- Exploitation of women in the society
- Dowry system as an integral part of marriage in Indian context
- Remarriage of widows
- Education of women
- Women participating in women struggle

Tagore created the women characters in his literature with immense sensitivity. Be it a docile woman restricted in familial ties of domesticity or the woman of substance, the inner eye in him probably helped him observe and capture the deepest of emotions through his beautiful expression of words. While most of the women in the Tagore household, were the 'new women' of the era, there were others who weren't as conscious or vocal or for that matter active in the politics of the day or pursued their passion. However, to come to the loci of the discussion, Tagore's travels made, "him aware of the freedom women were enjoying" in the west and this in turn intrigued him to think about the status of women back home. (Charulatha 173) Essentially, this can be seen in the women characters he sketched. The influx of western education system, the abolition of sati, child marriage, widow remarriage and other reformations in the society had actually initiated a discourse. The reformer in him, thus penned women characters to facilitate the change that had already began. And through his literature he reached out to the masses. By this great power of words, he portrayed the patriarchy's crude suppression of women, women with strong sense of individuality who is no longer docile, emancipated women who were educated and vocal about their choices. He also portrayed the dynamics of family with a bit of difference in the yoke of the 20th century,

Rabindranath Tagore's socio-familial concept took a new turn as he began to probe the husband-wife relationship within the joint family set up. Gone is the tyrannical inlaw and submissive son syndrome in which subservience to the patriarchal norm is the rigour, as Rabindranath Tagore sets out at the beginning of the 20th century, to apply his mind to the taboo subject of women's emancipation. (Chakrabarti 94)

There are many short stories and novels that depict the plight of women written by Tagore, however worth mentioning short stories are – "Giribala", "Haimanti", "Aparichita", "Tapasvini", "Streer Patra", "The Laboratory" to name a few. Be it Mrinal in "Streer Patra" who does not conform to the norms of patriarchy in her husband'shome and finally leaves the home or Giribala, who, similarly, moves out of the home to join the theatre, after her husband cheats on her, strikingly shows how the women broke the shackles and spoke up. Kalyani, in "Aparichita" on the other hand, is the embodiment of the liberated woman who is educated and strives for justice and righteousness. Tagorepudently takes up the issue of dowry both in "Aparichita" and "Dena Paona", and depicts reality in two different ways. Nirupama in "Dena Paona" succumbs to the torture of domestic violence regarding the non-payment of dowry. The short story "The Laboratory" beautifully carves the 'new woman' in the character of Sohini as the manifestation of empowerment. This story also propounds casteless society. The story "Bodnam" is one of the outstanding stories where Soudamini helps a

nationalist freedom fighter. Being the wife of a police-officer of the British India, it was rather a challenging task, but the love for her country's freedom struggle outweighed the love for her husband. The character of Anila, in "Poila Number" just like Mrinal in "Streer Potro" resonates the characterisation of Nora, of Ibsen's *The Doll's House*. Anila breaks free from the shackles of domesticity. The novel *Chaturanga* emphasises on widow remarriage through the character of Damini. Other noteworthy works in this regard are Chokher Bali, Malancha, etc.

Conclusion

To conclude, the paper humbly attempted to show that the women of Tagore household helped him construct and shape the women characters of his literature. The 'new woman' in his literature are almost the reflections of the women of Tagore household and transcends them. Furthermore, the characters depicted by him inspired the society to initiate a discourse of reformation. The characters created by Tagorenot only creates the 'new woman' but also, many a time, moves beyond his era. This is probably the reason why Tagore is relevant in every walk of life, even today.

