorship of René Barrientos Ortuño and Hugo Banzer Suarez. She was very much convinced that the struggle for liberation means one has to replace the capitalist system with another kind of society, in which men and women would have the same rights to life, education and work etc. Despite her history of being persecuted, jailed and tortured, Domitila refused to be silent and dumb follower. She continued to demand her right to speak against the social injustice, with the same conviction and courage she had always displayed. Her personal testimony is a live account of life and struggle. Domitila Chungara⁸ says:

I don't want anyone at any moment to interpret the story I'm about to tell as something that is only personal. Because I think that my life is related to my people. What happened to me could have happened to hundreds of people in my country. I want to make this clear, because I recognize that there have been people who have done much more than I for the people, but who have died or who haven't had the opportunity to be known. That's why I say that I don't just want to tell a personal story. I want to talk about my people. I want to testify about all the experience we've acquired during

8 Viezzer, Moema. *Let me speak!* Testimony of Domitila, a woman of the Bolivian mines, Monthly Review Press, New York 1978, p. 15.

so many years of struggle in Bolivia, and contribute a little grain of sand, with the hope that our experience may serve in some way for the new generation, for the new people.

It is true in our Indian context also, where the mass movement took place against the regime, providing testimonial literature a kind of centre stage which I was making a point earlier as well; where I said developing countries have witnessed the struggle in a bigger way. Our Indian national history has the traces of Tebhaga movement in West Bengal and erstwhile Bangladesh during 1947-1951, where the whole lots of peasants had decided not to give the sharing produce on the fifty-fifty basis to their local landlords but they forced for two-third for themselves and one-third for their landlords. Their main demands were “No eviction, two thirds share, right to stock harvested crop in the bargadar’s farmyard, and reduction in the exorbitant interest rates on advance and elimination of all illegal exactions.”⁹ (Bandyopadhyay 3906) It was a huge peasant movement where the landless poor people have had struggled for their demand led by adiwasi people in many regions and put a kind of challenge in front of their oppressors. Likewise, Menchú’s account of oral history, this particular movement was also described orally, “All these have been described vividly in an oral history format. It is a history of the Tebhaga movement from the point of view of an urban party cadre without any attempt at glorification either of self or of the party.” (Bandyopadhyay 3905)¹⁰ Women were nowhere behind in that struggle, as rightly explained by Peter Custers¹¹ :

At its height the uprising was led by rural poor women who took the front-rank role in defending the movement’s gains and in countering the repression of the state. The most unique feature of Tebhaga is the spontaneous creation of women’s fighting troops, called ‘nari bahini’ An assessment of the women’s role in Tebhaga is not just relevant for con-temporary Bengal or South Asia, but for progressive movements all over the world.

In south of India also, Telangana movement took place during the same time almost, in which poor peasants and their better halves

9 Bandyopadhyay, Nripen (1998): ‘The Story of Agrarian Struggles and Land Reforms in Bengal and West Bengal’ in Monoranjan Mohanty, Partha Mukherji with Olle Tornquist (eds), *People’s Rights: Social Movements and State in the Third World*, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

10 Bandyopadhyay, D. Tebhaga Movement in Bengal: A Retrospect , *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 36, No. 41 (Oct. 13-19, 2001), p. 3905. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4411230>.

11 Custers, Peter. Women’s Role in Tebhaga Movement, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 21, No. 43 (Oct. 25, 1986) pp. WS 97. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4376268>.

(wives) have had protested the hardships and atrocities by the Indian establishments because that region was under the Nizam of Hyderabad, who also surrendered in front of the Indian army. Hyderabad was princely state and after the Indian independence, does not wanted to go with the union of India but the Indian government wanted to amalgamate it at any cost. Some people had resisted under the banner of communism, had to flee into the forests. The atrocities faced by those people and their comrades had accounted their story orally to Stree Shakti Sanghatana. This testimonial account found a well known place in the Indian history.

Hence, it was a glorious movement in the history when the whole lot of rural populace were on the striking end because they had with no option but to take arms in their hand and revolt. Here, I want to quote Paulo Freire¹², who says a lot in his *pedagogy of the oppressed*, about cultural invasion:

Whether urbane or harsh, cultural invasion is thus always an act of violence against the persons of the invaded culture, who lose their originality or face the threat of losing it. In cultural invasion (as in all the modalities of antidiological action) the invaders are the authors of, and actors in, the process; those they invade are the objects. The invaders mold; those they invade are molded. The invaders choose; those they invade follow that choice- or are expected to follow it. The invaders act; those they invade have only the illusion of acting, through the action of the invaders.

Same thing is happening in the age of globalization also, where the poor and oppressed are exploited at the brink and left with a situation; where they have nothing to lose. So, they are on the streets to claim their land and other basic rights which were denied by the colonisers first and now in the neo liberal era, by the MNC's, corporate, politicians and local bureaucrats.

4.2 A NEW BEGINNING THROUGH SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

As we have seen through the various stages and levels, Globalization is ingrained in the every nook and corner of the world and there are very remote chances that any person would not be in this grip of global agenda except the few native tribal people who in the deep inside the forests or vast deserts; here also lies the catch because people are intruding into their areas as well with the motive of gaining every possible gain and profit. From Amazonian forests to the Malaysian rain forests, from Jharkhand mineral rich plateau areas to the barren arctic continental shelf, from deep sea bed to the international space

12 Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, Penguin Books, England, 1996, p. 133.

stations; everywhere the syndrome of Globalization has made victim to all and there is no escape literally. So, in this charged atmosphere of humidity the bottle of Coca Cola is available not only in Jharkhand's remote village but also in the *altiplano* area of Guatemala, not only in Mexican barrio but also China's Guangzhou province. Hence, the cultural homogenization is already making their presence felt and there is no doubt because we cannot close our ears and eyes. Therefore the only option available to us is making the world a sustainable one where there would be mutual cooperation between state, market forces and civil society acting in the behest of multi actor paradigm. And more importantly making this earth a liveable earth.

Many answer, What Jharkand needs is Dayamani Barla. The Gandhian activist Himanshu Kumar agrees. In a recent poem¹³ he asks: "Why do we need Dayamani Barla?" Here's the beginning of his answer:

"It is a grave danger now to be Dayamani Barla
It is a danger to be an adivasi
It is a danger now to reside in the village
There is land in the village
There are trees in the village
There are rivers in the village
There are minerals in the village
There are people in the village
There is also Dayamani Barla in the village"
There is also Dayamani Barla in the village. We need Dayamani Barla,
and not just in the village. We need her in the world. We need her writing.

Meanwhile, the areas which need urgent correction include¹⁴:

Freshwater: Integrated water resource management; conservation and sustainable use of wetlands; promotion of water-use efficiency; water metering and volumetric-based tariffs implemented at a national or sub-national level; recognizing safe drinking water and sanitation as a basic human right/need; effluent charges.

Biodiversity: Market-based instruments for ecosystem services, including Payment for Ecosystems Services (PES) and Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+); increasing the extent of protected areas; sustainable management of protected areas; trans-boundary, biodiversity and wildlife corridors; community-based participation and management; sustainable agricultural practices.

13 <http://www.womeninandbeyond.org/?p=1449>

14 http://www.unep.org/geo/pdfs/GEO5_SPM_English.pdf

Climate change: Removing perverse/environmentally harmful subsidies, especially on fossil fuels; carbon taxes; forestry incentives for carbon sequestration; emission trading schemes; climate insurance; capacity building and financing; climate change preparedness and adaptation such as climate proofing infrastructure.

Land: Integrated watershed (catchment) management; smart growth in cities; protecting prime agricultural land and open space; no till and integrated pest management and/or organic agriculture; improved forest management; PES and REDD+; agroforestry and silvo-pastoral practices.

Chemicals/waste: Registration of chemicals; extended producer responsibility; product redesign (design for the environment); life cycle analysis; reduce, reuse and recycle (3Rs) and cleaner production; national and regional hazardous waste treatment systems; control of inappropriate export and import of hazardous chemicals and waste.

Energy: Increased international cooperation in the area of transfer and application of energy saving technologies; promotion of energy efficiency; increased use of renewable energy; feed-in tariffs; restriction on fossil fuels subsidies; low emission zones within cities; research and development, especially on batteries and other forms of energy storage.

Oceans and seas: Integrated coastal zone management (ridge-to-reef); marine protected areas; economic instruments such as user fees.

Environmental governance: Multi-level/multi-stakeholder participation; increased introduction of the principle of subsidiarity; governance at local levels; policy synergy and removal of conflict; strategic environmental assessment; accounting systems that value natural capital and ecosystem services; improved access to information, public participation and environmental justice; capacity strengthening of all actors; improved goal setting and monitoring systems.