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INTERROGATING POWER STRUCTURES: AN ALTHUSSERIAN ANALYSIS OF QAIS OMAR'S A FORT OF NINE TOWERS AND MALALAI JOYA'S RAISING MY VOICE

Blesslyn Chackson Research Student, Kerala

Abstract

Afghanistan is a war torn land. Through the ages the land has been home to various peoples and witnessed numerous military campaigns notably by Alexander the Great, Muslim Arabs, Mongols, British, Soviet Russians and in the modern era by western powers in their crave for power. However the Afghan land and its people most suffered under the regimes of Mujahedeen and Taliban. Most of the literary works in Afghan-American literature depict all these grave issues. The present paper aims to make an enquiry into how the Mujahedeen and Taliban, and in the modern era, the western powers, established their power over the Afghan society and hobbled the entire nation forever politically, socially and religiously.

Keywords: Ideological State Apparatus, Repressive State Apparatus, Isolation, Disillusionment, Oppression, Hegemony, Political play etc.

"Ideology has a material existence" – Althusser (*Lenin and Philosophy* 55).

As part of culture, ideology is an integral constituent of human interactions and the power strategies that configure socio-political systems. Ideology is materialized or given concrete form, in order to be a part of the human culture that is broadly shared by members of a society and this process of materialization makes it possible to control, manipulate and extend ideology beyond the local group. The strategic control of ideology contributes to the centralization and the consolidation of political power. According to Althusser, State Apparatuses such as Ideological State Apparatus and Repressive State Apparatus render hand for ideology to exercise power in a society.

Man's inordinate desire for power has evolved over centuries. Gaining prestige, honour and reputation is one of the central motives of gaining power in human nature. Man's avarice for power and glory created an unquenchable thirst in him to acquire them.Literary history from Machiavelli's *The Prince*; Shakespeare's *Macbeth* up to Dostoyevsky's Pyotr Verkhovensky in *The Possessed* poignantly expounds man's strong desire for power and glory. At first, man used coercive forces to attain power.Battles from the beginning of human

history, up to the world wars of 20th century provethis. However, in the meantime man found 'ideologies' as the most suitable means to impose power effectively on a society or on an individual or to gather people in their fight for power, by manipulating those ideologies and thus creating a sense among people that, they are standing or protesting for a good cause. The Central Asian nation, Afghanistan also has such a tale to tell. The Afghan-American writers, Joya and Omar elucidate all these through their life narratives.

The war-torn Afghanistan is a land of tragedy. Malalai Joya begins her memoir *Raising My Voice*, by explicating the catastrophic scenario of Afghanistan. She says:

I come from a land of tragedy called Afghanistan. My life has taken some unusual turns, but many ways my story is the story of a generation. For the thirty years I have been alive, my country has suffered from the constant scourge of war. Most Afghans of my age and the younger ones have known only bloodshed, displacement and occupation. When I was four years old, my family and I were forced to live as refugees in Iran and then Pakistan. Millions of Afghans were killed during the battle-torn 1980s. When the Russians finally left, we faced a vicious civil war between fundamentalist warlords, followed by the rule of the depraved and medieval Taliban and then the U.S invasion (1).

But Afghanistan was not before a blood-soaked nation, as it is now. In the time before the fighting, before the warlords and their false promises, before the Taliban and their madness, before the smell of death hung daily in the air and the ground was soaked in blood, they lived well. Afghans had their glorious golden days under the reign of King Amanullah. During the reign of Amanullah, Afghanistan's capital city Kabul was one of the fastest growing cities in the world. Tourists from worldwide were awed by the country's scenery and fascinated by its people. In the words of Joya, "Ours was a capital that was once so beautiful, it attracted tourists from around the world and was called 'the bride of the cities' (29). Omar also eloquently portrays the beauty of Kabul. "Kabul was like a huge garden then. Trees lined the wide streets and touched each other overhead in tall, leafy arches. The city was full of well-tended parks in which, tall pink hollyhocks competed for attention with bright orange marigolds and hundreds of shades of roses". (Omar 13-14).

Under Amanullah, Afghanistan had been at the forefront of change in the Islamic world. Amanullah envisioned a secular nationalist state, against the rural and provincial opponents who wished to preserve or reinforce Afghanistan's Islamic traditions and maintain the country's long established social structure. His notions laid foundation for ambitious administrative, legal, financial and social reforms. Administrative functions were better organized and centralized. A new tax law was introduced and the legal system unified. Social reforms included the abolition of slavery, expansion of the educational system, including formal education for women and there were also attempts to curtail polygamy, child

marriage. However these revolutionary changes infuriated the Islamist fundamentalists and the clergy men who had a supreme power over the people. These revolutionary changes diminished the powers and privileges which they enjoyed. Amanullah thus gradually marginalized the clergy and the Sufi order leaders who played a powerful role in the 1930s. In order to overthrow Amanullah and his revolutionary changes and also to regain their lost power the Islamist fundamentalists and conservatives, at first promoted rebellious protests. But all these protests were successfully wiped out and suppressed by Amanullah's regime. A series of small-scale insurrections led by the Islamists in 1975, were also easily crushed. The uprising also failed to generate any local support from the people.

However, as the constant insurrections were failed, the Islamist fundamentalists found out "ideologies", especially religious ideologies as the best way to gain power over the country and its people, rather than using coercive forces and also as a suitable means to gather people in their fight and thus to gain wide support from the people. The Saur revolution (1978), which marked the Soviet invasion, paved a way for them, to attain this goal. It was the revolution led by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) against the rule of Daoud Khan and the PDPA won.

The PDPA government backed by the Soviets initiated a number of land reforms and it ignited protests among the people. The PDPA also changed the national flag of Afghanistan from traditional Islamic green colour to a near-copy of the red flag of the Soviet Union. Althoughthe reforms made by PDPA in women's rights (abolition of veil) and in the educational field were welcomed by the people, they disliked the Soviet invasion and they always aspired for a democratic nation of their own. The Islamist fundamentalists found this despair among the people for the PDPA government and the Soviets, as a golden chance and they began to enslave the minds of the people using various religious ideologies to make them join in their protest against the government, which was a masquerade by them to attain power over the Afghan society. However the Soviets also began to slaughter the ones who opposed them and in the process many innocent people were also killed and this also enraged the people. The Afghans at any cost wanted to drove away the Soviets from their country and they wanted a nation of their own. The Islamist fundamentalists saw this aspire among the people and they took advantage of it, through cunningly interpreting religious ideologies. Althusser states that

According to Althusser, Ideological State Apparatus primarily functions through ideology and secondarily through repression. However the Islamist fundamentalists effectively used ideology. Religious ISA plays the most significant role in the promulgation of dominant ideology, as it was in the case of pre-capitalist European society as Althusser argued. For Afghanistan, religion was the part and parcel of its social being. Its influence is ever present in people's everyday conversations, business transactions, dispute resolutions and moral judgements. However the fundamentalists perpetuated the idea of an autonomous "caliphate rule" and the idea of "Jihad", using the religious ideologies. ReligiousISA mainly

functions through religious institutions. So that, Althusser calls Religious ISA as the "Priests and Despots theory of ideology". According to Althusser, "Priests and Despots... 'forged' the Beautiful Lies so that, in the belief that they were obeying God, men would infact obey the Priests and Despots, who were usually in alliance in their imposture" (*Lenin* 153). In the case of Afghanistan, the clergy men (Mullahs) and tribal leaders (fundamentalists) forged "beautiful lies" to enslave the minds of people, by misinterpreting religious ideals. "Historian Thomas Barfield in his *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History*says, "The clergy men instilled in the minds of people a strong belief that a non-Islamic government had no legal authority, and that a Muslim Mullah or Caliph had the right to rule. They also preached that the Caliphs are the incarnation of God and the non-caliphate rule is unislamic" (231). Often in a Muslim community one of the clergy men will be the Caliph. The clergy men preached in the mosques that, it is the duty of every muslim, to fight for the establishment of a Caliphate rule. With this interpretation the clergy men maintained a God-like figure in the minds of people and also instilled the idea that it is their duty and necessity to rebel against the government.