The dream which our fore fathers and great leaders of the nations have seen must be fulfilled and the voiceless, poor, marginalized, tribal, *adivasi*, indigenous of the society must be given their due at each and every cost and at the same time development of whole mankind should take place not that kind of “development” has been promised but the one which is desirable and comes under our fundamental rights article 21 which promises us to give right to life; which itself has the connotation of wide range of meaning which even the Constitutional luminaries of India have said that all fundamental at one place and article 21 on another would be a perfect case of equilibrium.

The above mentioned corrective steps are not only important for India where Jharkhand is a state but also for Guatemala as well where Rigoberta Menchú and other indigenous people live and practice their

own traditional customs and rituals. These communities must be given their due what they are liable to and not robbing their land, forest and nature in the name of “development”.

When asked in an interview regarding her agenda for future, Dayamani Barla says¹⁵:

PJ: So in the world's largest democracy, what is her next plan, what is the movement's next plan to make sure that every citizen has equal rights and corporations don't have greater rights than people?

BARLA: You see, as far as the issue of democracy goes, I would like to make it clear here that whatever our fight is for, our fight against displacement, our fight to save villages, I would like to make it clear that our fight is not directed to only save the indigenous community; our fight is all about those communities linked to nature. I mean the communities that are nature-based, communities that are linked to agriculture. Our fight is to save all those communities. Our fight is to save every caste and religion. And when our fight is to save every caste and every religion, so this, our biggest democracy, then we are fighting in this democracy.

What we are saying in this democracy is that today you will see in the world that the nature-based societies, whether it is indigenous society or it be Adivasi society, it's their ideology that the river does not belong to one tribe and the forest does not belong to one tribe. This is the heritage of the community. It's not even property. I'm talking about heritage. So it's a community heritage. So every caste and tribe, from community heritage, whatever their various requirements are in life, that requirement will be fulfilled, will fulfill, and alongside this heritage it will give only so much cooperation as is needed. We're talking here about this culture of give and take. Here also the culture of give and take exists, that we will take only so much from the forests as we need, and we have to give forests enough for the jungles to retain their identity. So this society of ours, without forests, this Adivasi community, farmer's community, or whichever nature-based community, we cannot live without forest; forest cannot live without us.

So you raise the question that what is our future plan. So we've undergone this long period of struggle to save this forest, save this land. I also learned in this democracy that on one side we are saving forest and land, we are saving villages; but also in this same democracy there exists political power, and where there is political power, all politicians, those politicians have no agenda lined up to save these forest, land, society, mountains, language and culture. They have only a money-making agenda. They only have agenda to indulge in politics for their self-interest.

Now, what I have learnt after a long period of struggle and after I've been to prison is that if I have to save land, save forest, save villages, save my people, save this heritage, then this democracy that they're talking about, in this de-

15 http://therealnews.com/t2/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=31&Itemid=74&jumival=10561

mocracy where decision-making exists, there is no policymaking machinery in place. We'll have to go to the policy-making machinery so that we can also make our own policy. And whatever policy we make, we will implement tomorrow the policy on our own. Then this long struggle that we're fighting for, and whatever fight we'll have to do tomorrow, it will be with full force.

Those who talk about protecting forestland, those who talk about a democratic society in true sense of the word; we will also have to bring the real democracy out. Those who promote national democracy want to give democracy in society. In that democracy, our people would be part of assembly seats, our people will be in Parliament, where our people, for their water, forest, land, for their language, their culture, and their society, will make policy for community. They will implement it. This is my belief. And apart from this, there is no other way out.

Rigoberta Menchú says about the hegemony created by International Organizations and related Globalization¹⁶:

I have been very critical of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. I think these organizations deal very badly with problems of human- rights violations and the environment. If they didn't deal with them so badly, the scorched-earth campaign in Guatemala could have been prevented, and new laws governing land distribution introduced. How can the World Bank allow huge areas of land to be used to pasture a few cows, so that land owning and bourgeois families can spend their weekends killing deer? How can they allow this at a time when millions of people are starving because they have no land? How can it permit huge land concessions that destroy the natural world by trafficking in wood, rare animals and archaeological remains?

I continue to think that the IMF and the World Bank have a direct responsibility for the extreme poverty that plagues the majority of the world's population. I still hope these institutions can bring about change, not with words, but with actions. There must be forms of economic planning and concrete measures that demonstrate to poor people the good will and generosity of these institutions.