The Islamist fundamentalists (clergy men) promised the people that they will liberate the country from the clutches of the Soviets and will build up a democratic nation. The village leaders which almost constitute of fundamentalists and conservatives, called upon the people to join with them in their fight. Omar says:

Every village in Afghanistan has a council of elders called shura. Once the elders have decided that the village will do something, every family in the village must do it. The shuras decided that all the men should form fighting groups and join with others all over Afghanistan. They did, and they called themselves Mujahideen, the Holy Warriors. (Omar 25)

The Arabic word Mujahideen, is the plural form of Mujahid, which means one who engages in Jihad. The Mujahideens enamoured people to join them in their fight, by misrepresenting and manipulating the religious notions behind the term Jihad, which they often refers as the 'holy war'. No war can be described as 'holy'. In Quran the term Jihad means the act of preservingone's self against evils or striving in the way of God. It means one's inner struggle for self-purification. Dictionary of Islam defines Jihad as the "inner spiritual struggle of a man". According to the orientalist Bernard Lewis, "the overwhelming majority of classical theologians, jurists and specialists in hadith, understood the obligation of Jihad in a military sense" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihad). Critic Javed Ahmed Ghamidi states, There is consensus among Islamic scholars that the concept of Jihad will always include armed struggle against wrongdoers"(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihad). With this interpretation of Jihad the fundamentalists enslaved the minds of people.

The Afghan people were highly influenced by the Mujahideens and the people praised the warriors for their brave determination to fight against the evil deeds of Soviets. Even Joya's father too joined the Mujahideen, hoping for a true democratic nation of their own. According to Joya:

"Like many young men my father joined the fight against the invasion. While I was still an infant he began to train with the local Mujahideen. Like many such groups that rose up in the villages, they were largely self-organised with limited resources. Uncle Azad, my mother's brother also joined the freedom fighters" (Joya 12).

Like every other Afghan, Omar's father, grandfather and uncles too supported the Mujahideen and they were also proud of the Mujahideen. Omar says, "My grandfather, father, uncles and Grandfather's guests had often talked about the Mujahideen. When anyone spoke of them, the uncles often referred to them proudly as 'our Mujahideen brothers, who will come and liberate this country from these religionless and Communist Russians' "(25).

For ten years the Mujahideen fought relentlessly against the Russians. However the Russians finally withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989. Like Omar's grandfather every Afghan hoped that "after years of turmoil, Afghanistan would become a place of peace again" (26). But all their hopes became futile, with the emergence of Mujahideen rule, backed by the Islamist fundamentalists and conservatives. They preached militant and rigid Islamic doctrines and their appearance also perpetuated this idea. Omar says, "When I heard that the Mujahideen were coming, I had expected to see heroes in uniforms and shiny boots. But they were dressed like villagers with big turbans, the traditional baggy pants called shalwar, and the long, tunic-like shirts called Kamiz. Their waistcoats were filled with grenades and bullets. They all had beards, mustaches and smelly shoes that wrapped up stinky feet and no one was without a gun" (27).

Another important ISA according to Althusser is the Communications ISA and in this ISA, the ideology of the dominant group works through the mass media such as press, radio and television. However the Mujahideens effectively used mass media to perpetuate their rigid ideologies to the people. Omar says, "The TV programmes were now filled with interviews with the men we could come to know as commanders. They were talking about their factions, and what they wanted to do for Afghanistan. They all sounded like professors of the Holy Koran in the way they talked about Islam, and its importance for Muslims and Afghans. They all connected themselves to the Prophet Mohammad, peace be upon him, and claimed to be descendants of Arabs to make themselves sound like they were closely linked to the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, even though we all know that Afghans are descendants of Zoroastrians, Jews, Greeks, Mongols, Aryans and many other people, as well as of the Arabs who entered our history much later" (28).