In the absence of such large institutions, indigenous people have developed a spirit of co-operativism. This has been a way of instilling collective responsibility. It is not based solely on economic progress. I defend co-operative values wholeheartedly. It is a system of organizations, a way of life, a culture. Throughout the world, poor people are able to survive because they co-operate. They need to organize to combat social injustice and the unequal distribution of wealth. They need solidarity.

That's why I argue that the struggle of indigenous peoples has a purpose- to represent all oppressed people in the world (Wright 1998: 175-176).

¹⁶ Wright, Ann. *Crossing Borders*. London: Verso, 1998. Pp. 175-76.

CONCLUSION

Research as an intellectual exercise has its own relevance, as a purposive enterprise it also becomes a potent tool for affecting social change. The present research can lay a strong foundation to various economic, social, cultural, educational and other policies that are continually formulated. The intended research is therefore an attempt to address the outlined concerns and make suitable suggestions. As my project is related to the comparative study between indigenous women of Guatemala, Central America and Jharkhand, India; this would open a new horizon which can be referred as 'India in the imagination of Latin America.' This would definitely strengthen the South - South cooperation in the coming days.

So far there has not been any research done on this area of comparative study on the writing of Rigoberta Menchú and Dayamani Barla. There are some researches available on the *Testimonio* of Rigoberta Menchú as reflected in my bibliography. However, on Dayamani Barla's writing there has not been any research done so far but for a few articles like one written by Moushumi Basu in *Economic and Political Weekly* vol. no 43, No. 48 (Nov. 29 - Dec. 5, 2008), pp. 22-23 about *Arcelor -Mittal in Jharkhand* and how she struggled to keep at bay the investment of Rs 40, 000 crore (\$ 9.3 billion) and how the State government is after her to put her in jail on false charges. Vari-

ous news and magazine agencies like *Tehelka* have also published many reportage on her strong movement against the corporate houses and government of Jharkhand which are adamant to 'capture' adivasi people's fertile and agrarian land for mining or building dams and opening educational institutes etc. That's why she is also known as the *Iron lady of Jharkhand*. She has been in news for her courageous activities after taking on the street against land grabbing and talking to all stakeholders for the revival of adivasi culture, which has been forgotten in real sense.

There has been very little research on the works of these two activists from a comparative perspective till date. My work will add substantially to the existing research done so far.

Hence this Project would address the issues regarding these struggles in some of the later publications, interviews or blogs by Menchú and Barla and will study how management of local cultures (Literature, Art and Performance) serve to resist the neo-liberal paradigms of propaganda. Through this paper we are able to know the darker side of voiceless and their living in perpetuate in routine life. Also, we are getting to realise how the lives of their peoples have began to change as their respective governments have been forced to rethink and strategize anew their liberalization agendas, while at the same time seriously engage with the indigenous peoples.

TRIBAL MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT

The struggles of these two women against the oppression and development induced displacement do not mean that they are against development. The existence of the tribals can not be jeopardised in the name of development. The government's way of rehabilitation and compensation does not serve the need. Without affecting the tribal lives and without uprooting them, sustainable development is the key to the development of tribals and tribal areas. The natural resources are not just resources for the tribals; it means cultural identity and their livelihood. The tribal development is reliant upon natural resources. So the development process should be inclusive of the tribals of the state. They have to be given equality of opportunity in education, health care facilities and employment opportunities.

LABOUR MARKET DISCRIMINATION

Discrimination at labour market basically means selective restriction of certain groups of people in both formal and informal sector. Discrimination in labour market is operated on the grounds like race, ethnicity, religion, caste and gender and more recently is also based on age and sexual orientation. As urged by Polanyi labour market is

a crucial site for the play of social relations. In such light labour market reflects the existing social and historical inequalities of a society. The social stratification of the Indian society helps one understand the processes of discrimination at the labour market. The tribals of Jharkhand are restricted to menial and low paying jobs in big cities. This kind of restrictions in job also affects the labour market interactions. The labour market discrimination and subversion is also related to political lobbying. The political parties along with business stalwarts in Jharkhand are always in their attempt to displace people from their land. This kind of labour market discrimination has lead to the unequal access to opportunities and thus intra group inequalities. It also fosters intra group conflicts.

Hence, taking into account all these discussions in the said paper, the most important finding I have found that there should not be any so called “development” taking into account marginalized hard earned money and their ancestral properties. There should be zero tolerance for the violation of human rights in any form. And more opportunities for the growth with employment, based on sustainability and it should be durable.

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