However on TV, the female announcers began to cover their heads with scarves. Women singers were no longer seen, instead they saw men with big turbans and long beards sitting on the floor, reciting the Holy Koran. The male TV announcers started wearing shalwar kamiz, instead of a pressed suit and tie. Chaos started spreading all over Afghanistan within few days of the Mujahideen rule. One of the features of Afghanistan is that, the country consists of

many ethnic groups like Pashtuns, Tajiks, Aimaqs, Uzbeks, Baluchs, and Hazaras etc and the all the ethnic groups were joined in this 'holy war'. In the mean time the fundamentalists in these groups and the tribal leaders began to fight each other for power. Gradually the Mujahideen group were divided into several factions and each faction was headed by its tribal warlords(fundamentalists). Eventually the diabolic civil war broke out. The warlords began to fight with each other, in their inordinate desire to attain power over the nation.

The factions started firing rockets at each other. In the words of Omar, "First it was a dozen people who were killed. Then it was a hundred. Then a thousand. It was like when a forest catches fire, both the dry and wet burn. Afghans who had little money or relatives in other countries quickly left. Others who stayed were beaten up, or had their property stolen. We heard about women who were raped by the soldiers of the same commanders who had talked about Islam and its importance to Muslims and Afghans only a few months before" (30-31). The men who called themselves as the holy warriors and the saviours of the nation, eventually turned as the murderers and thieves. They torched public schools, hospitals and universities. Kabul, which had been spared any fighting during the war because of its many lines of defences, was devastated and the large parts of the city were reduced to rubble.

During the time of civil war, Joya's family left to Iran and Omar's family at first moved to his father's friend's mansion Qala-e-Norboja and continued to move to the different parts of the nation. They were buffeted from one place to another. However the civil war ended in 1996, paving way for the emergence of a new group called Taliban.

In Arabic 'Taliban' means students of Islam. With the emergence of Taliban and with the end of the civil war, several Afghans came back to their land, in the hope for a better future. The Taliban were initially lauded for bringing peace and security to the nation, but they also gradually began to impose power upon the people and began to terrorise people. Joya says, "Afghans were so exhausted by the years of war and anarchy that once again our people welcomed the new regime with hope that they might bring a positive change. But unfortunately their hopes quickly turned into ashes. The Taliban repeated the same crimes committed by their jihadi brothers. And their security was like that of a graveyard" (38-39). The Talibans were more worse than the Mujahideens. They at first used ideologies and then gradually began to use repressive measures, to impose power upon the people.

Like the Mujahideens, Taliban also effectively used communication systems. Through the Communications ISA, they imposed several ideologies in the society. Omar tells that, every day they heard new decrees from Mullah Omar, the head of the Taliban from Radio Sadai Shariat, which is received from the office of 'Department for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice'. The first day they proclaimed that 'every man in Afghanistan should grow a beard', then the next day they told the people that, 'every woman over twelve should wear a burqa, and in the next following days, the Taliban told the people that 'Kite flying is forbidden'. Kite flying was an integral part of an Afghan boy's childhood. They denied the children their colourful childhood days. However Taliban also instructed people

that no one should watch TV and that, if anyone is ever found to be watching movies, he will be punished in public and imprisoned for six months. At the end of the broadcast Maulvi Nazami, the head of Radio Sadai Shariat, said "We say the right things so that we can be loved" (277).

Taliban extensively used repressive measures. When Omar's father once shaved his beard, he was whipped by the Taliban commanders. Omar says, "They said that the beard is the symbol of Islam. But Islam is about what is in your heart, not what is on your face" (273). He also comments, "I thought about the Taliban. They said they are the students and believers of Islam, but a lot of what they are doing is not in the Holy Koran. The Koran says that, 'God surely knows which of them are truthful and which are liars'. Did the Taliban and the other factions and all other evil doers think that they would escape God's reach? How poorly they judge" (290).

Taliban also effectively used the Educational ISA. They denied education to girls and perpetuated the ideology that girls should be in their homes and that, Islam does not promote the participation of women in public arenas. In the schools the boys were told to wear shalwar kamiz, a long one according to Taliban standards- tunic below the knees, trousers above the ankle, with a black turban and slippers instead of proper shoes. Instead of training them as good citizens of the nation, the Taliban trained them as 'Jihadis', the very long misinterpreted term. The Taliban commanders became the principals of schools. They also introduced new patterns of questions in the entrance examination called CONCOR, which is required for the admission to the University of Kabul. Omar says, "We had four hours to answer the CONCOR's 210 questions. I finished them all in just two hours. There were almost no mathematics questions and nothing on physics or biology. They were all about Talibanism"(324).

The taking and publishing of human photos was considered un-islamic, the Taliban's daily newspaper had no photos in it. Daily prayer was strictly monitored. It was compulsory for all men to attend the mosque for prayers five times each day. Joya says, "Sometimes men and boys ended up praying seven or eight times in one day, because the Taliban wrongly accused them of missing one of the prayers. Other times they could be beaten, or worse" (45).

Like the fundamentalist warlords they replaced, the Taliban leaders misused Islam and imposed strict rules and repressive, medieval measures in the name of religion. They imposed fierce punishment to anyone who broke their rules. Lashings, beheadings and hangings were carried out in public, with the victim's body often left out on display for days. In Kabul the Ghazi stadium became infamous as the site of grisly executions.

Under the Taliban, the country grew increasingly poor, dismal and isolated. The constant wars and anarchy exacerbated the lives of people. Many of the Afghans were living in a dilemma. They lost their identity, their subjectivity and their culture. In the words of Omar, "I looked like a bald man in the age of sixteen. I could no longer wear my choice of clothes. I could not watch movies. I could not fly kites. In short, I could no longer be myself" (285).

The Taliban's chief concern above all others was that men must respect the hours of prayers and women must be separated from the rest of society. Most Afghans had nothing but contempt for the Taliban, whom they considered as 'illiterate peasant extremists' (296).

However the Taliban lost their prominence in 2001, by the U.S invasion of Afghanistan in the name of 'Operation Enduring Freedom' as an after effect of the September 9/11 attack. However the U.S imposed power upon the Afghan people, using Political ISA. Afghanistan has always been on the route of conquerors because of its strategic location at the crossroads of Central Asia, perched between India and Russia, Persia and China. There is a wise saying in Africa: 'When elephants fight, it is the grass that is trampled' and Afghanistan has always been that grass in the fight between the U.S and Russia. It is said that the fundamentalist warlords got arms support from the U.S in their fight against the Soviets and it was part of America's political ideology to annihilate Soviet Union. Joya says:

In the name of the legitimate struggle of the Mujahideen to liberate our country, the US funded, trained and armed some of the worst extremists in the world. The United States wanted to use the Afghan resistance to fight against the Soviets, so that it could become the sole superpower. It helped the eventual downfall of the Soviet Union and contributed to the end of the Cold War, but it left us plagued with well-armed fundamentalists. Ultimately both the superpowers used Afghanistan for their own interests. And for us Afghans, this war brought great destruction from which we have yet to recover. And it sowed the seeds that grew into the ongoing misery we are still dealing with today (17).

However the US invasion of Afghanistan in the name of 'Operation enduring Freedom' was also a masquerade, to attain access to the minerals of Afghanistan, as they did in the case of Iraq. Writer V.K Shashikumar in his article, *Oil Secrets Behind U.S War on Afghanistan* says "The U.S wanted to obtain access to the oil and gas reserves from the rich oilfields in Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakistan and Afghanistan through Pakistan, to the Indian Ocean. These fields are estimated to hold some 200 billion barrels of oil, one-third the quantity available in the Persian Gulf. The oil and gas reserves of Central Asia have been controlled by Russia. The Bush government wanted to change this and they took control over Afghanistan, in the name of Operation enduring Freedom". The US invasion of Afghanistan was part of their political ideology to get access to the minerals of the nation and still Afghanistan is being splintered and exacerbated by both internal forces and external forces.

Peace, joy, justice and tranquillity has become uncanny words for them. Will they ever get the chance to taste these virtues? The question remains sans an assured answer.

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